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Current Demographic Analysis

Demographic Similarities and Differences
between Ontario and Quebec



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Statistics Canada
Demography Division

Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1995

Current Demographic Analysis

Jean Dumas and Alain Bélanger
with the collaboration of **Gordon Smith**

Jean Dumas
Editor in chief

Published by authority of the Minister
responsible for Statistics Canada

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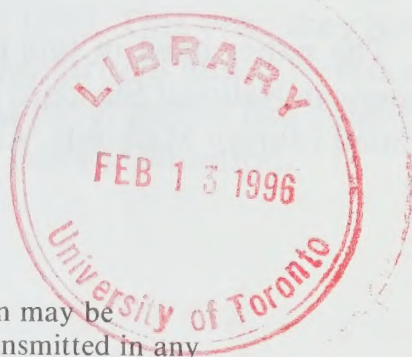
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Preface

Once again, Statistics Canada presents its annual stock-taking of what has contributed to the changing picture of the nation's population. This report provides an account of emerging trends and analyzes the behaviour explaining the growth of the population and the changes in its structure and distribution. It also compares the Canadian demographic situation with that of other major western countries.

On previous occasions, analysts have presented a comparison with the population of a country whose demographic evolution was of concern to Canada: the United States in 1990 and Mexico in 1993. This year, they have applied themselves to an examination of the similarities and differences between the populations of the two most populous provinces of this country, attempting to show how each has evolved to its current situation.

Ivan P. FELLEGI

Chief Statistician of Canada

CURRENT DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

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Highlights

PART I

- The population of Canada on January 1, 1995, was estimated at 29,413,100, for an increase during 1994 of only 304,800 people. The resulting growth rate of 1.04% is the lowest since 1985, when international immigration was particularly low.
- The rate of natural increase in 1994 was less than 6.0 per 1,000 for the first time since 1945. Continuing decline can be expected, as the aging of the population pushes the death rate ever higher and the arrival of the small baby-bust cohorts at the ages of highest fertility results in a decrease in the birth rate, unless there is a unlikely increase at the moment in fertility.
- In 1994, mainly as the result of internal migration, the population of British Colombia increased by 2.5%, a rate twice as high as that of the country as a whole. Newfoundland, on the other hand, lost 4,200 residents and thus had a negative growth rate of 0.7%. At the same time, in terms of numbers, Ontario is still in first place with 131,300.

XXX

- In 1993, there were only 159,316 marriages. The decrease of 16% since 1989 is the end result of four consecutive years of decline that affected both first marriages and remarriages.
- Not only does the smaller number of marriages tend to take place later, they are also increasingly less likely to last. Although the total divorce rate has been stable at 3,800 per 10,000 marriages since 1990, the tendency of divorces to be concentrated at short marriage durations continues: 31% of those divorced in 1993 had been married for no more than 5 years, while this proportion stood at 29% in 1990 and 24% in 1980.

XXX

- In 1993, 10,248 fewer births than the previous year brought the number of births down to 388,394. This is a decline of 2.6%, the greatest since 1972. This decrease reduced the 1993 crude birth rate to 13.2 per 1,000, the lowest ever recorded in Canada.
- The decrease in number of births is greatest in Quebec (3,755, or 3.9%), but the reduction in proportion is greater in Newfoundland (-7.2%), Prince Edward Island (-5.2%), Saskatchewan (-4.9%) and Alberta (-4.2%).

- The decline in the birth rate is not due simply to an unfavourable age structure, since it is accompanied by a decrease in total fertility rates. The rate for Canada as a whole fell from 1.69 to 1.66 children per woman, a reduction of 1.8%. It is down in all provinces except Manitoba, where a marginal increase was observed. The Newfoundland rate, at 1.31 children per woman, is the lowest ever recorded in a Canadian province; however much lower levels have been recorded in Spain (1.22), Italy (1.19) and East Germany (0.77).
- Age at maternity is increasing. In 1971, only one first birth out of 15 was to a mother aged 30 or over; today the proportion is over a quarter. The increase in average age of mothers at child-birth is particularly significant for the first two children, rising from 23.9 to 26.2 for the first child and 26.5 to 28.7 for the second. On average, women today give birth to their first child at the age when their mothers were having their second.

XXX

- In 1993, the number of deaths in Canada was 204,912, an increase of 8,377 deaths over the previous year, or 4.3%. Although this extraordinary increase is the greatest since the Second World War, it appears to be a one-time phenomenon, and thus does not permit the conclusion that mortality trends are changing. This unexpected increase brought only a temporary slowdown in the fight against death as expressed by gains in life expectancy at birth. This index continues to increase and, in 1993, stood at 75 years for men and 81 for women.
- The number of deaths attributable to HIV was 1,564 in 1993, up 15% from the previous year. Despite its proximity to the United States, where the incidence and prevalence of this disease are the highest of all western countries, Canada is much less affected and its level of mortality from this cause is lower than that of a good many European countries.

XXX

- Canada welcomed 217,147 immigrants in 1994, a decrease of about 38,600 (close to 15%) from the previous year. Not all countries of origin are affected by the changes in Canada's immigration levels. The numbers and proportions of immigrants from the four principal source countries increased: Hong Kong (33,107), China (22,852), the Philippines (18,636) and India (17,928). These immigrants represented 43% of the total in 1994, while in 1993 they accounted for 35%.
- Ontario remains the preferred destination for immigrants. Over half of those who arrived in 1994 (114,100 or 52%) intended to settle there, but British Columbia also proves to be attractive, since out of the smaller number of immigrants, the number and proportion of those choosing that province increased (47,800 or 22% in 1994). The most noteworthy item is the drop in immigration to Quebec. From 44,900 in 1993, the number of new immigrants to Quebec stood at only 27,400 in 1994, a drop of 39% in a single year.

- The proportion of independent immigrants has increased considerably and in 1994 amounted to nearly half of the total (49%). Fewer immigrants claim refugee status than in the past, as the proportion dropped to 8.5%, thus falling below the 10% level for the first time since these statistics became available in 1981.
- A breakdown of immigrants by country of birth shows that those born in China are relatively older, while those born in Hong Kong are much younger (32% were under 20 and only 2% were over 65). Many of those born in China settled in Hong Kong and are now leaving that refuge for Canada before expiry of the lease with Great Britain. A large proportion of Indian-born immigrants are between 20 and 24, while immigration from the Philippines is made up mainly of young women aged 25-39.

XXX

- At 9.6 per 1,000, the internal migration rate hit a low point in 1993. The weak mobility observed in 1993 fits in with the long-term trend, but is also an indication of the extent of problems affecting the country's economy in the early 1990s.

XXX

- Over the past two decades, the fraction of the population under 70 who are long-term residents in health-care facilities has declined, but the portion above that age has increased. Among those over 90, the proportion rose from 31% in 1971 to 46% in 1991.

PART II

- In the past 100 years, the population share of Quebec and Ontario combined has remained more or less unchanged and the two provinces still account for about two-thirds of Canada's population. The demographic weight of the eastern and western parts of the country, however, has reversed.
- An important change in the demographic evolution of the two provinces is evident in the 1971 census. For the first time, the population of Quebec at all ages was smaller than in Ontario, and the Quebec age pyramid could be entirely traced within that of Ontario.
- Prior to 1951, the Quebec population grew more rapidly than that of Ontario, due to its high birth rate. Since then, with the help of international immigration, population growth has been stronger in Ontario.
- The baby-boom phenomenon was felt more strongly in Ontario than in Quebec, since the fertility of the Ontario cohorts involved increased while it continued to decline in the Quebec cohorts.

- At the turn of the century, Quebec had 30.7% of the country's population, while in 1994, it accounted for only 24.9%. Neither the trend in immigration nor that in fertility gives any indication that Quebec can maintain its demographic weight in Confederation.

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- In the past, more women in Quebec than in Ontario remained childless, but those who did not had much larger families. Today the two-child family has become the norm in both Ontario and Quebec.
- Quebec, concerned by low population growth and the aging of its population, is the only province to adopt any semblance of a population policy.
- The difference in life expectancy between Ontario and Quebec has narrowed considerably since 1926, but although the value is now the same for women in both provinces, it is still about a year higher for Ontario men.

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- Notwithstanding constant and substantial migration, the composition of Quebec's population by place of birth has changed relatively little during this century. It has always been more uniform than that of Ontario and remains so. In 1901, 93% of the Quebec population was born in the province; nearly a century later, this has only decreased to 87%. During the same period, the population of Ontario has changed more significantly, as the proportion of those born in the province has dropped from 81% to 63%.
- In 1991, nearly one Ontario resident out of four was not born in Canada, while only one Quebec resident out of twelve was not born in the country.
- Since the turn of the century, people born outside Canada have never formed more than 10% of the population of Quebec, while this fraction has almost always been greater than 15% in Ontario, and in 1991 it even reached 24%.
- From 1960 to 1993, Quebec received only 850,000 international immigrants, while Ontario received 2.5 million.
- Forty years of population exchanges between Quebec and Ontario have resulted in a net loss of some 470,000 residents for Quebec.

XXX

- Living alone is more common and is growing more rapidly in Quebec. More and more never-married, widowed and divorced persons head households without a spouse, relative or child. Among those over 25, close to one person out of ten in Quebec lives alone, compared to one out of twelve in Ontario.

- Attitudes toward marriage have traditionally been different in Quebec and remain so. People have always married less and later than in Ontario, and this phenomenon has become more accentuated in recent years. Between 1976 and 1991, the crude marriage rate decreased in Ontario, from 8.4 per 1,000 to 7.4 per 1,000, but during the same period Quebec's rate fell from 8.1 to 4.2 per 1,000, a reduction of 12% in the former case and 48% in the latter. On the other hand, according to the 1990 General Social Survey, about 30% of Quebec men and women over 15 had already experienced life in a common-law union at that time, compared to only 18% of Ontario men and women.

XXX

- Between 1951 and 1991, the number of Francophones in Quebec has increased by 67%, that of Anglophones by 12% and that of people of another mother tongue by 300%. The Francophone share of the population has remained stable at 82%. Since their numbers have grown more slowly than the others, Anglophones have seen their share of the province's population decrease from 14% to 9%, while that of persons speaking another mother tongue has increased from 4% to 9%.
- The number of Francophones in Ontario has increased more than the number of Anglophones in Quebec; however, their share of the total population of that province has fallen from 7% to 5%.
- Between 1951 and 1991, people whose mother tongue is neither of Canada's two official languages have increased fourfold in both Quebec and Ontario.
- In 1991, 43% of Ontarians whose mother tongue was neither French nor English spoke one of Canada's official languages at home. In Quebec, people in this category have a greater tendency to keep their mother tongue as the language of home communication since only 32% spoke English or French at home.

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- Because there are major similarities between the Quebec and Ontario economies, it is not surprising to see a resemblance between the labour forces in the two provinces. Over the long term, however, slightly higher unemployment is evident in Quebec than in Ontario for both sexes, as well as a lower female participation rate in Quebec.

Part I

DEMOGRAPHIC ACCOUNTS

On January 1, 1995, the population of Canada was estimated at 29,413,100.¹ The total increase during 1994 was 304,800, for a growth rate of 10.4 per 1,000 (Tables 1A and 1B). ***This is the lowest rate on record since 1985, and results from the combination of a significant decrease in immigration*** (217,300 immigrants in 1994 compared to 255,700 in 1993) ***and the decline in natural increase that began in 1990***. Despite the slowing down of arrivals, net international immigration (172,000) contributed scarcely less to population growth than did natural increase (174,800).

The brief upswing in natural increase around 1990 now appears to have been merely a passing fluctuation in the persistent downward trend in this rate (Figure 1). In future, population aging will continue to push the crude death rate up. At the same time, the arrival of smaller cohorts at childbearing ages will cause a slump in the birth rate, unless there is a substantial increase in fertility, which is quite unlikely. Hence, ***the rate of natural increase, which dropped below 6.0 per 1,000 in 1994 for the first time since 1945, can be expected to continue to fall***. As for the number of immigrants, it essentially depends on government decisions which are impossible to predict in the long term. Current plans would see immigration in the next few years remain below the levels of the first years of the decade; the plan announced by the government for 1996 foresees between 195,000 and 220,000 entrants, i.e., 171,000 to 187,700 immigrants and 24,000 to 32,300 refugees.²

Population growth was down in all provinces except Prince Edward Island, Manitoba and Saskatchewan (Table A1, Appendix). Three provinces, Prince Edward Island, Ontario and British Columbia, had higher growth rates than the Canadian average. ***For the second time, in 1994, the population of British Columbia increased at a rate more than twice as high as the national average (25.2 per 1,000)***. At that rate, the population of this province would double every 28 years, which seems possible assuming that the average annual growth rate of the past decade, 22.5 per 1,000, continues. ***In actual figures, Ontario is nevertheless in front with an increase of 131,300, well ahead of British Columbia with 92,700***. Internal migration was a major factor in population increase in the latter, while Ontario owes its strong growth to its traditional attraction for international immigrants (see Part 2 of this report). The interprovincial migration balance was 38,300 for British Columbia and almost nil for

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, the figures used in the 1995 accounts are those that were available on September 18, 1995.

² Very frequently in the past it has proved impossible, for various reasons, to attain the objectives.

Table 1A. Statement of Population Change, Canada, 1973-1995

Year	Population as of January 1	Total Growth (1)	Births (2)	Deaths (3)	Natural Growth (4) = (2) - (3)	Inter- national Immigrants ¹ (5)	Returning Canadians (6)	Inter- national Emigrants ² (7)	Net			Residual ⁴
									Statistical International Migration ³ (8) = (5) - (7)	Non- permanent Residents (9)	Growth by Flow by Flow (10) = (6) + (9) + (8)	
(in thousands)												
1973	22,414.5	303.7	343.4	164.0	179.3	184.2	37.8	78.5	105.7	7.9	151.4	-27.1
1974	22,718.2	326.3	345.6	166.8	178.9	218.5	36.0	78.0	140.4	-2.0	174.5	-27.1
1975	23,044.4	326.6	359.3	167.2	192.1	187.9	36.4	70.7	117.2	7.9	161.5	-27.1
1976	23,371.0	289.7	360.0	167.0	193.0	149.4	36.1	64.4	85.1	-3.0	118.2	-21.5
1977	23,660.7	261.0	362.2	167.5	194.7	114.9	32.3	61.4	53.5	-2.0	83.8	-17.5
1978	23,921.7	224.4	358.4	168.2	190.2	86.3	31.8	63.5	22.8	-3.0	51.7	-17.5
1979	24,146.1	275.9	366.1	168.2	197.9	112.1	30.3	54.7	57.3	7.9	95.5	-17.5
1980	24,422.1	322.1	370.7	171.5	199.2	143.1	27.6	45.2	97.9	14.9	140.4	-17.5
1981	24,744.2	317.7	371.3	171.0	200.3	128.6	25.4	50.1	78.6	30.3	134.3	-16.9
1982	25,061.8	268.5	373.1	174.4	198.7	121.1	28.3	59.4	61.7	-3.7	86.4	-16.6
1983	25,330.3	244.4	373.7	174.5	199.2	89.2	26.8	58.6	30.6	4.4	61.7	-16.6
1984	25,574.7	243.6	377.0	175.7	201.3	88.2	26.2	55.2	33.0	-0.3	58.8	-16.6
1985	25,818.3	246.3	375.7	181.3	194.4	84.3	27.3	54.2	30.1	11.0	68.4	-16.6
1986	26,064.5	297.1	372.9	184.2	188.7	99.2	25.4	49.1	50.1	46.5	122.1	-13.6
1987	26,361.7	346.1	369.7	185.0	184.8	152.1	24.2	44.3	107.8	40.9	172.9	-11.5
1988	26,707.8	428.9	376.8	190.0	186.8	161.9	21.5	38.7	123.2	108.9	253.6	-11.5
1989	27,136.7	429.9	392.7	191.0	201.7	192.0	21.1	40.7	151.3	67.4	239.7	-11.5
1990	27,566.6	385.1	405.5	192.0	213.5	214.2	19.4	39.6	174.6	-11.0	183.1	-11.5
1991	27,951.6	366.0	402.5	195.6	207.0	230.8	22.7	48.0	182.8	-41.6	163.9	-4.8
1992 (PD)	28,317.7	423.0	398.6	196.5	202.1	252.8	22.9	44.6	208.3	-10.2	220.9	...
1993 (PD)	28,740.7	367.6	388.4	204.9	183.5	255.7	22.3	44.5	211.3	-49.9	183.8	...
1994 (PR)	29,108.3	304.8	386.4	211.5	174.8	217.3	22.6	45.4	172.0	-64.6	130.0	...
1995 (PR)	29,413.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

See notes at the end of Table 1B.

Table 1B. Main Rates of the Demographic Accounts, Canada, 1973-1995

Year	Population as of January 1 (in thousands)	Total Growth Rate	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Rate of Natural Increase	Net Rate of International Migration ^{1, 2}	Rate of Growth by Flow ⁵
		(per 1,000)					
1973	22,414.5	13.46	15.22	7.27	7.95	4.68	5.51
1974	22,718.2	14.26	15.11	7.29	7.82	6.14	6.44
1975	23,044.4	14.07	15.48	7.20	8.28	5.05	5.79
1976	23,371.0	12.32	15.31	7.10	8.21	3.62	4.11
1977	23,660.7	10.97	15.22	7.04	8.18	2.25	2.79
1978	23,921.7	9.34	14.91	7.00	7.92	0.95	1.42
1979	24,146.1	11.36	15.07	6.93	8.15	2.36	3.21
1980	24,422.1	13.10	15.08	6.98	8.10	3.98	5.00
1981	24,744.2	12.76	14.91	6.87	8.04	3.15	4.71
1982	25,061.8	10.66	14.81	6.92	7.88	2.45	2.77
1983	25,330.3	9.60	14.68	6.86	7.83	1.20	1.77
1984	25,574.7	9.48	14.67	6.84	7.83	1.28	1.65
1985	25,818.3	9.49	14.48	6.99	7.49	1.16	2.00
1986	26,064.5	11.34	14.23	7.03	7.20	1.91	4.14
1987	26,361.7	13.05	13.93	6.97	6.96	4.06	6.08
1988	26,707.8	15.93	14.00	7.06	6.94	4.58	8.99
1989	27,136.7	15.72	14.36	6.98	7.37	5.53	8.34
1990	27,566.6	13.87	14.61	6.92	7.69	6.29	6.18
1991	27,951.6	13.01	14.31	6.95	7.36	6.50	5.65
1992 (PD)	28,317.7	14.83	13.97	6.89	7.08	7.30	7.74
1993 (PD)	28,740.7	12.71	13.43	7.08	6.34	7.30	6.37
1994 (PR)	29,108.3	10.42	13.20	7.23	5.97	5.88	4.44
1995 (PR)	29,413.1	...	...	...	...	...	...

¹ Based on Employment and Immigration Canada and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

² Estimated using Family Allowance and Income Tax files.

³ Emigrants subtracted from immigrants. It is statistical because landed immigrants in one year could have been in the country a year earlier or more, when they were counted in the non-permanent residents category.

⁴ The residual consists of the distribution over five years of the error of closure at the end of the census period, which is equal to the difference between the census count predicted by the components method and the actual count corrected for net undercoverage. This "error" combines errors on the components, on the net undercoverage of the censuses and differences between concepts used by the Census and administrative files.

⁵ Takes into account non-permanent residents, returning Canadians and the residual.

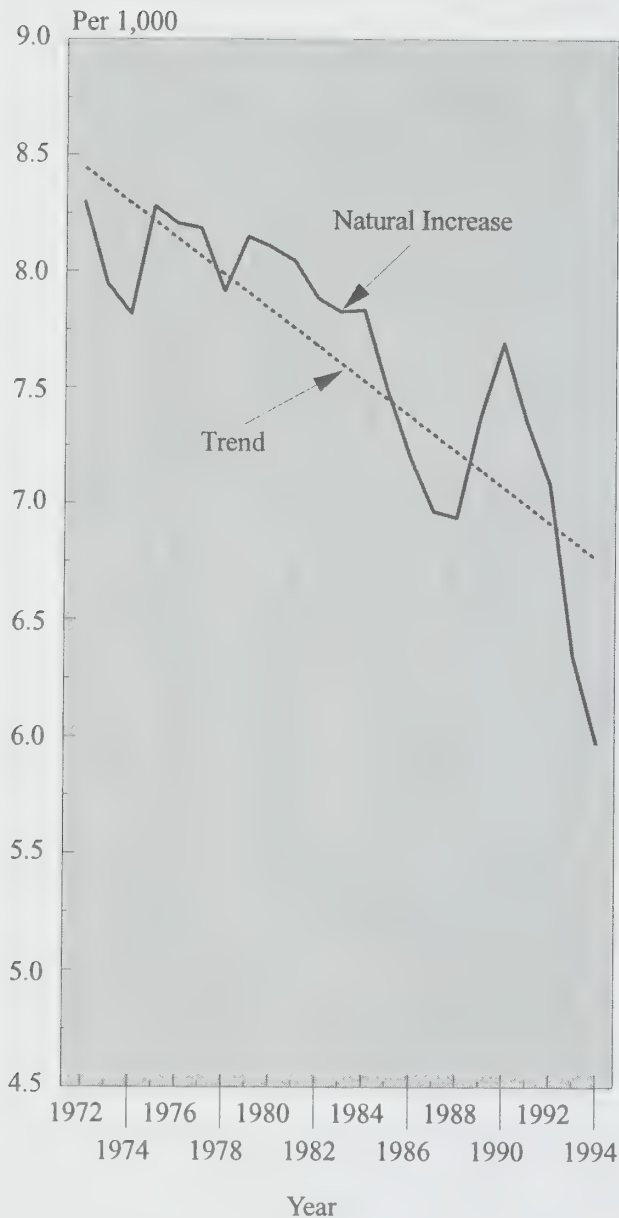
(PD) Final postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 18, 1995.

(PR) Revised postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 18, 1995.

Note: All other data are from final intercensal estimates. Calculations were carried out on unrounded numbers.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, catalogue No. 84-210, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

Figure 1. Evolution of the Rate of Natural Increase and Recent Trend, Canada, 1972-1994



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

Ontario but, although the positive balance of 41,300 international immigrants was the highest ever recorded in British Columbia, it represents only 44% of that of Ontario (93,900). It should be noted that, *despite the significant decrease in immigration levels in 1994, British Columbia's balance continued to increase while that of Ontario was down 18% and that of Quebec 45%.*

At the other end of the country, *Newfoundland's population declined for the second year in a row.* The loss of 4,200 people led to a negative growth rate of -7.2 per 1,000. *The low fertility rate of this province's women (1.31 children per woman), the lowest ever recorded in a Canadian province,* was partly responsible for this loss, but the leading factor was the interprovincial emigration rate (27.4 per 1,000). There is no indication that there will be a marked reversal of this trend in the foreseeable future. This province's economy has been severely affected by problems in the Atlantic fishery, resulting in high levels of unemployment (20.4% in 1994, or almost double the Canadian average of 10.4%).

Limitations of Demographic Accounts

No country can boast that it is able to record all demographic events experienced by its population, but Canada is certainly one of the most vigilant. Two phenomena are well known and closely monitored: late reporting for various reasons, suggesting that some events, probably very few, are never recorded, and double counting. It is up to provincial vital statistics authorities

Table 2. Total Late-Reported Births and Deaths, Provinces and Territories, Canada, 1981-1991

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yuk.	N.W.T.	Canada
Births													
1981	665	-	464	1	..	344	77	353	17	340	1	6	2,268
1982	578	-	395	34	167	478	17	323	60	304	1	27	2,384
1983	738	-	443	1	37	395	18	332	9	249	-	21	2,243
1984	603	-	442	13	76	382	30	272	4	69	1	25	1,917
1985	1,193	-	386	23	-	611	25	299	5	46	2	17	2,607
1986	694	-	400	19	32	372	23	251	21	34	-	13	1,859
1987	476	-	315	49	136	608	30	259	3	94	-	14	1,984
1988	1,028	-	271	29	61	1,581	29	224	-	166	1	28	3,418
1989	436	-	191	18	72	1,023	28	219	11	113	-	33	2,144
1990	131	-	135	19	-	1,629	29	184	1	39	-	81	2,248
1991	-	-	126	12	-	1,021	24	156	6	32	2	26	1,405
Deaths													
1981	56	-	16	20	294	40	9	14	4	50	2	6	511
1982	43	-	18	28	276	54	7	32	8	47	1	2	516
1983	20	1	8	54	311	26	4	28	-	37	-	5	494
1984	85	-	21	75	289	17	6	11	-	5	-	6	515
1985	348	-	4	109	-	37	1	34	2	24	-	16	575
1986	69	-	10	109	312	36	5	19	6	11	-	3	580
1987	7	-	7	109	250	80	2	39	1	14	-	6	515
1988	90	-	17	127	403	267	3	32	3	9	1	16	968
1989	19	-	2	77	63	228	1	37	3	13	1	3	447
1990	14	-	1	101	-	454	4	42	-	5	1	9	631
1991	6	-	4	133	-	136	2	43	-	3	-	17	344

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data.

to monitor and correct their records, but this is not an easy task. Table 2 shows by province the births and deaths which, as of January 1, 1995, were known to have occurred in past years but to be reported to the registrar only after the books had been closed for the year in which they took place.

For the time being at least, it does not seem necessary to adjust the demographic accounts for Canada and the provinces for past years since the numbers involved are relatively small (for births, they generally represented 0.6% of the year's total when the books were closed, or on rare occasions as much as 0.9%). These late registrations have no impact on the demographic indices already calculated. Moreover, if the principle of revision were adopted, this would mean that past years would have to be adjusted every year, since each year would reveal more previous events that had not yet been counted.

Preliminary Estimates of Population Change

There is always a considerable delay between the closing of vital statistics registries in the various provinces and the publication of statistics considered final by Statistics Canada. This in fact is true of all countries in the world, where the units responsible are known by a variety of names (department, district, etc.). However, the administrative, political and social life of a country

**Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada,
Provinces and Territories, 1987-1994**

	Year	New- foundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Québec	Ontario
Birth Rate (per 1,000)	1987	13.5	15.1	13.5	13.1	12.3	13.9
	1988	13.0	15.2	13.5	13.1	12.6	13.9
	1989	13.4	14.8	13.8	13.1	13.3	14.4
	1990	13.2	15.4	14.1	13.2	14.0	14.6
	1991	12.4	14.4	13.1	12.7	13.7	14.5
	1992	11.9	14.0	12.8	12.5	13.4	14.2
	1993	11.0	13.2	12.4	12.0	12.8	13.7
	1994 (P)	10.9	12.5	12.2	11.8	12.5	13.4
Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1987	6.3	8.6	7.9	7.4	7.0	7.0
	1988	6.2	8.6	8.2	7.4	7.0	7.1
	1989	6.4	8.3	8.3	7.5	7.0	7.0
	1990	6.7	8.7	8.1	7.3	6.9	6.9
	1991	6.5	9.1	7.9	7.3	6.9	7.0
	1992	6.5	8.5	8.2	7.5	6.8	6.9
	1993	6.7	8.6	8.1	7.7	7.2	7.0
	1994 (P)	6.9	8.9	8.2	7.8	7.4	7.1
Total Fertility Rate (number of children per woman aged 15-49)	1987	1.53	1.82	1.55	1.51	1.37	1.58
	1988	1.47	1.85	1.57	1.53	1.43	1.59
	1989	1.53	1.83	1.62	1.55	1.53	1.63
	1990	1.52	1.93	1.68	1.58	1.64	1.67
	1991	1.44	1.85	1.58	1.54	1.65	1.66
	1992	1.39	1.82	1.58	1.53	1.65	1.67
	1993	1.31	1.72	1.56	1.50	1.61	1.64
	1994 (P)	1.28	1.68	1.54	1.48	1.58	1.61
Total First Marriage Rate (per 1,000) (males aged 17-49, females aged 15-49)	1987 M	592	668	614	589	413	619
	1987 F	576	686	653	617	436	669
	1988 M	626	728	637	644	425	635
	1988 F	628	739	680	675	453	690
	1989 M	664	798	640	639	424	647
	1989 F	669	807	685	680	455	697
	1990 M	644	768	610	624	408	653
	1990 F	658	766	649	659	459	698
	1991 M	597	717	568	574	377	606
	1991 F	611	724	600	599	425	646
	1992 M	547	675	544	544	333	579
	1992 F	571	688	579	573	376	623
	1993 M	531	703	532	525	324	553
	1993 F	553	714	565	553	365	595
	1994 (P) M	518	688	518	518	318	548
	1994 (P) F	540	700	540	540	340	570
Rate of Natural Increase (per 1,000)	1987	7.2	6.5	5.6	5.7	5.3	6.9
	1988	6.8	6.7	5.3	5.7	5.7	6.8
	1989	7.0	6.5	5.5	5.7	6.3	7.3
	1990	6.4	6.7	6.0	5.9	7.1	7.8
	1991 (PD)	5.8	5.3	5.2	5.4	6.8	7.5
	1992 (PD)	5.4	5.6	4.7	5.0	6.6	7.3
	1993 (PR)	4.3	4.6	4.3	4.3	5.6	6.7
	1994 (PR)	4.0	3.6	4.0	3.9	5.2	6.3
Total Growth Rate (per 1,000)	1987	-2.1	5.8	3.5	4.2	8.7	21.3
	1988	1.5	5.8	6.4	5.5	11.2	23.8
	1989	1.2	5.8	7.2	6.6	10.5	21.6
	1990	2.6	5.8	5.9	8.0	9.9	16.0
	1991 (PD)	4.5	5.8	7.0	6.1	9.6	14.0
	1992 (PD)	4.4	5.8	7.8	4.8	10.1	16.8
	1993 (PR)	-1.8	5.8	4.7	3.6	10.2	13.9
	1994 (PR)	-7.2	5.8	3.9	3.6	5.6	12.0

See notes at the end of this table

**Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada,
Provinces and Territories, 1987-1994 - Continued**

	Year	Manitoba	Saskatch- ewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon	Northwest Territories	Canada
Birth Rate (per 1,000)	1987	15.4	16.5	17.2	13.6	18.5	27.4	13.9
	1988	15.4	16.3	17.1	13.7	19.6	27.6	14.0
	1989	15.7	16.3	17.3	13.6	17.5	25.7	14.4
	1990	15.7	15.9	16.8	13.8	19.8	26.8	14.6
	1991	15.5	15.2	16.4	13.5	19.6	26.8	14.3
	1992	14.8	14.9	15.9	13.3	17.8	24.9	14.0
	1993	14.9	14.1	15.0	12.9	17.0	24.5	13.4
	1994 (P)	14.7	13.8	14.7	12.8	16.4	24.2	13.2
Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1987	7.9	7.6	5.5	7.1	4.2	3.6	7.0
	1988	8.2	7.9	5.6	7.2	5.1	3.9	7.1
	1989	8.0	7.8	5.5	7.2	3.5	4.3	7.0
	1990	8.0	8.0	5.5	7.1	4.1	3.8	6.9
	1991	8.0	8.1	5.6	7.1	3.9	3.9	7.0
	1992	8.0	7.7	5.5	7.1	3.9	4.1	6.9
	1993	8.3	8.1	5.7	7.2	4.1	4.1	7.1
	1994 (P)	8.3	8.2	5.9	7.4	4.0	3.5	7.2
Total Fertility Rate (number of children per woman aged 15-49)	1987	1.83	1.98	1.82	1.60	1.88	2.82	1.58
	1988	1.85	1.99	1.84	1.64	1.98	2.90	1.60
	1989	1.92	2.05	1.90	1.65	1.85	2.70	1.66
	1990	1.95	2.07	1.88	1.68	2.16	2.79	1.71
	1991	1.97	2.03	1.88	1.67	2.13	2.85	1.70
	1992	1.91	2.02	1.85	1.65	1.92	2.68	1.69
	1993	1.94	1.95	1.79	1.61	1.89	2.67	1.66
	1994 (P)	1.94	1.95	1.79	1.61	1.89	2.67	1.66
Total First Marriage Rate (per 1,000) (males aged 17-49, females aged 15-49)	1987 M	614	589	558	597	445	299	554
	F	662	632	610	638	476	345	594
	1988 M	617	600	590	633	525	302	574
	F	669	647	642	684	623	314	620
	1989 M	624	625	621	641	497	301	585
	F	679	677	665	693	558	326	630
	1990 M	637	613	625	638	518	313	582
	F	690	665	673	694	591	327	631
	1991 M	592	613	590	599	465	285	543
	F	647	651	635	651	514	308	588
	1992 M	594	601	580	592	538	270	518
	F	642	633	622	631	565	291	561
	1993 M	579	609	582	576	403	280	504
	F	625	639	620	612	465	309	544
	1994 (P) M	579	609	582	576	403	280	504
	1994 (P) F	625	639	620	612	465	309	544
Rate of Natural Increase (per 1,000)	1987	7.5	8.9	11.8	6.5	14.3	23.9	7.0
	1988	7.2	8.4	11.4	6.5	14.5	23.7	6.9
	1989	7.7	8.6	11.8	6.5	14.0	21.4	7.4
	1990	7.7	8.0	11.3	6.7	15.7	22.9	7.7
	1991 (PD)	7.5	7.2	10.9	6.4	15.7	22.9	7.4
	1992 (PD)	6.8	7.2	10.3	6.2	13.8	20.8	7.1
	1993 (PR)	6.6	6.0	9.3	5.7	12.9	20.4	6.3
	1994 (PR)	6.3	5.6	8.8	5.4	12.3	20.7	6.0
Total Growth Rate (per 1,000)	1987	4.8	-0.4	4.6	18.8	28.1	11.5	13.0
	1988	1.7	-7.9	14.3	23.6	36.0	19.6	15.9
	1989	1.3	-10.4	17.9	27.4	23.6	23.4	15.7
	1990	3.2	-8.3	20.3	26.6	22.9	31.8	13.9
	1991 (PD)	4.8	-0.8	17.3	25.1	38.8	29.4	13.0
	1992 (PD)	5.7	3.4	16.9	29.0	18.3	17.8	14.8
	1993 (PR)	5.3	2.8	12.3	26.2	-14.6	19.8	12.7
	1994 (PR)	5.4	3.0	9.6	25.2	2.1	16.6	10.4

See notes at the end of this table

**Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada,
Provinces and Territories, 1987-1994 - Continued**

	Year	New- foundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario
Population Aged 65 + as a Percentage of the Total Population on July 1	1987	9.0	12.7	12.0	11.2	10.0	10.9
	1988	9.1	12.8	12.1	11.5	10.3	11.0
	1989	9.3	12.9	12.2	11.6	10.5	11.1
	1990	9.4	13.0	12.3	11.8	10.8	11.3
	1991 (PD)	9.6	13.1	12.4	11.9	11.0	11.5
	1992 (PD)	9.7	13.1	12.5	12.0	11.2	11.6
	1993 (PR)	9.9	13.1	12.6	12.2	11.5	11.8
	1994 (PP)	10.0	13.0	12.7	12.3	11.7	12.0
Total Age Dependency Ratio (in %) ¹	1987	66.3	68.0	60.7	62.0	52.0	54.9
	1988	64.7	67.6	60.3	61.4	52.1	54.9
	1989	62.9	67.4	59.6	60.7	52.2	54.6
	1990	61.2	67.3	59.2	60.1	52.7	54.9
	1991 (PD)	59.6	67.1	58.9	59.6	53.4	55.5
	1992 (PD)	57.9	66.4	58.5	58.8	53.8	55.7
	1993 (PR)	56.3	65.4	58.0	58.0	54.0	55.9
	1994 (PP)	54.9	64.6	57.5	57.1	54.2	56.3
Life Expectancy at Birth (in years)	1986 M	72.9	72.8	72.5	72.7	72.2	73.8
	F	79.2	... ²	79.5	80.1	79.7	80.0
	1991 M	73.7	73.2	73.7	74.3	73.8	75.0
	F	79.6	... ²	80.3	80.9	80.9	80.9
	1992 M	74.0	73.6	74.0	74.4	74.0	75.1
	F	79.3	... ²	80.6	80.9	81.0	81.0
	1993 M (P)	74.1	74.2	74.2	74.4	74.2	75.3
	F (P)	80.1	... ²	80.6	80.9	81.1	81.2
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1987	7.6	6.6	7.4	7.0	7.1	6.6
	1988	9.3	7.1	6.5	7.2	6.5	6.6
	1989	8.2	6.2	5.8	7.1	6.8	6.8
	1990	9.2	6.0	6.3	7.2	6.2	6.3
	1991	7.8	6.9	5.7	6.1	5.9	6.3
	1992	7.1	1.6	6.0	6.3	5.4	5.9
	1993	7.8	9.1	7.1	7.2	5.7	6.2
Rate of Pregnancies Terminated (per 1,000 women aged 15-44) ³	1987	3.0	-	8.1	2.0	7.1	11.9
	1988	3.0	-	8.3	2.5	7.6	12.0
	1989	3.0	-	9.3	2.8	8.2	12.8
	1990	2.9	-	8.9	2.9	8.5	12.4
	1991	2.9	-	8.2	3.2	8.7	12.4
	1992	3.0	-	8.6	3.5	9.4	11.9
	1993	3.2	-	8.9	3.5	10.0	11.9

See notes at the end of this table

**Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada,
Provinces and Territories, 1987-1994 - Concluded**

	Year	Manitoba	Saskatch- ewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon	Northwest Territories	Canada
Population Aged 65 + as a Percentage of the Total Population on July 1	1987	12.6	12.8	8.3	12.2	3.8	2.9	10.7
	1988	12.8	13.0	8.5	12.4	3.7	3.0	10.9
	1989	13.0	13.4	8.6	12.5	3.8	2.8	11.0
	1990	13.1	13.7	8.8	12.6	3.8	2.7	11.2
	1991 (PD)	13.3	14.0	8.9	12.6	3.9	2.7	11.4
	1992 (PD)	13.4	14.2	9.1	12.7	3.9	2.7	11.6
	1993 (PR)	13.4	14.3	9.3	12.7	4.1	2.7	11.7
	1994 (PP)	13.5	14.4	9.5	12.6	4.4	2.7	11.9
Total Age Dependency Ratio (in %) ¹	1987	64.1	70.8	56.6	57.5	49.5	67.7	56.2
	1988	64.3	71.1	56.8	57.4	48.1	67.1	56.2
	1989	64.6	71.8	56.9	57.4	47.9	66.4	56.0
	1990	65.0	72.9	57.3	57.5	47.9	65.9	56.3
	1991 (PD)	65.3	73.5	57.7	57.6	47.6	66.7	56.7
	1992 (PD)	65.2	73.4	57.9	57.3	48.3	67.3	56.8
	1993 (PR)	65.0	73.3	57.9	57.0	47.6	67.3	56.8
	1994 (PP)	64.8	73.0	57.9	56.7	47.4	67.1	56.9
Life Expectancy at Birth (in years)	1986 M	73.3	73.8	73.7	74.4	...	...	73.3
	F	80.0	80.5	80.3	80.8	...	...	80.0
	1991 M	74.6	75.3	75.1	75.2	...	...	74.6
	F	80.8	81.5	81.2	81.4	...	...	81.0
	1992 M	74.7	75.4	75.3	75.3	...	...	74.8
	F	80.8	81.7	81.1	81.5	...	...	81.0
	1993 M (P)	74.7	75.6	75.6	75.5	...	...	75.0
	F (P)	80.9	82.0	81.2	81.6	...	...	81.2
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1987	8.4	9.1	7.5	8.6	10.5	12.5	7.3
	1988	7.8	8.4	8.3	8.4	5.8	10.3	7.2
	1989	6.6	8.0	7.5	8.2	4.2	16.2	7.1
	1990	8.0	7.6	8.0	7.5	7.2	12.0	6.8
	1991	6.4	8.2	6.7	6.5	10.6	12.2	6.4
	1992	6.8	7.3	7.2	6.2	3.8	16.7	6.1
	1993	7.1	8.0	6.7	5.7	7.9	9.6	6.3
Rate of Pregnancies Terminated (per 1,000 women aged 15-44) ³	1987	11.3	4.5	8.9	15.7	18.4	12.6	9.8
	1988	12.0	4.7	10.1	14.9	15.9	15.8	10.1
	1989	11.6	5.1	10.5	14.7	17.5	13.6	10.7
	1990	10.5	5.7	10.4	14.9	19.5	16.8	10.6
	1991	10.3	5.6	9.9	13.6	19.8	18.6	10.4
	1992	10.4	6.4	9.5	13.0	20.5	16.8	10.4
	1993	10.7	7.3	9.8	13.0	21.0	15.2	10.6

¹ Ratio between population aged 0-17, 65+ and 18-64.

² Because of an absence of deaths in certain age groups, the mortality table could not be calculated.

³ Practiced in hospitals in Canada.

(P) Preliminary.

(PD) Final postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 18, 1995.

(PR) Revised postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 18, 1995.

(PP) Preliminary postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 18, 1995.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211, *Marriages*, Catalogue No. 84-212, *Therapeutic Abortions*, Catalogue No. 82-219, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 3. Number of Deaths According to Final Estimates and Preliminary Estimates¹, Canada, 1974-1993

Year	Preliminary	Final	Difference	Difference (in %)
1974	167,408	167,107	301	0.18
1975	171,221	166,988	4,233	2.47
1976	171,385	166,606	4,779	2.79
1977	170,739	167,279	3,460	2.03
1978	171,273	168,052	3,221	1.88
1979	172,488	168,098	4,390	2.54
1980	172,535	171,372	1,163	0.67
1981	175,996	170,980	5,016	2.85
1982	175,595	174,254	1,341	0.76
1983	178,616	174,465	4,151	2.32
1984	179,210	175,682	3,528	1.97
1985	180,491	181,319	-828	-0.46
1986	185,980	184,218	1,762	0.95
1987	189,882	184,913	4,969	2.62
1988	189,822	189,980	-158	-0.08
1989	195,806	190,956	4,850	2.48
1990	196,850	191,956	4,894	2.49
1991	197,825	195,547	2,278	1.15
1992	201,420	196,535	4,885	2.43
1993	202,400	204,912	-2,512	-1.24

¹ Expected deaths method.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

cannot wait this long and the figures that most accurately reflect the current situation must be quickly available. As a result, recourse is had to preliminary estimates. A number of methods for calculating them are in current use, but none is totally satisfactory. Canada has recently opted for very short-term projections, justified on the ground that the phenomena change very slowly. Thus, to estimate the 1994 deaths shown on the second to last line of Table 1A, the death rates by age group, sex and province from 1993 were applied to the population, itself estimated, on July 1, 1994. If, as is generally the case, mortality declines slowly from year to year, the estimates of deaths will prove higher than the figures obtained when a final count is made of all certificates some 20 months later. This is what has happened almost 4 times out of 5 in the recent past, with an overestimate of up to 3% (Table 3). However, there may be problems if the death rate in a given year is exceptionally high for some reason (such as an epidemic or a particularly hard winter). Since the rates used to estimate the number of deaths in the following year have been exaggerated by the anomaly, the preliminary figures will be higher than those obtained by the actual accounting. If the 1993 death rate was exceptionally high, which is possible (see the Mortality section of this report), the 1994 estimate of deaths will also be high. The preliminary figure of 211,000 should thus be taken with even more caution than usual. At the same

time, the United States, which, like Canada, experienced an unexpected increase in mortality in 1993, shows a very slight decrease in its preliminary data for 1994.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION IN THE NEW EC

The entry of Austria, Sweden and Finland into the European Community brings the number of member states to 15. To have an idea of the overall growth of this population block, figures for all 15 countries have been combined to obtain data for previous years. Regrettably, the United Kingdom has not yet produced up-to-date statistics for 1994, which has made estimations necessary.

The national demographic indices presented here should be interpreted with caution, because they tend to obscure the often considerable diversity of the population in a great many countries. The indices are used to compare populations of very different sizes, and the larger the country, the greater the chances that the population will vary and with it its demographic behaviour. It is clear that there is no true comparison possible between countries such as Norway and the United States. In the former country, the life expectancy is that of a population very uniform in terms of ethnic origin, culture and health status, and where social organization is uniform throughout the country, while in the latter, all 50 states have different jurisdictions, differing social programs and, above all, populations with highly varied ethnic origins, customs and culture, to the point where population statistics are available by state and by racial origin. The same is true of Canada and its different provinces, Germany and its *länder*, Mexico and its states, etc. The advantage of national indices, however, is that they summarize a country's situation in such a way as to permit large-scale comparisons and especially comparisons over time, which is preferable to long lists of regional indices where it is difficult to determine how much detail is needed or where to stop.

Throughout the European Economic Area, the most noteworthy item for 1994 is the significant and generalized decline in international immigration (Table 4). With the exception of Sweden, Portugal and Spain, all member countries recorded much lower migratory balances than in 1993. Even in Germany, which for many years had alone accounted for half of the migratory balance of the European Community as a whole, the decrease was 28%. Italy, which in 1993 had an unexpected and substantial balance of 194,000, showed a 39% decrease, while the Netherlands, although with smaller numbers, had a 68% decline. These decreases have no source other than the clear desire of most governments to restrict immigration.

As a result, the total rate of increase, which in Europe more than in Canada depends on immigration, was down significantly except in Denmark, Portugal

Table 4. Numbers and Main Demographic Indicators for the Industrialized Countries, 1993 and 1994

Country	Population as of January 1			Births		Deaths		Natural Increase		Net Migration	
	1993	1994	1995	1993	1994	1993	1994	1993	1994	1993	1994
	In thousands										
Belgium	10,068.3	10,101.0	10,180.0	120.0	116.4	107.0	104.9	13.0	11.5	19.0	18.4
Denmark	5,180.6	5,196.6	5,215.7	67.4	69.7	62.9	61.2	4.5	8.5	11.1	10.6
Germany	80,614.1	81,352.6	81,552.5	795.0	767.0	890.9	892.6	-95.9	-125.6	473.9	340.0
Greece	10,320.0	10,390.0	10,442.4	102.0	102.5	97.0	97.5	5.0	5.0	39.0	27.8
Spain	39,114.2	39,168.2	39,169.6	388.7	361.3	339.2	336.9	49.5	24.4	4.5 ²	28.2
France	57,526.6 ²	57,800.1	58,027.8	710.3	709.5	530.1	520.0	180.2	189.5	90.0	58.5
Ireland	3,556.5	3,571.0	3,576.6	48.9	48.0	31.0	30.8	17.9	17.2	-6.0	-9.6
Italy ³	56,932.7	57,153.7	57,247.5	537.5	544.5	541.2	553.5	-3.7	-9.0	194.0	118.0
Luxemburg	395.2	400.9	406.6	5.4	5.5	3.9	3.8	1.5	1.7	4.2	4.0
Netherlands ⁴	15,238.9	15,341.3	15,422.8	195.7	195.6	137.8	133.3	57.9	62.3	59.7	19.0
Austria	7,909.6	8,005.9	8,039.9	95.3	92.4	82.5	80.7	12.8	11.7	32.0 ²	13.1
Portugal	9,850.3	9,868.0	9,912.1	114.0	109.2	106.4	99.2	7.6	10.0	0.8	14.6
Finland	5,055.0	5,077.9	5,098.8	65.0	65.2	51.0	48.0	14.0	17.2	9.1	3.6
Sweden	8,692.0	8,745.1	8,816.4	117.8	112.2	97.0	91.8	20.8	20.4	31.9	50.9
United Kingdom	57,959.0	58,276.0	58,276.0	761.7	761.7	657.9	657.9	103.8	103.8	73.2	73.2
EC members	368,413.0	370,448.3	372,108.0 ⁹	4,124.7	4,124.7	3,735.8	3,735.8	388.9	388.9	1,036.4	1,036.4
Iceland	262.4	266.9	266.9	4.6 ¹⁰	4.4	1.7 ¹⁰	1.8	2.6	2.6	-0.3 ¹⁰	-0.8
Norway	4,299.2	4,324.8	4,384.4	59.7	60.1	46.1	44.1	13.6	16.0	12.5	7.6
Switzerland ¹	6,908.0	6,968.6	7,021.2	83.7	83.0	62.4 ¹⁰	61.9	21.3	21.1	37.6	31.6
Leichtenstein	29.9	30.5	30.6	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
EFTA ¹	11,499.5	11,703.1	11,703.1	148.4	147.9	110.4	108.0	38.9	39.9	38.6	38.6
EEA ¹	379,912.5	383,811.1 ⁹	383,811.1 ⁹	4,273.1	4,273.1	3,846.2	3,846.2	388.9	388.9	1,036.4	1,036.4
Canada	28,740.7	29,108.3	29,413.1	388.4	386.4	204.9	211.5	183.5	174.9	211.2	171.9
United States	256,899.0	259,681.0	261,638.0	4,039.0	3,949.0	2,268.0	2,294.0	1,771.0	1,655.0	894.0	736.0
Mexico	..	89,209.8	90,812.7 ⁶	2,360.8	2,306.1	453.9	417.9	1,906.9	1,888.2	-318.2	-285.3
North America	..	377,999.1	381,863.8	6,788.2	6,641.5	2,926.8	2,923.4	3,861.4	3,718.1	..	..
Australia	17,568.7	17,746.6	17,938.5	260.2	258.2	121.6	126.7	138.6	131.5	33.9	61.9
New Zealand	3,485.4	3,524.8	3,577.2	58.9	57.4	27.2	27.1	31.7	30.3	8.7	22.0
Japan	124,400.0	124,683.6	125,000.0	1,188.3	1,238.3	878.0	875.9	310.3	362.4	26.5 ⁷	11.6 ⁷

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 4. Numbers and Main Demographic Indicators for the Industrialized Countries, 1993 and 1994 - Continued

Country	Total Growth Rate ⁸ (per 1,000)		Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births)		Life Expectancy ⁵		Total Fertility Rate	
	1993	1994	1993	1994	1994	1994	1993	1994
Belgium	3.2	3.0	8.0	7.6	73.0 ¹⁰	79.8 ¹⁰	1.61 ²	1.55 ²
Denmark	3.1	3.7	6.6 ¹⁰	5.5	72.5 ¹⁰	77.8 ¹⁰	1.75 ²	1.81
Germany	4.7	2.6	5.8	5.6	73.3	79.6	1.30	1.26
Greece	4.2	3.1	8.3	8.3	74.9 ¹⁰	79.9 ¹⁰	1.38	1.38
Spain	1.4	1.3	7.6	7.2	73.3 ¹⁰	80.9 ¹⁰	1.24	1.22
France	4.7	4.3	6.4	••	73.6 ¹⁰	81.8	1.65	1.66
Ireland	3.1	2.1	6.7 ¹⁰	5.9	72.3 ¹⁰	77.9 ¹⁰	2.03 ¹⁰	1.86
Italy ³	3.4	1.9	7.4	6.5	74.7	81.2	1.21	1.19
Luxembourg ⁴	14.3	14.1	8.5 ¹⁰	5.3	72.6 ¹⁰	79.1 ¹⁰	1.70 ²	1.72 ²
Netherlands ⁴	6.7	5.3	6.2	5.6	74.0 ¹⁰	80.0 ¹⁰	1.57	1.56 ²
Austria	5.6	3.1	6.5	6.3	73.3	79.7	1.51	1.45
Portugal	0.9	2.5	8.7	••	71.2	78.2	1.53 ²	1.44
Finland	4.5	4.1	4.4	4.7	72.1	79.5 ¹⁰	1.82	1.85
Sweden	6.1	8.1	5.5 ¹⁰	4.9	76.1 ¹⁰	81.3	2.00	1.89
United Kingdom	3.2	••	6.6	6.2	73.6 ¹⁰	78.9 ¹⁰	1.82 ²	1.74
EC members	3.7	4.5	6.7 ²	6.2 ²	••	••	1.44 ²	1.45 ²
Iceland	10.2	6.9	4.8	••	76.9	80.7	2.21 ¹⁰	2.11
Norway	5.9	5.4	5.8 ¹⁰	5.2	74.9	80.6	1.82 ²	1.87
Switzerland ¹	8.7	7.5	5.6	5.1	75.1	81.6	1.48 ²	1.49
Leichtenstein	19.8	10.5	10.7 ¹⁰	2.4	••	••	••	••
EFTA ¹	••	••	••	••	••	••	••	••
EEA ¹	3.9	3.0	6.6 ²	6.2 ²	••	••	1.50 ²	1.46 ²
Canada	12.7	10.4	6.3	••	75.0 ¹⁰	81.2 ¹⁰	1.66	••
United States	10.8 ⁶	7.5 ⁶	8.3	7.9	72.1 ¹⁰	78.9 ¹¹	2.07	2.04
Mexico	18.0	18.0	33.7	30.3	69.4 ¹¹	75.8	3.08	2.90
North America	••	••	••	••	••	••	••	••
Australia	10.1 ⁶	10.8 ⁶	6.1	5.8	75.0 ¹⁰	80.9 ¹⁰	1.87	••
New Zealand	11.3 ⁶	14.9 ⁶	7.2	7.1	73.1	78.9	2.10 ¹⁰	2.04
Japan	2.3 ⁶	2.5 ⁶	4.3	4.2	76.6	83.0	1.50	1.50

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 4. Numbers and Main Demographic Indicators for the Industrialized Countries, 1993 and 1994 - End

Country	Marriages (in thousands)		Rate (per 1,000)		Divorces (in thousands)		Rate (per 1,000)		Births Out of Wedlock (per 100 births)
	1993	1994	1993	1994	1993	1994	1993	1994	1993
Belgium	54.2	52.0	5.4	5.1	21.6	22.0	2.1	2.2	**
Denmark	30.5	35.4	5.9	6.8	12.6	13.7	2.4	2.6	46.8
Germany	441.3	439.6	5.4	5.4	156.7	**	1.9	**	14.8
Greece	61.0	59.0	5.9	6.7	7.2	7.0	0.7	0.7	2.8
Spain	201.7	196.4	5.2	5.0	28.9	**	0.7	**	**
France	253.3	253.5	4.4 ¹⁰	4.4	111.0	**	1.9	**	34.9
Ireland	16.1 ¹⁰	16.3	4.5	4.6	**	**	**	**	19.5
Italy ³	292.2	287.3	5.1	5.0	23.9	**	0.4 ¹⁰	**	7.2
Luxembourg	2.4	2.4	6.0	5.8	0.7 ¹⁰	0.7	1.8	1.7	12.9
Netherlands ⁴	88.3	82.9	5.8	5.4	30.6	36.7	2.0	2.4	13.1
Austria	45.0	43.3	5.6	5.4	16.4	17.6	2.1	2.2	26.3
Portugal	68.2	60.0	6.9	6.7	12.1	**	1.2	**	16.9
Finland	23.7	24.9	4.7	4.9	12.3	13.8	2.4	2.7	30.3
Sweden	33.9	33.9	3.9	3.9	21.7	22.1	2.5	2.5	50.4
United Kingdom	**	**	**	**	180.0	**	3.1	**	31.7
EC members	**	**	5.3 ²	5.2 ²	**	**	1.7	**	**
Iceland	1.2 ¹⁰	1.3	4.7 ¹⁰	4.9	0.5 ¹⁰	0.5	2.0 ¹⁰	1.8	58.3
Norway	19.3 ¹⁰	20.6	4.5	4.8	10.2 ¹⁰	10.9	2.4 ¹⁰	2.5	44.4
Switzerland ¹	42.9	42.4	6.2 ⁶	6.1	15.1	15.6	2.2 ⁶	2.2	6.3
Leichtenstein	0.2	0.2	6.3 ¹⁰	6.9	**	-	**	1.3	**
EFTA¹	234.4	226.6	**	**	268.3	80.5	**	**	**
EEA¹	**	**	5.2²	5.2²	**	**	1.7²	**	**
Canada	159.3	**	5.5	**	78.2	**	2.7	**	35.3
United States	2,334.0	2,362.0	9.0	9.1	1,187.0	1,191.0	4.6	4.6	**
Mexico	679.9	**	7.7	**	38.4	**	0.4	**	**
North America	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
Australia	113.3	111.2	6.4	5.8	48.3	48.3	2.7	2.7	**
New Zealand	22.0	21.9	6.3	6.2	9.1	9.2	2.6	2.6	**
Japan	792.6	782.7	6.4	6.3	179.2	195.1	1.4	1.6	**

¹ Switzerland ceased to be a member of EFTA and the EEA in 1992. It is included here to permit comparisons with previous data for major groups. ² Eurostat estimates. ³ Resident population. ⁴ Includes administrative corrections. ⁵ In years and tenths of a year. ⁶ Calculations by author. ⁷ Legal entries minus legal exits. ⁸ Growth rates are furnished by the countries. If they are not consistent with the populations as of January 1 in the two successive years, it is presumably because the population estimates for the preceding year were corrected after the information was furnished. ⁹ The maximum situation, attributing a population of 59 million to the United Kingdom. ¹⁰ 1992. ¹¹ 1993.

Note: EFTA: European Free Trade Association. EEA: European Economic Area. EC: European Community.

Sources: Europe: Eurostat. Switzerland: Data obtained directly from Geneva. Canada: Statistics Canada. United States: Census Bureau and NCHS (National Centre for Health Statistics). Mexico: Data obtained from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática. Australia: Data furnished by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. New Zealand: Data furnished by the Department of Statistics. Japan: Statistical Standards Department.

and Sweden. This situation was worsened by a rate of natural increase that was also down in almost all European countries. Estimated for the EC at 1.6 per 1,000 in 1992, it was calculated at 0.9 in 1994 by Eurostat³.

Natural increase is declining because births continue to decline in most countries along with fertility, measured as a period rate. In 1994, the *total fertility rate was at its lowest in Italy at 1.19 children per woman and little higher in Spain with 1.22*. The highest rate was recorded in Sweden although even there it was noticeably lower at 1.89 after reaching 2.09 in 1992. The rise in this rate from a very low level, which had surprised many observers in the early 1990s, was quite conveniently explained by the approach of a stabilization in the postponement of fertility in cohorts. The downward movement observed at relatively high levels no doubt belongs to the inevitable fluctuations after the transition, aggravated by the difficult economic situation.

Today's low rates in southern Europe doubtless originate in changes in the timing of fertility. This change has occurred about 20 years after that which affected northern Europe. They result from the fact that older adults, after adopting contraception late, are reducing the number of children they would have had while young adults are putting off the formation of a family to a later date. Contrary to what some analysts have written, it is unlikely that this represents a new model of fertility. It seems more likely that what is being observed is one of those classic changes which mislead the observer. All the same, this low level of fertility is causing the number of births to fall and, despite a long life expectancy, the number of deaths stays unchanged. As a result, the natural increase for Italy becomes negative for the second year in a row (1993: -3,700, 1994: -9,000).

The world views reflected by marital behaviour such as the marriage rate, the divorce rate, recourse to the voluntary interruption of pregnancy, and childbearing outside marriage, differ widely from country to country and do not, as one might be tempted to believe, form a uniform pattern. Italy, for example, which has the lowest European fertility rate, has an average marriage rate of 5.0 per 1,000 in 1994 and the lowest divorce rate at 0.4 per 1,000 in 1993. Sweden, on the other hand, with the highest total fertility, has the lowest marriage rate (3.9 per 1,000) and one of the highest divorce rates (2.5 per 1,000).

The widest variations are seen in the proportions of births outside marriage: from nearly 60% in Iceland where the marriage rate at 4.9 per 1,000 is not one of the lowest, to 3% in Greece. Austria, which has a marriage rate which is not especially low (5.4 per 1,000) has 26% of births outside marriage.

³Eurostat (1995). *The population of the European Community as of January 1, 1995*. Table 1.

Mortality

The number of deaths continues to decline and, estimating the level for countries for which data are not available, a crude death rate of 10 per 1,000 in 1994 can be determined for the European Community, down three tenths of a point from 1993. By showing an increase of deaths, Italy appears to be an exception. Although its life expectancy turns out to be among the highest (Table 4). The decline in infant mortality reported last year as remarkable has continued; from 6.5 per 1,000 in 1994 it now stands at 6.2 per 1,000 for the Community as a whole, a tenth of a point lower than Canada's 1993 rate. But breaking this down by country, Canada ranks after Denmark (5.5), Germany (5.6), Ireland (5.9), Luxembourg (5.3), the Netherlands (5.6), Finland (4.7), Sweden (4.9), the United Kingdom (6.2), Iceland (4.8) and Norway (5.2). It is worth asking how these countries have succeeded in reducing their rates so drastically and quickly. Since these levels are also considerably lower than the rates observed almost worldwide to date, speculation turns to measures allowing infants about to be born every chance of survival.

THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The most recent demographic indicators for the former Eastern Europe do not add much information to the comments made in the 1994 report. What does seem clear is that the demographic behaviour of these populations is tending over the years to move closer to the western European and North American models. Most countries have recorded lower marriage rates, higher divorce rates and more births outside marriage, indicating an increase in common-law unions.

Two essential differences should be noted, however: lower life expectancies than in the west and a very high recourse to the voluntary interruption of pregnancy. Where in Canada there were 27 voluntary interruptions of pregnancy for 100 births, the rates range from 45 in the former East Germany to 250 in Romania.

East Germany stands out by virtue of indices that leave one puzzled. *The fertility rate seems since 1991 to have reached extremely low levels: 0.98 in 1991, 0.83 in 1992 and 0.77 in 1993.* At this rate, two women out of three would not have a daughter to take their place in the next generation. As for nuptiality, it also appears to be slowing down. The total rates for 1992 were 290 for men and women.

WHAT ABOUT MEXICO?

Part II of the 1993 report on the demographic situation gave a description of the Mexican population, based mainly on figures available in the late 1980s.

The challenges facing this population to achieve the objectives set by the government for the year 2000 were noted. The main challenge was and remains to reduce population growth, which hinders economic progress. Since this growth depends entirely on natural increase, the whole problem lies in controlling fertility. In the light of recent developments, it appeared unlikely that Mexico could reduce its birth rate sufficiently in the short time frame set by the government. Recently, however, in July 1995, the federal government published a new national population program for the period 1995-2000⁴. The introduction includes an analysis of recent trends that confirms and updates the analysis in the 1993 Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada.

This new and more realistic program no longer speaks of 1% growth by the year 2000, which was the objective set by the 1977 national plan. Population growth, estimated at 1.6% in 1995, might reach the target 1.0% around 2018 and fall to nil beyond the limit of the projection, 2030. By that time the country will have grown well beyond 130 million population, provided sustained efforts are made to reduce fertility further. Between 1960 and 1974 fertility dropped from 7 children per woman to 2.9, but this rate of decrease has not been successfully maintained over the past 10 years. After a spectacular beginning, as was predicted, many obstacles arose to a continued decline, and these were difficult to overcome. Among the points mentioned in the program as being essential to give new momentum to the process are:

- improvement in the level of education, particularly for rural populations, which are declining only slowly despite high emigration since the birth rate remains high;
- the cost of contraception itself for individuals and that of campaigns to promote it for the government;
- raising the age at marriage to decrease the fertile life-span of married women;
- an increase in the participation of women in the labour market.

The program is well structured, very detailed, and takes into account the very large number of aspects of demographic and economic development. The question that remains is whether it can be carried out, because the attendant costs, although unknown, are no doubt very high, and the country is in a difficult economic situation.

THE MARRIAGE RATE

In Canada as in almost all other parts of the western world, marriage as it has been known for centuries, if not for millennia, continues to decline.

⁴Programma Nacional de Poblacion 1995-2000. Poder Ejecutivo Federal.

Table 5. Marriages, First Marriages and Remarriages, Canada, 1967-1993

Year	Number of Marriages	Number of First Marriages		Number and Proportion of Marriages in which at least one Spouse has been Previously Married		Number and Proportion of Remarriages in which both Spouses had been Previously Married	
		Males	Females	Number	%	Number	%
1967	165,879	151,883	151,488	20,417	12.3	7,970	39.0
1968	171,766	157,309	156,783	21,133	12.3	8,307	39.3
1969	182,183	162,853	162,690	27,494	15.1	11,329	41.2
1970	188,428	167,267	167,421	29,975	15.9	12,193	40.7
1971	191,324	168,944	169,072	31,698	16.6	12,934	40.8
1972	200,470	176,537	177,155	33,582	16.8	13,666	40.7
1973	199,064	173,355	174,135	36,047	18.1	14,591	40.5
1974	198,824	170,678	172,107	39,063	19.6	15,800	40.4
1975	197,585	167,022	168,817	42,300	21.4	17,031	40.3
1976	186,844	155,679	157,412	43,098	23.1	17,499	40.6
1977	187,344	154,906	156,854	44,750	23.9	18,178	40.6
1978	185,523	151,884	154,016	46,254	24.9	18,892	40.8
1979	187,811	152,731	154,982	48,309	25.7	19,600	40.6
1980	191,069	154,138	156,918	50,600	26.5	20,422	40.4
1981	190,082	151,978	154,506	52,340	27.5	21,340	40.8
1982	188,360	149,419	152,825	52,979	28.1	21,438	40.5
1983	184,675	144,960	147,968	53,342	28.9	22,080	41.4
1984	185,597	144,674	147,907	55,436	29.9	23,177	41.8
1985	184,096	144,009	146,718	54,632	29.7	22,833	41.8
1986	175,518	137,665	138,523	52,678	30.0	22,170	42.1
1987	182,151	138,454	139,324	60,106	33.0	26,529	44.1
1988	187,728	142,956	143,943	61,665	32.8	26,892	43.6
1989	190,640	145,733	146,242	62,276	32.7	27,029	43.4
1990	187,737	143,637	145,350	60,393	32.2	26,094	43.2
1991	172,251	131,996	133,576	55,578	32.3	23,644	42.5
1992	164,573	125,505	126,955	53,547	32.5	23,139	43.2
1993	159,316	121,104	122,479	52,405	32.9	22,644	43.2

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Marriages*, Catalogue No. 84-212 and unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 6. Percentage of Population Married by Sex and Age Group, Canada, 1951 and 1991

Age Group	1951		1991	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
15-19	1.0	7.9	0.5	1.4
20-24	25.5	51.2	9.0	20.7
25-29	64.6	78.5	39.3	54.1
30-34	79.9	84.4	61.8	68.8
35-39	84.2	84.8	72.1	74.1
40-44	85.2	83.2	77.5	76.2
45-49	84.6	81.2	80.0	76.6
50-54	83.7	77.6	81.7	76.8
55-59	82.8	72.7	82.5	74.6
60-64	80.1	65.5	82.2	68.9
65 +	65.7	41.6	76.1	42.0
Total	44.3	45.1	45.6	44.5

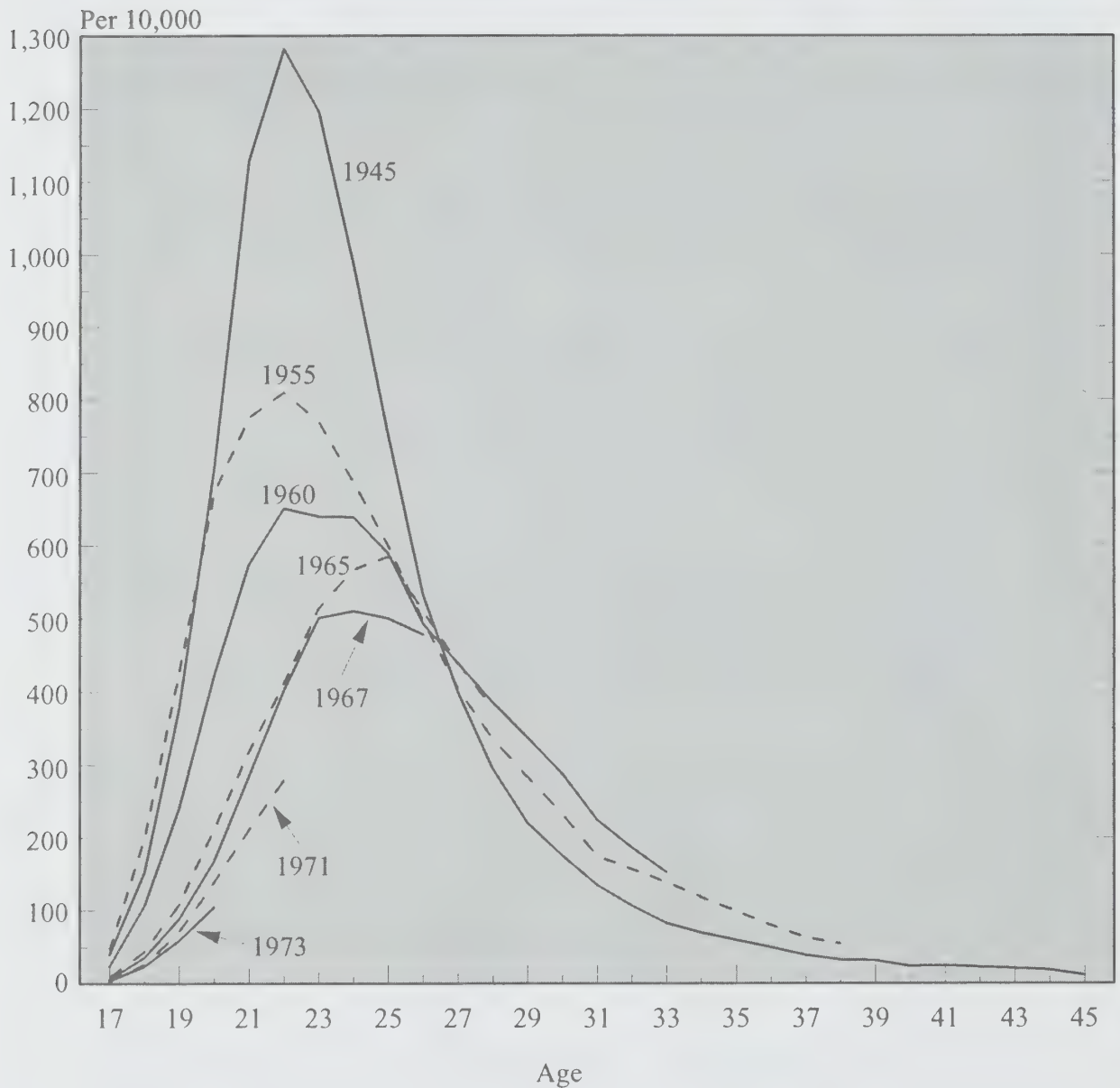
Sources: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada, 1951, *Population*, Volume II and 1991, *Age, Sex and Marital Status*, Catalogue No. 93-310 and calculations by the author.

This institution, which legitimized the union between a man and a woman by a legal, public act comporting various rules, has up till now been fundamental to western and other civilizations. It seems to have given way, remarkably quickly, to the common-law union, discreet and private, neither the beginning nor end of which is represented by a vital-statistics event that could be included in the demographic accounts.

The number of marriages in Canada peaked in 1972 at around 200,500. After a decline, there had been a strong increase in the late 1960s due to the massive arrival of the first baby-boom cohorts at the normal marrying age. Subsequent brief upturns merely moderated the downward trend, which resulted in fewer marriages being registered in 1993 than 25 years earlier although the population had increased by almost 30% during this time.

For the fourth consecutive year in 1993, the number of marriages in Canada decreased, to 159,316 (Table A2, Appendix), a drop of 16.4% in 4 years, involving both first marriages and remarriages. The decline in the number of first marriages after 1972 was much more pronounced, earlier and more constant, however, than the drop in the total number of marriages. The reason is obviously that the number of remarriages increased over the period as a result of more liberal divorce laws which increased the number of persons available for remarriage. The number of marriages in which at

Figure 2A. Age-Specific First Marriage Rates for Recent Cohorts, Males, Canada

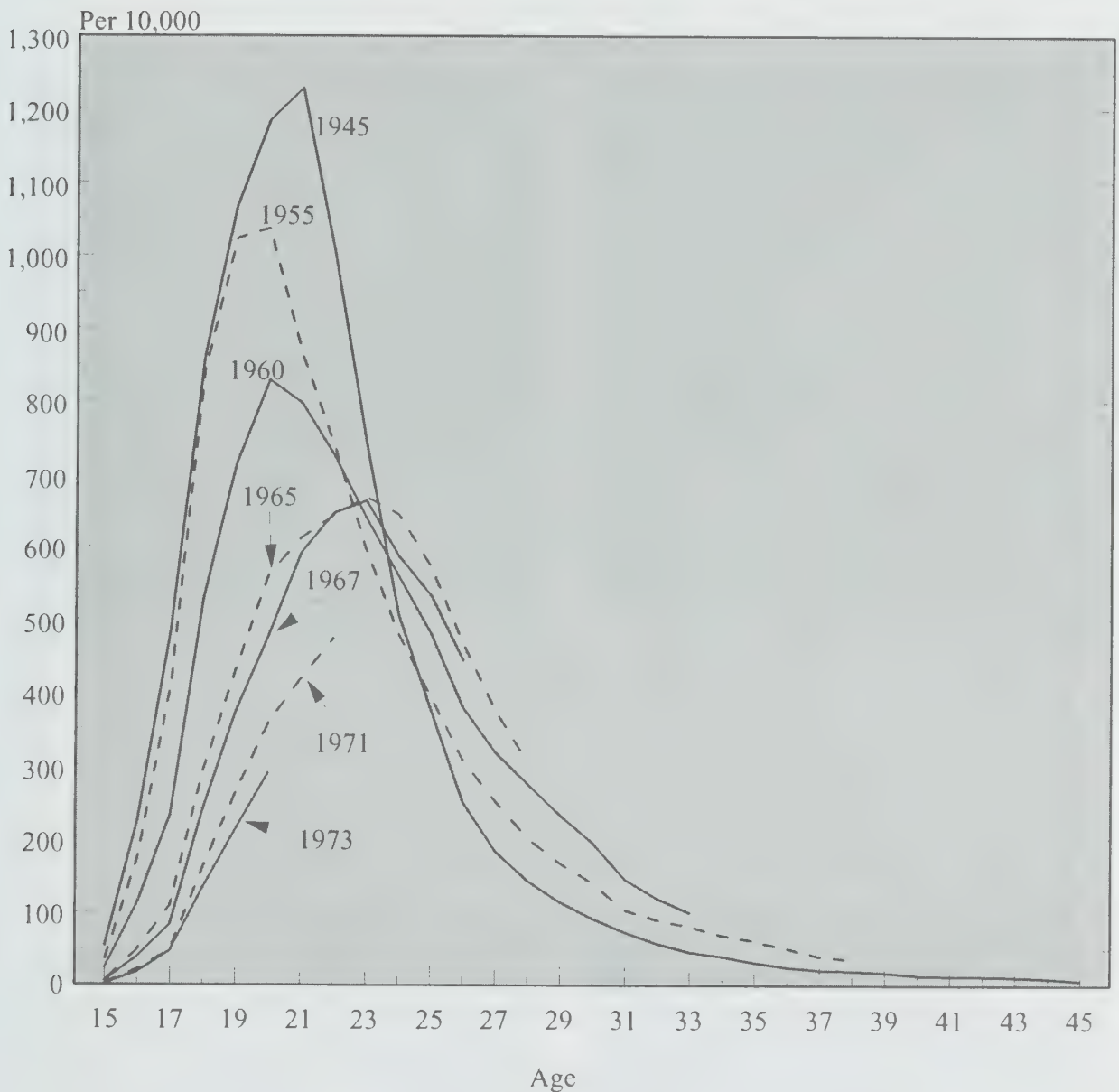


Source: Table A3.1.

least one spouse had already been married stood at 20,400 in 1967, peaked at 62,300 in 1989, and then fell to 52,405 in 1993 (Table 5). In relative terms, these marriages represented an eighth of all marriages in 1967, and approximately a third since 1986.

Since the age structure of the population can affect the number of marriages without having an influence on the marriage rate, examining the age-specific indices gives a better idea of trends, even though, since these are total rates, they reflect the strength of nuptiality in the recent past. Tables

Figure 2B. Age-Specific First Marriage Rates for Recent Cohorts, Females, Canada

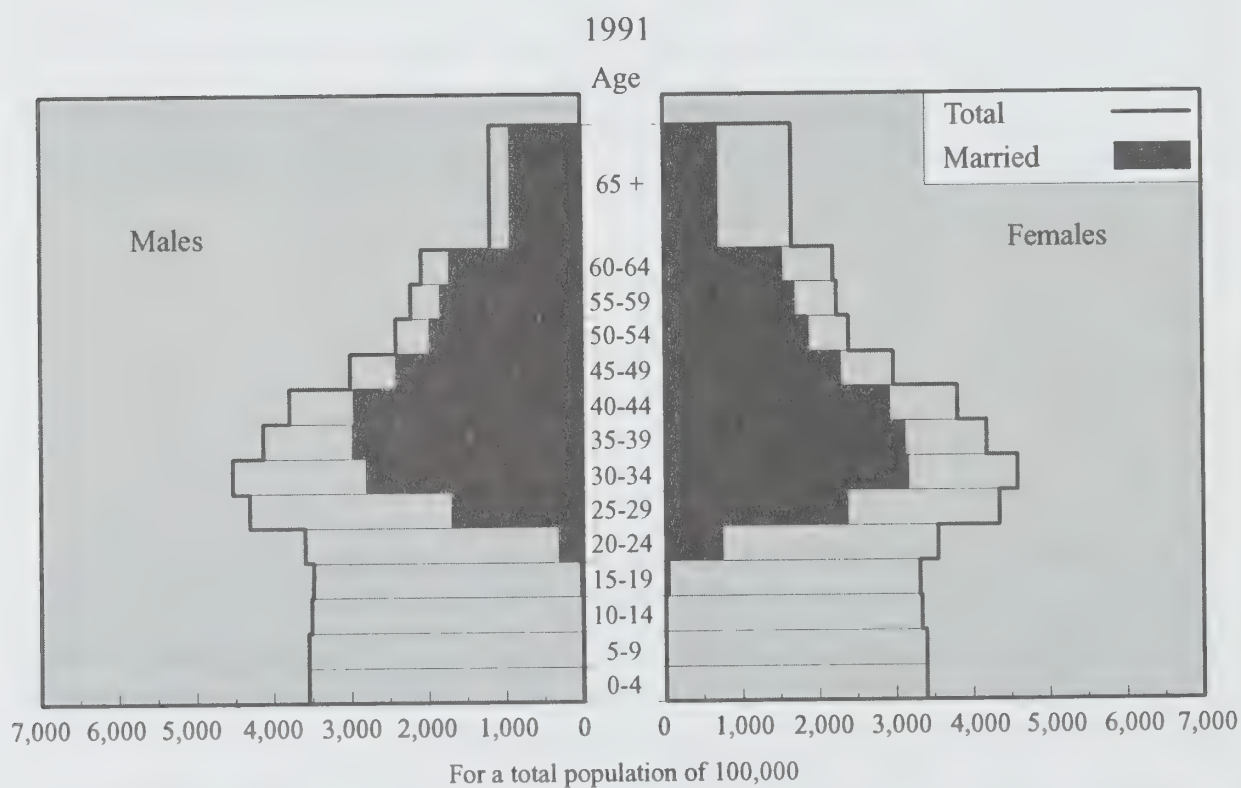
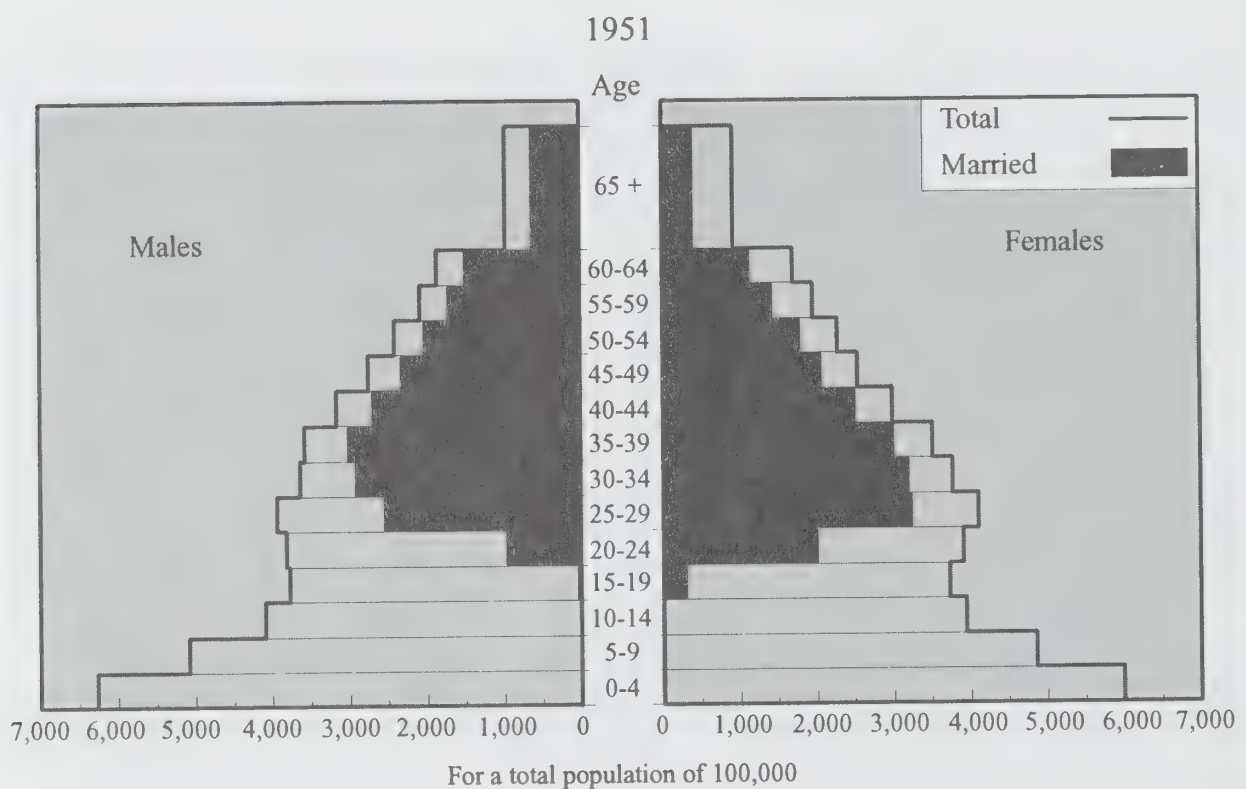


Source: Table A3.2.

A3.1 and A3.2 in the Appendix show a further decline in these rates until around age 28 for women and the 30s for men. This decrease is far from being offset by the slight increase in late marriages. The weakening of interest in this institution is confirmed by cohort behaviour. The surface under the curve in Figures 2A and 2B is decreasing steadily.

This delay in marrying, which for a significant number of individuals becomes a failure to marry at all, has an effect on the picture censuses give of our society. The comparison between the 1951 and 1991 censuses is

Figure 3. Age Pyramids Comparing the Married Population to the Total Population, Canada, 1951 and 1991



Sources: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada, 1951, *Population*, Volume II and 1991, *Age, Sex and Marital Status*, Catalogue No. 93-310 and calculations by the author.

Table 7. Total First Marriage Rate, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1987-1993 (per 1,000)¹

	1987		1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Newfoundland	592	576	626	628	664	669	644	658	597	611	547	571	531	553
Prince Edward Island	668	686	728	739	798	807	768	766	717	724	675	688	703	714
Nova Scotia	614	653	637	680	640	685	610	649	568	600	544	579	532	565
New Brunswick	589	617	644	675	639	680	624	659	574	599	544	573	525	553
Quebec	413	436	425	453	424	455	408	459	377	425	333	376	324	365
Ontario	619	669	635	690	647	697	653	698	606	646	579	623	553	595
Manitoba	614	662	617	669	624	679	637	690	592	647	594	642	579	625
Saskatchewan	589	632	600	647	625	677	613	665	613	651	601	633	609	639
Alberta	558	610	590	642	621	665	625	673	590	635	580	622	582	620
British Columbia	597	638	633	684	641	693	638	694	599	651	592	631	576	612
Yukon	445	476	525	623	497	558	518	591	465	514	538	565	403	465
Northwest Territories	299	345	302	314	301	326	313	327	285	308	270	291	280	309
CANADA	554	594	574	620	585	630	582	631	543	588	518	561	504	544
CANADA LESS QUEBEC	603	648	626	676	640	688	641	687	599	640	579	620	562	600

¹ Males aged 17 to 49 and females aged 15 to 49.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Year	Number of Marriages per Calendar Year	Marriage Cohort	Cohort Marriages	Marriage Duration																									Year of Obser- vation	T.D.R. ¹
				0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24			25
1969	182,183	1968-69	176,975	3	22	53	83	122	158	182	184	171	165	160	153	148	146	133	112	103	121	139	118	106	98	90	81	80		
1970	188,428	1969-70	185,306	3	25	55	92	151	177	192	192	176	174	165	163	159	139	127	112	121	147	118	113	100	96	87	77			
1971	191,324	1970-71	189,876	4	28	61	106	161	186	189	191	184	180	173	166	151	132	115	129	151	121	113	101	96	93	86				
1972	200,490	1971-72	195,907	4	33	74	117	174	193	196	197	191	188	186	169	145	126	145	159	131	122	111	100	98	78					
1973	199,064	1972-73	199,777	5	36	83	129	181	203	212	211	206	204	180	155	135	152	175	138	126	111	103	99	101						
1974	198,824	1973-74	198,944	5	44	94	136	184	213	227	229	218	189	168	146	160	184	149	129	111	109	107	98							
1975	197,585	1974-75	198,205	6	52	104	147	199	225	242	234	214	185	163	172	197	150	139	130	111	111	104								
1976	193,343	1975-76	195,464	8	59	111	161	217	251	246	227	194	165	195	207	165	152	131	121	116	105									
1977	187,344	1976-77	190,344	8	63	116	162	227	250	240	208	180	200	225	181	158	143	127	117	123										
1978	185,523	1977-78	186,434	7	65	123	175	235	250	221	200	230	248	196	175	155	137	133	117											
1979	187,811	1978-79	186,667	8	58	132	185	226	226	211	252	274	211	185	164	152	141	129												
1980	191,069	1979-80	189,440	7	65	135	176	206	210	268	297	227	207	184	169	152	132													
1981	190,082	1980-81	190,576	8	71	133	154	190	269	316	250	218	189	181	162	163														
1982	188,360	1981-82	189,221	9	65	118	144	260	326	263	232	216	193	181	165															
1983	184,675	1982-83	186,518	8	64	109	209	322	273	247	219	201	184	173																
1984	185,597	1983-84	185,136	8	63	150	270	263	253	237	213	208	172																	
1985	184,096	1984-85	184,847	8	72	212	249	260	251	231	221	219																		
1986	175,518	1985-86	179,807	10	103	217	265	263	248	240	224																			
1987	182,151	1986-87	178,835	20	106	216	251	259	253	240																				
1988	187,728	1987-88	184,940	19	106	214	252	261	227																					
1989	190,640	1988-89	189,184	19	109	210	267	291																						
1990	187,738	1989-90	189,189	17	110	233	275																							
1991	172,251	1990-91	179,994	19	118	231																								
1992	164,573	1991-92	168,412	21	114																									
1993	159,316	1992-93	161,945	24																										

¹ Total Divorce Rate.

Note: Rates after 1980 have been revised.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

remarkable (Table 6). In the 20-24 age group, one man out of four was married, while today it is one out of eleven. For women, who marry younger, one out of two were married in 1951, and 40 years later only one out of five. As proof that the delay does often become a failure to marry, older age groups also show very different proportions between these two dates. In the group of men 40-44, the proportion fell from 85.2% in 1951 to 77.5% in 1991, and in the group of women 35-39, from 84.8% to 74.1%. Figure 3 and Table 6 show changes for all age groups. It must also be borne in mind that Canadian statistics aggregate those of 12 quite different provinces or territories. Quebec in particular has certainly seen the most impressive changes, since its total first marriage rate (Table 7) for 1993 was 324 per 1,000 for men and 365 per 1,000 for women, which is considerably lower than the rates for the rest of Canada (562 and 600 per 1,000).

1992 AND 1993 DIVORCES

Detailed divorce statistics for 1992 were not yet available when the 1994 report was prepared. This delay, caused by verification of the figures for recent years, has been remedied, and the 1992 and 1993 figures are now available. Changes to figures published previously were discussed in the 1994 report.

The number of divorces increased by about 2,000 in 1992, the first increase since 1987, to reach 79,000 (Table A4, Appendix). It should be noted that the increase recorded in 1992 is basically the result of an increase of 2,800 divorces in Ontario, 10.0% more than the previous year, which is not out of line with the increase of 2.6% for Canada as a whole. The strong increase observed in Ontario goes against the recent trend, since the number of divorces had decreased proportionally more rapidly since 1990 in that province than in the rest of the country. It probably represents a problem of accounting rather than a change in divorce. Apart from Ontario, Quebec (-579), Alberta (-171) and Manitoba (-133) showed falls of more than 100 in the number of divorces for that year.

In 1993, there were 78,227 divorces, a decrease of 807 from the previous year (-1.0%). Once again, the annual variation was greatest in Ontario with 1,560 fewer divorces (-5.1%). While the number of divorces increased by 458 in British Columbia (4.4%) and 395 in Alberta (4.8%), it remained stable in all other provinces. In short, there appears to have been a *stabilization in the number of divorces in Canada since 1989*. A variation in one direction observed in one province is offset by a variation in the other direction, either in other provinces the same year or in the same province the following year. These annual positive or negative variations, either at the provincial or national level, do not appear to be due to changes in individual behaviour but rather to result from the operation of the court system. It is necessary to recall that divorce is under federal jurisdiction and the courts function independently.

Table 9. Distribution of Duration-Specific Divorces by Duration of Marriage, Canada, 1980-1993 (in percent)

Year	Duration of Marriage (years)					Average Duration
	0-5	6-9	10-14	15-19	20-25	
1980	24.2	24.7	21.6	15.8	13.7	11.5
1981	24.3	24.5	21.4	15.8	14.0	11.5
1982	24.2	24.7	21.7	15.6	13.8	11.5
1983	24.4	24.7	22.0	15.7	13.3	11.4
1984	23.5	24.4	22.0	15.9	14.2	11.6
1985	23.3	24.2	22.0	16.0	14.5	11.6
1986	24.8	24.3	21.1	15.3	14.5	11.5
1987	26.2	23.7	20.6	15.2	14.3	11.4
1988	27.2	23.0	20.3	15.1	14.4	11.3
1989	28.0	22.6	20.3	15.1	14.0	11.2
1990	28.8	22.4	20.2	14.7	13.9	11.1
1991	29.2	22.3	20.4	14.5	13.7	11.0
1992	30.0	22.2	20.0	14.3	13.4	10.9
1993	30.5	22.4	20.0	14.4	12.7	10.8

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division and calculations by the author.

Intensity and Duration

The small annual variations in the number of divorces are reflected in the stability of the total divorce rate. The gap between the minimum and maximum levels of this rate from 1990 to 1993 was only 78 divorces per 10,000 marriages (Table 8). The recent stability in the intensity of the phenomenon is in contrast to the almost constant increase in the divorce rate since liberalization of divorce in 1969, and particularly with the short-lived upswing due to changes to the law in 1985. The declining number of marriages inevitably results in fewer divorces, especially as these occur relatively soon after marriage.

The trend towards concentration of divorces at short marriage durations continued despite stabilization in the intensity of the phenomenon: 30.5% of those divorced in 1993 had been married for 5 years at most, while the corresponding percentage was 28.8% in 1990 and 24.2% in 1980 (Table 9). *Not only are marriages fewer and later, but they are less and less lasting.*

Table 10. Age-Specific Fertility and Total Fertility Rates by Birth Order and Age of Mother for Quebec and the Rest of Canada¹, 1982-1993

Birth Order	Year	15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		Total Fertility Rate		
		Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Canada
1	1982	12.88	24.96	52.32	53.12	49.22	48.00	15.66	18.01	3.52	3.94	0.47	0.52	0.6704	0.7428	0.7231
	1983	12.47	23.31	51.46	51.94	49.77	48.84	16.08	19.40	3.71	4.57	0.46	0.51	0.6697	0.7429	0.7232
	1984	12.39	22.56	48.69	49.46	49.66	49.14	15.96	20.46	3.91	4.74	0.53	0.54	0.6558	0.7345	0.7136
	1985	12.48	21.57	46.94	47.02	49.93	49.11	16.81	20.74	3.95	4.71	0.47	0.56	0.6529	0.7185	0.7014
	1986	12.97	21.08	46.82	45.67	49.60	48.18	17.41	20.48	4.42	5.03	0.49	0.66	0.6586	0.7055	0.6935
	1987	13.43	20.40	45.37	43.84	50.71	47.49	18.44	20.84	4.45	5.40	0.65	0.72	0.6653	0.6934	0.6864
	1988	13.90	20.76	48.22	43.94	53.93	49.52	19.22	22.13	4.71	6.05	0.69	0.77	0.7033	0.7158	0.7129
	1989	14.86	22.16	50.75	45.02	57.70	50.16	21.45	23.51	5.19	6.28	0.64	0.85	0.7529	0.7399	0.7435
	1990	15.66	22.83	53.08	45.04	60.44	52.55	23.54	25.16	5.64	6.88	0.66	0.89	0.7951	0.7667	0.7739
	1991	14.93	23.55	52.24	43.64	61.30	50.77	24.27	24.92	6.22	7.00	0.73	0.90	0.7984	0.7539	0.7647
	1992	15.05	22.74	48.66	41.64	59.87	50.61	24.68	25.82	6.09	7.30	0.78	0.99	0.7756	0.7455	0.7524
	1993	14.61	22.06	47.00	40.66	55.80	49.54	24.46	26.67	6.25	7.67	0.86	1.10	0.7449	0.7386	0.7393
2	1982	1.59	4.49	22.56	30.69	49.00	46.16	25.62	26.27	5.76	6.18	0.60	0.64	0.5257	0.5721	0.5594
	1983	1.54	4.29	21.88	30.07	47.39	46.29	25.03	27.57	5.29	6.66	0.61	0.76	0.5087	0.5782	0.5593
	1984	1.59	4.18	21.58	29.56	48.53	47.31	26.52	28.77	5.69	7.38	0.61	0.71	0.5226	0.5895	0.5716
	1985	1.63	4.08	20.53	28.43	47.13	47.66	26.02	29.77	5.77	7.72	0.58	0.79	0.5083	0.5922	0.5699
	1986	1.65	3.86	18.73	27.07	45.90	47.41	25.03	30.54	5.71	8.16	0.67	0.81	0.4885	0.5893	0.5626
	1987	1.86	4.02	19.12	25.80	43.87	46.43	25.36	31.19	6.05	8.78	0.68	0.95	0.4847	0.5859	0.5592
	1988	1.78	3.75	19.54	25.30	43.98	44.99	27.13	31.40	6.75	9.26	0.83	1.12	0.5000	0.5791	0.5584
	1989	1.93	4.06	20.62	25.01	45.31	44.70	28.65	32.39	7.05	9.63	0.73	1.10	0.5215	0.5845	0.5681
	1990	2.21	4.14	21.79	24.60	48.96	44.41	31.51	33.84	7.98	10.15	0.91	1.20	0.5668	0.5917	0.5853
	1991	2.10	4.30	22.14	24.05	48.38	43.42	32.16	33.20	7.82	10.42	0.85	1.16	0.5673	0.5827	0.5789
	1992	2.36	4.56	21.97	23.83	49.25	43.08	33.20	34.59	8.68	10.74	0.94	1.40	0.5820	0.5911	0.5888
	1993	2.29	4.47	22.09	22.73	47.64	41.38	33.57	33.76	8.72	11.18	1.11	1.42	0.5771	0.5748	0.5751
3	1982	0.11	0.49	4.30	8.33	15.66	19.71	14.63	16.17	4.58	5.27	0.58	0.61	0.1993	0.2529	0.2382
	1983	0.14	0.44	3.87	8.05	14.57	19.49	14.02	16.40	4.07	5.44	0.54	0.60	0.1860	0.2521	0.2341
	1984	0.10	0.44	3.69	7.83	14.06	19.49	13.79	17.25	4.31	5.60	0.57	0.65	0.1826	0.2563	0.2364
	1985	0.15	0.45	3.63	7.73	13.68	19.41	13.17	17.32	4.26	5.84	0.51	0.70	0.1770	0.2572	0.2356
	1986	0.18	0.48	3.36	7.42	13.05	19.19	12.20	17.60	4.30	6.05	0.57	0.74	0.1683	0.2574	0.2336
	1987	0.18	0.42	3.50	7.25	12.17	18.53	11.61	17.58	3.88	6.33	0.57	0.76	0.1595	0.2544	0.2290
	1988	0.18	0.48	3.55	7.16	12.37	18.20	12.18	17.84	4.07	6.73	0.52	0.84	0.1644	0.2563	0.2320
	1989	0.22	0.48	4.28	7.19	13.85	17.69	13.86	18.41	4.61	7.08	0.65	0.96	0.1873	0.2591	0.2403
	1990	0.17	0.50	4.49	7.08	15.03	17.17	15.14	18.33	5.21	7.25	0.58	0.91	0.2032	0.2562	0.2425
	1991	0.19	0.51	4.61	6.98	15.09	16.76	15.74	18.49	5.46	7.20	0.66	0.89	0.2087	0.2542	0.2428
	1992	0.24	0.59	4.95	6.95	15.36	16.21	16.55	17.83	5.63	7.31	0.80	0.93	0.2176	0.2491	0.2413
	1993	0.25	0.56	5.28	6.83	14.77	15.15	15.89	17.45	5.55	7.13	0.73	0.96	0.2123	0.2404	0.2335

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 10. Age-Specific Fertility and Total Fertility Rates by Birth Order and Age of Mother for Quebec and the Rest of Canada¹, 1982-1993 - Concluded

Birth Order	Year	15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		Total Fertility Rate	
		Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada
4	1982	0.01	0.03	0.55	1.58	2.85	5.28	4.19	5.87	2.20	2.76	0.42	0.47	0.0512	0.0800
	1983	0.01	0.03	0.58	1.48	2.77	5.17	3.89	5.83	1.93	2.77	0.34	0.47	0.0476	0.0788
	1984	0.02	0.04	0.51	1.47	2.61	5.34	3.64	5.82	1.74	2.73	0.33	0.43	0.0443	0.0792
	1985	0.02	0.04	0.47	1.44	2.44	5.22	3.48	5.96	1.83	2.84	0.28	0.54	0.0426	0.0802
	1986	0.02	0.03	0.48	1.48	2.39	5.16	3.31	5.95	1.70	2.83	0.37	0.49	0.0413	0.0797
	1987	0.02	0.04	0.50	1.50	2.21	5.02	3.19	5.71	1.67	2.86	0.35	0.46	0.0397	0.0780
	1988	0.02	0.05	0.54	1.48	2.40	4.94	3.07	5.78	1.69	2.91	0.43	0.49	0.0407	0.0783
	1989	0.01	0.05	0.58	1.57	2.59	4.87	3.65	6.13	1.67	3.07	0.35	0.56	0.0442	0.0813
	1990	0.00	0.04	0.75	1.65	2.79	4.73	3.95	6.02	2.24	3.11	0.35	0.54	0.0504	0.0805
	1991	0.01	0.05	0.81	1.65	3.22	4.69	4.18	6.03	2.11	3.22	0.35	0.47	0.0535	0.0805
	1992	0.03	0.06	0.91	1.68	3.13	4.53	4.35	5.84	2.20	3.02	0.42	0.53	0.0552	0.0783
	1993	0.02	0.05	0.82	1.57	3.05	4.31	4.49	5.67	2.23	3.16	0.45	0.56	0.0553	0.0766
	1982	0.00	0.00	0.12	0.37	0.79	1.89	1.34	3.04	1.36	2.53	0.51	0.91	0.0206	0.0437
	1983	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.33	0.69	1.86	1.39	3.05	1.22	2.23	0.49	0.75	0.0195	0.0411
5+	1984	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.33	0.65	1.85	1.33	2.96	1.22	2.33	0.39	0.73	0.0183	0.0410
	1985	0.00	0.01	0.08	0.37	0.66	1.85	1.13	2.91	1.03	2.12	0.33	0.67	0.0162	0.0396
	1986	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.36	0.67	1.81	1.28	2.83	1.07	2.07	0.36	0.65	0.0174	0.0387
	1987	0.00	0.01	0.11	0.34	0.64	1.85	1.17	2.87	0.94	2.19	0.34	0.71	0.0160	0.0398
	1988	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.38	0.62	1.71	1.31	2.97	1.18	2.11	0.40	0.68	0.0180	0.0393
	1989	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.41	0.77	1.76	1.60	2.87	1.30	2.15	0.35	0.63	0.0207	0.0391
	1990	0.01	0.01	0.14	0.44	0.76	1.91	1.51	2.92	1.30	2.27	0.39	0.67	0.0206	0.0411
	1991	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.43	0.80	1.94	1.62	2.99	1.39	2.27	0.34	0.59	0.0214	0.0412
	1992	0.00	0.01	0.20	0.41	0.96	1.96	1.68	2.95	1.33	2.28	0.37	0.68	0.0227	0.0414
	1993	0.00	0.02	0.13	0.35	0.65	1.24	1.12	1.70	0.78	1.09	0.18	0.28	0.0144	0.0234
	1982	14.60	29.97	79.86	94.09	117.52	121.05	61.44	69.35	17.42	20.69	2.58	3.15	1.4671	1.6915
	1983	14.16	28.07	77.89	91.88	115.18	121.65	60.40	72.26	16.23	21.66	2.43	3.09	1.4315	1.6931
	1984	14.10	27.23	74.54	88.65	115.53	123.13	61.23	75.26	16.86	22.78	2.43	3.06	1.4235	1.7006
	1985	14.28	26.15	71.65	85.00	113.84	123.25	60.62	76.70	16.84	23.22	2.16	3.26	1.3970	1.6878
All Orders	1986	14.82	25.46	69.49	82.01	111.60	121.75	59.24	77.40	17.19	24.14	2.47	3.35	1.3740	1.6101
	1987	15.49	24.89	68.60	78.74	109.60	119.32	59.75	78.19	16.99	25.56	2.59	3.30	1.3651	1.6705
	1988	15.87	25.04	71.95	78.26	113.30	119.37	62.90	80.13	18.39	27.05	2.87	3.90	1.4265	1.6515
	1989	17.02	26.76	76.34	79.19	120.21	119.17	69.20	83.33	19.82	28.21	2.72	4.11	1.5266	1.6687
	1990	18.06	27.53	80.26	78.80	127.98	120.77	75.66	86.27	22.38	29.66	2.89	4.21	1.6361	1.7039
	1991	17.23	28.41	79.95	76.76	128.79	117.58	77.96	85.63	23.00	30.11	2.93	4.01	1.6493	1.7362
	1992	17.70	27.95	76.69	74.51	128.56	116.39	80.46	87.03	23.92	30.65	3.31	4.54	1.6917	1.7125
	1993	17.17	27.15	75.32	72.13	121.92	111.62	79.53	85.26	23.51	30.23	3.32	4.33	1.6532	1.7054
														1.6039	1.6536

¹ 1982 to 1990 excluding Newfoundland.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

BIRTH RATE AND FERTILITY

The number of births was down by just over 10,000 in 1993 at 388,394 (Table A5, Appendix). This is a decrease of 2.6% from the previous year, the largest decrease in both numbers and percentage since 1972, and a decline for the third consecutive year. The crude birth rate of 13.2 per 1,000 is the lowest ever recorded in Canada (Table 1B). The arrival of smaller cohorts at ages where fertility is normally at its height holds out little hope for a change in the trend observed since 1990, and it is anticipated that the number of births and the crude birth rate will continue to decrease in the coming years.

Only Manitoba showed a slight increase of 120 births in 1993, 0.7% more than in 1992, while Ontario (-1.8%) and British Columbia (-0.3%) had relative decreases lower than that of Canada as a whole. In numbers, the decrease was greatest in Quebec (3,755 fewer births), but in relative terms, the greatest decreases were in Newfoundland (-7.2%), Prince Edward Island (-5.2%), Saskatchewan (-4.9%) and Alberta (-4.2%) compared to Quebec with -3.9%.

This drop in the number of births in Canada is not simply an effect of the age structure, since there was a parallel decrease in total fertility rates. The Canadian rate fell from 1.69 to 1.66 children per woman, a decrease of 1.8%. It decreased in all provinces, except in Manitoba where it rose from 1.91 to 1.94 children per woman. Leaving aside this province, the 1993 decline was not only general throughout the country, but affected almost all age groups under 35 in all provinces and also all birth orders. The year 1993 thus appears to have been a low year. It is probable that the recession in the early part of the decade is responsible for at least part of this state of affairs.

The encouraging effects⁵ of the Quebec program of financial assistance to parents appear to be weakening, at least judging from the number of first-order births. These incentives failed to offset the negative effects of the recession on fertility, since the 1993 total fertility rate for all birth orders decreased in the same proportion in Quebec as in the rest of Canada (-3%). This financial assistance increases with the number of children and becomes substantially greater for third-order and higher births. A more thorough examination indicates that, after all, the program is not entirely without effect. If, for the second year in a row, the first-order birth rate decreased more rapidly in Quebec (-4%) than in the rest of Canada (-1%), it remained slightly higher than in the other provinces, whereas before the introduction of the program the Quebec rate was 10% lower (Table 10). The second-order rate, on the other hand, decreased only slightly in Quebec, while it decreased more strongly in the rest of the country. In 1986, this rate was 17% lower in Quebec,

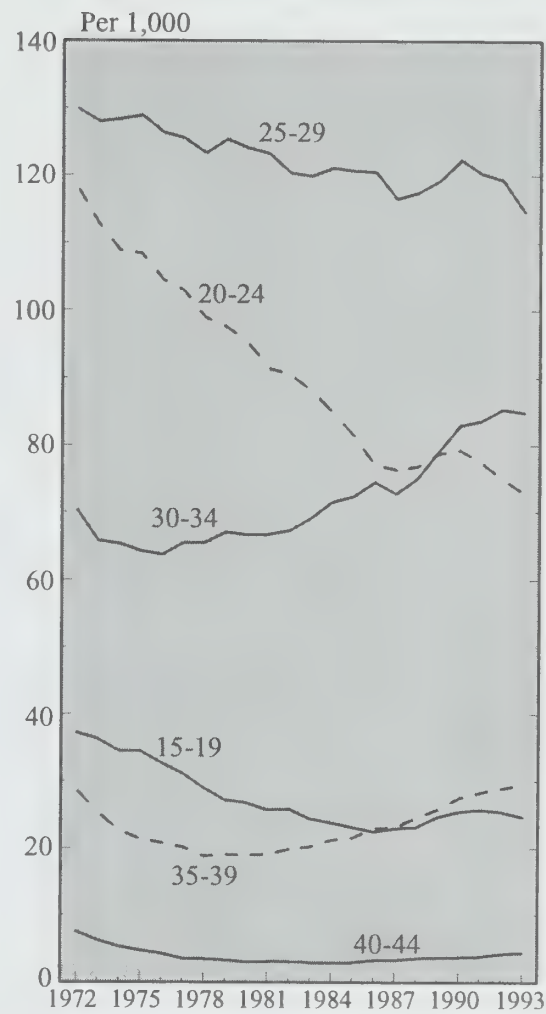
⁵ In the sense of the desired increase in period fertility.

but in 1993, for the first time, it was slightly ahead of the rest of Canada. Third-order and higher rates were low everywhere, but decreased less rapidly in Quebec than in the rest of Canada. It may thus be concluded that the financial assistance program, as it exists, does not appear to have now a significant effect on the decision to have a first child, but continues to encourage some Quebec women to have the second or third child they might not have had without it.

Deferred First Births

The increase in fertility at higher ages first observed in the mid-1970s has continued, while fertility has declined among younger people (Figure 4). The result has been significant changes in the distribution of births by order and age. Not too long ago, births to women 30 and older were mainly high-order births. In 1971, for example, two-thirds (66%) of the children to which these women gave birth were third-order or higher, while in 1993 this proportion was less than a third (31%). Today, women are often giving birth to their first (30%) or second (39%) child

Figure 4. Fertility Rate by Age Group, Canada, 1972-1993



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 11. Births to Women Aged 30 and Over by Birth Order, Canada, 1971-1993

Birth Order	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1992	1993
Number							
Rank 1	9,446	12,586	20,193	27,447	40,703	42,753	44,707
Rank 2	15,698	21,761	31,355	40,788	54,916	58,381	59,097
Rank 3 +	49,732	31,228	33,331	38,059	49,049	49,707	46,777
Total	74,876	65,575	84,879	106,294	144,668	150,841	150,581
Percentage							
Rank 1	12.6	19.2	23.8	25.8	28.1	28.3	29.7
Rank 2	21.0	33.2	36.9	38.4	38.0	38.7	39.2
Rank 3 +	66.4	47.6	39.3	35.8	33.9	33.0	31.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210 and calculations by the author.

Table 12. Percentage of Births to Women Aged 30 and Over, by Birth Order, Canada, 1971-1993

Birth Order	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1992	1993
1	6.7	8.7	12.3	17.3	23.3	24.9	26.7
2	15.4	18.8	25.2	31.4	39.6	41.5	43.2
3	32.0	34.4	40.5	45.6	53.5	54.6	56.1
4	49.0	51.0	53.6	56.4	61.4	62.2	64.6
5 +	74.6	72.9	71.6	69.7	72.2	72.6	69.0
Total	21.5	19.6	23.6	29.2	36.2	37.9	39.2

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210 and calculations by the author.

towards the end of their fertile life (Table 11). This phenomenon is shown even more clearly in Table 12, which gives for each birth order the percentage in which the mother was 30 or over. *In 1971, only a fifteenth of first births were to mothers 30 or older; today, it is over a quarter. The decline in fertility is thus concomitant with a significant change in its tempo.*

Obviously, logic requires that it is not all births that are deferred but mainly the first two. The average age increased by 2.3 years for first births and 2.2 years for second births between 1971 and 1993, rising from 23.9 to 26.2 for first births and 26.5 to 28.7 for second (Table 13). On average, women today thus have their first child at the age when their mothers had their second. For obvious reasons, the average age of mothers at the birth of higher-order children increased less during the same period. Average age at third-order births increased by only about a year and at fourth-order births by half a year, while fifth-order births and over decreased⁶ by 2 years.

There are many reasons for delaying the birth of a first child, and these have already been discussed at length by researchers in the social sciences. In terms of the basic trend, this is due to the increase in education and training of all types as well as increased labour-force participation. For the recent period, that is, since the early 1980s, it is generally agreed that the reason is the insecurity of employment when it is not a matter of the difficulty of entering the labour market. In all surveys, young people express the desire to have a family. For the moment, then, there is no far-reaching change in the way people see life; however, the facts are there, and delaying first births means that, not only are the chances of having the desired number of children lessened, but there are also implications for the kind of relations that parents and children have with each other through the life cycle.

⁶ The composition of this open-ended group changed during the period, leading to a smaller proportion of very high-order births.

Table 13. Average Age of Women at Childbirth, by Birth Order of the Child, Canada, 1971-1993

Birth Order	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1992	1993
1	23.9	24.4	25.1	25.6	25.9	26.1	26.2
2	26.5	27.0	27.6	28.2	28.6	28.6	28.7
3	29.0	29.2	29.5	29.9	30.2	30.2	30.3
4	31.0	31.2	31.2	31.2	31.3	31.3	31.5
5 +	34.2	34.3	33.7	33.1	33.0	33.0	32.2
Total	27.1	26.8	27.1	27.5	27.8	27.9	28.0

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210 and calculations by the author.

VOLUNTARY INTERRUPTIONS OF PREGNANCY

Quality of Data

Although their practice was liberalized by changes to the Criminal Code in August 1969, because they have remained controversial, voluntary interruptions of pregnancy in Canada are still difficult to account for from the point of view of statistics, and measurements of the phenomenon are not completely reliable. Since the Supreme Court of Canada declared the legislation unconstitutional in 1988, abortion has not been illegal in Canada, but it is still a subject that divides public opinion and makes it difficult to obtain the accurate measurement of the phenomenon which would allow a proper appreciation of its extent.

The total number of known voluntary interruptions of pregnancy practiced on Canadian women includes those carried out in hospitals (formerly designated therapeutic abortions), and those performed in clinics in Canada or elsewhere, particularly in the United States. Published figures are not complete for any of these categories. Since the Supreme Court decision, clinics have opened across the country, first in Quebec and gradually in the other provinces. Statistics on voluntary interruptions of pregnancy in clinics thus cover Quebec for the period 1978 to 1989, to which province are added Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia from 1990 and Alberta from 1991.

Whereas between 1978 and 1988 the annual number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy remained relatively stable, in one year, 1990, the number rose from 79,300 to 92,900, an increase of 13,600 or 17% (Table 14). There is, however, an accounting artifact here, since 97% of this increase, or just over 13,000, was due solely to the increase in the number performed in clinics, 85% of which were performed in one or another of the five provinces reporting them for the first time. It is intriguing to observe that,

Table 14. Number of Therapeutic Abortions for Canadian Residents, Based on Sources Within and Outside Canada, 1970-1993

Year	Hospital Events ¹	Clinic Events ²	In the United States ³	Total
1970	11,152	..	..	11,152
1971	30,923	..	6,309	37,232
1972	38,853	..	6,573	45,426
1973	43,201	..	5,501	48,702
1974	48,136	..	4,299	52,435
1975	49,311	..	4,394	53,705
1976	54,478	..	4,234	58,712
1977	57,564	..	2,300	59,864
1978	62,290	2,618	1,802	66,710
1979	65,043	3,629	1,073	69,745
1980	65,751	4,704	1,644	72,099
1981	65,053	4,207	2,651	71,911
1982	66,254	4,506	4,311	75,071
1983	61,750	3,635	3,983	69,368
1984	62,247	3,571	3,631	69,449
1985	62,712	3,706	2,798	69,216
1986	63,462	3,498	2,612	69,572
1987	63,585	3,681	2,757	70,023
1988	66,137	4,617	1,939	72,693
1989	70,702	7,059	1,551	79,312
1990	71,092	20,236 ⁴	1,573	92,901
1991	70,277	23,343	1,439	95,059
1992	70,408	31,151 ⁵	526	102,085 ⁵
1993	72,434	31,508	461	104,403

¹ Relates to therapeutic abortions performed in Canadian hospitals.

² For 1978-1989 information relates to the province of Quebec only. For 1990, it relates to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia; 1991 to 1993 data includes Alberta in addition to provinces for prior years.

³ Legal abortions performed on Canadian women in certain American states, especially along the Canada-United States border.

⁴ Abortion figures for clinics revised by Ontario from 10,200 to 8,993 for 1990.

⁵ Figures revised due to late receipt of 1,588 clinic abortion cases from the province of Quebec.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Therapeutic Abortions 1993*, Catalogue No. 82-219.

while the number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy in clinics increased by 187%, the number performed in hospitals remained almost unchanged (an increase of 0.5%). It is impossible to believe that the attitude of Canadian women to the subject changed in a single year to that extent merely because new clinics opened their doors. If that had been the case, a decline in the birth rate and in fertility should have been seen; however, in 1990, the number of births increased by 12,800 to 405,500, a 25-year record, and the total rate rose to 1.71 children per woman, there again a level unequalled since 1978.

At the request of Statistics Canada, some 16 American states, mainly border states, have for several years been providing figures on voluntary interruptions of pregnancy performed in their jurisdiction on Canadians; prior to 1975, only New York had complied with the Canadian request. If the number of states providing information to Statistics Canada has increased over time, the quality of coverage continues to be variable from one state to another. (Some states do not collect information on voluntary interruptions

of pregnancy carried out in clinics, while others do not systematically record the place of residence). Annual variations in the number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy performed on Canadians in the United States are thus due more to changes in the care with which data are collected than to changes in behaviour. For example, the increase of 1,660 voluntary interruptions of pregnancy between 1981 and 1982 is mainly due to the fact that the state of Washington provided figures for the first time that year; the total of 1,155 voluntary interruptions of pregnancy accounted for 70% of the increase of 1,660 voluntary interruptions of pregnancy obtained by Canadians in the United States.

Statistics on voluntary interruptions of pregnancy performed in Canadian hospitals, although not perfect, are certainly the most complete. They come from reports produced by the provinces and territories, which obtain them from hospitals, and have been compiled by Statistics Canada since 1970. Since 1983, however, Prince Edward Island has not provided a report, and thus figures are only available on the number of residents of that province who obtained voluntary interruptions of pregnancy in other provinces. Moreover, some British Columbia hospitals stopped completing reporting forms for individual cases in 1992, so the figures for that province come partly from case-reporting forms and partly from the Hospital Medical Records Institute (HMRI) system. This means that not only are some demographic or medical details missing, but doubts exist on how complete coverage is.

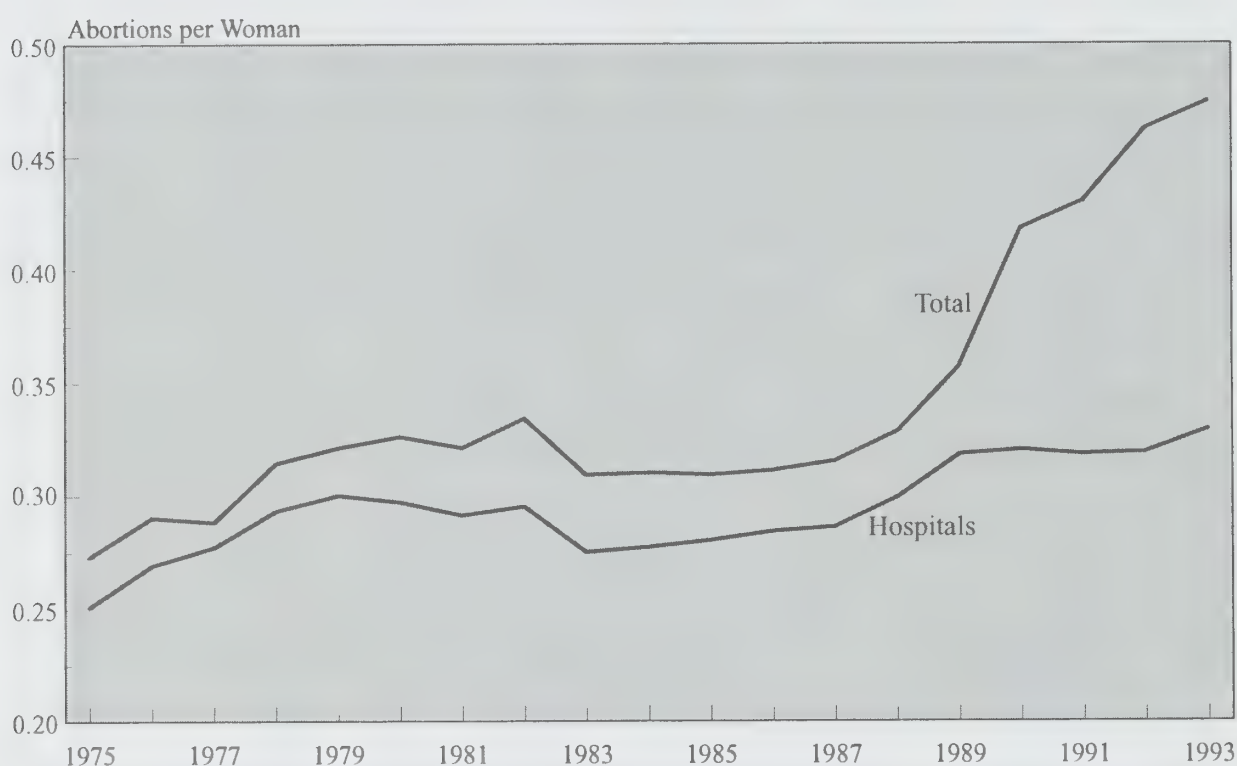
The Total Rate of Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy

It is thus very difficult to pinpoint changes in behavioural trends or provincial variations, and even more difficult to explain the causes. Figure 5 proposes two measures of the cross-sectional intensity of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy in Canada for the period 1975 to 1993. These are two total rates, the first calculated using operations performed in hospitals and the other the total known number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy.

The first calculation gives a better picture of changes in trends over time, since statistics on voluntary interruptions of pregnancy performed in hospitals have doubtless been less affected by legislative changes. The rate tended to rise until 1979, when it reached 0.30 interruptions per woman; since then the rate has oscillated around this level: 0.28 in 1988, 0.33 in 1993.

The second calculation no doubt gives a better estimate of intensity. Prior to 1989, the two rates moved almost together, although some peaks were noted that correspond to enlarging the statistical universe; for example, in 1978 the rate rose due to the inclusion of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy performed in clinics in Quebec, and in 1982 to the addition of figures on voluntary interruptions of pregnancy performed on Canadians provided by the state of

Figure 5. Total Therapeutic Abortion Rate for Abortions in Hospitals and for Total Abortions, Canada, 1975-1993



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Therapeutic Abortions 1993*, Catalogue No. 82-219, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Washington. After 1989, as more provinces reported, the two curves showed completely different trends. The total rate based on all sources increased abruptly, from 0.33 per woman in 1988 to 0.47 in 1993, an increase of 44% in 5 years.

Age at the Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy

Analysis of the demographic characteristics of women who have had a voluntary interruption of pregnancy is made even more difficult by gaps in the data. In 1993, for example, complete information on the demographic characteristics of women who had had a voluntary interruption of pregnancy were available for only 54,444 cases, or 75.2% of those performed in hospitals⁷. It should be added that the number is linked to the number of conceptions, which in turn is linked to the number of women and the use of contraception, further unavailable information. It may nevertheless be assumed that, with regard to the age of women at the time of their voluntary interruptions of pregnancy, those for whom data is

⁷Clinics do not provide the age of women who have voluntary interruptions of pregnancy.

Table 15. Number of Abortions by Age of Woman, Percentage Distribution and Abortion Rate per 1,000 Women, Canada, 1975-1993

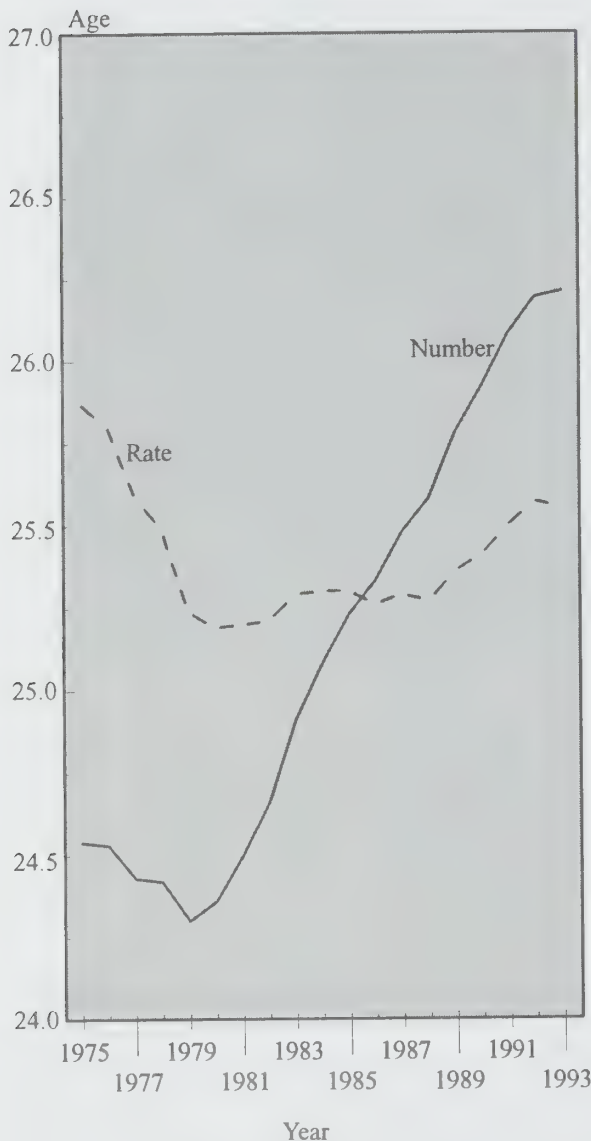
Year	Less than 15	15-17	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44 ¹	Total
Number									
1975	651	8,097	8,073	15,636	10,437	5,730	3,447	1,632	53,703
1976	717	8,511	8,810	17,395	11,628	6,397	3,568	1,686	58,712
1977	697	8,646	9,092	18,137	11,602	6,702	3,453	1,535	59,864
1978	642	9,179	10,208	20,916	12,873	7,501	3,803	1,588	66,710
1979	694	9,498	10,988	22,017	13,447	7,887	3,789	1,425	69,745
1980	613	9,500	11,273	22,927	14,114	8,371	3,831	1,470	72,099
1981	605	8,821	10,912	23,263	14,324	8,638	3,936	1,412	71,911
1982	585	8,310	11,223	24,660	15,300	9,141	4,393	1,459	75,071
1983	560	7,003	9,711	23,129	14,426	8,719	4,467	1,353	69,368
1984	503	6,766	9,122	23,268	14,834	8,810	4,774	1,372	69,449
1985	554	6,422	8,764	23,131	14,949	9,079	4,866	1,451	69,216
1986	431	6,552	8,630	22,789	15,227	9,502	5,055	1,386	69,572
1987	442	6,352	8,636	22,345	15,699	9,781	5,208	1,560	70,023
1988	415	6,230	9,066	22,872	16,626	10,311	5,510	1,663	72,693
1989	453	6,353	9,893	24,143	18,536	11,587	6,445	1,905	79,315
1990	600	7,248	11,072	27,895	21,815	14,289	7,809	2,173	92,901
1991	494	7,532	10,649	28,649	21,975	14,974	8,375	2,411	95,059
1992	580	8,112	11,112	30,536	23,295	16,357	9,250	2,843	102,085
1993	664	8,306	11,378	31,226	23,323	17,015	9,544	2,947	104,403
Percentage Distribution									
1975	1.2	15.1	15.0	29.1	19.4	10.7	6.4	3.0	100.0
1976	1.2	14.5	15.0	29.6	19.8	10.9	6.1	2.9	100.0
1977	1.2	14.4	15.2	30.3	19.4	11.2	5.8	2.6	100.0
1978	1.0	13.8	15.3	31.4	19.3	11.2	5.7	2.4	100.0
1979	1.0	13.6	15.8	31.6	19.3	11.3	5.4	2.0	100.0
1980	0.9	13.2	15.6	31.8	19.6	11.6	5.3	2.0	100.0
1981	0.8	12.3	15.2	32.3	19.9	12.0	5.5	2.0	100.0
1982	0.8	11.1	14.9	32.8	20.4	12.2	5.9	1.9	100.0
1983	0.8	10.1	14.0	33.3	20.8	12.6	6.4	2.0	100.0
1984	0.7	9.7	13.1	33.5	21.4	12.7	6.9	2.0	100.0
1985	0.8	9.3	12.7	33.4	21.6	13.1	7.0	2.1	100.0
1986	0.6	9.4	12.4	32.8	21.9	13.7	7.3	2.0	100.0
1987	0.6	9.1	12.3	31.9	22.4	14.0	7.4	2.2	100.0
1988	0.6	8.6	12.5	31.5	22.9	14.2	7.6	2.3	100.0
1989	0.6	8.0	12.5	30.4	23.4	14.6	8.1	2.4	100.0
1990	0.6	7.8	11.9	30.0	23.5	15.4	8.4	2.3	100.0
1991	0.5	7.9	11.2	30.1	23.1	15.8	8.8	2.5	100.0
1992	0.6	7.9	10.9	29.9	22.8	16.0	9.1	2.8	100.0
1993	0.6	8.0	10.9	29.9	22.3	16.3	9.1	2.8	100.0
Rate per 1,000 Women ²									
1975	2.7	11.6	17.6	14.3	10.6	7.2	5.3	2.6	9.7
1976	3.1	12.0	19.0	15.4	11.4	7.7	5.4	2.7	10.3
1977	3.0	12.1	19.3	15.8	11.2	7.6	5.0	2.4	10.3
1978	2.8	12.9	21.3	17.9	12.2	8.1	5.2	2.5	11.3
1979	3.1	13.4	22.5	18.6	12.5	8.2	5.0	2.2	11.6
1980	2.9	13.5	23.1	19.0	12.8	8.4	4.9	2.3	11.7
1981	3.1	13.1	22.4	18.8	12.7	8.3	4.8	2.1	11.5
1982	3.1	13.0	23.1	19.9	13.2	8.8	5.0	2.1	11.8
1983	3.0	11.7	20.5	18.6	12.1	8.2	4.8	1.9	10.8
1984	2.6	11.8	20.4	18.7	12.3	8.1	5.0	1.8	10.7
1985	2.9	11.3	21.1	18.8	12.3	8.1	4.9	1.8	10.6
1986	2.4	11.4	21.8	18.9	12.4	8.3	4.9	1.7	10.6
1987	2.5	11.1	22.3	19.2	12.6	8.3	5.0	1.8	10.5
1988	2.3	11.1	23.1	20.5	13.1	8.5	5.2	1.8	10.8
1989	2.5	11.6	24.7	22.3	14.4	9.4	5.8	2.0	11.6
1990	3.2	13.1	28.1	26.4	17.0	11.3	6.8	2.1	13.5
1991	2.7	13.4	28.0	27.5	17.6	11.6	7.2	2.3	13.7
1992	3.1	14.3	29.6	29.5	19.1	12.5	7.7	2.6	14.6
1993	3.5	14.6	29.8	30.3	19.7	12.9	7.7	2.7	14.9

¹ Includes abortions for women aged 45 and over.

² The rates for women under 15 are based on the population of women aged 14 and the rates for the age group 40-44 are based on the population of women of that age group.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Therapeutic Abortions 1993*, Catalogue No. 82-219 and calculations by the author.

Figure 6. Average Age of Women at Abortion Calculated Using Numbers and Rates, Canada, 1975-1993



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Therapeutic Abortions 1993*, Catalogue No. 82-219, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

missing would not be so different from the group as a whole as to invalidate the conclusions presented here. It is agreed that this is a debatable hypothesis.

Table 15 shows the number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy by age group and their percentage distribution. It can be seen that the number among younger women has hardly changed over the period, while it has increased significantly among older women. The annual average variation over the entire period was 0.1% a year for women under 17 and 1.8% for those 18 or 19. In comparison, the number among women 30-34 and 35-39 increased much more rapidly, rising from 5,730 to 17,015 for the former group and from 3,447 to 9,544 for the latter, for annual average variations of 5.9% and 5.5% respectively. The number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy among women in the intermediate age groups (20-24, 25-29) increased, but at about the same rate as for all women, so that the proportion of women under 20 among all women who had a voluntary interruption of pregnancy decreased strongly, while the proportion for women over 30 showed a corresponding increase. The proportion of women under 20 fell from about a third (31.3%) in 1975 to about a fifth (19.5%) of the total, while the

proportion of older women rose from approximately a fifth (20.1%) to just over a quarter (28.2%). Concluding that the propensity to interrupt a pregnancy voluntarily decreased among younger women and increased among older women would be rather hasty, since *changes in the distribution of the number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy by age were due more to changes in the age structure of the population than to changes in the age-specific rates*. The rates in fact increased for all age groups, but increased more among women 20-24 (annual average variation of 4.0% over the entire period) than

among very young women (variation of 2.1% per year among women under 20) or mature women (annual average variation of 1.9% and 0.2% among women 35-39 and 40-44 respectively).

Figure 6 gives an excellent example of the misinterpretation possible if changes in the age structure of the population are not taken into consideration. Between 1979 and 1993, the average age of women having a voluntary interruption of pregnancy calculated on the number of events increased continually and rapidly, rising from 24.3 to 26.2. The average age calculated using the rates, however, varied much less, rising from 25.2 to 25.6 over the same period. This is because the average age calculated on the number of events was strongly affected by the arrival during the period of the large baby-boom cohorts followed by the small baby-bust cohorts at the ages where the rate of voluntary interruption of pregnancy is at its maximum.

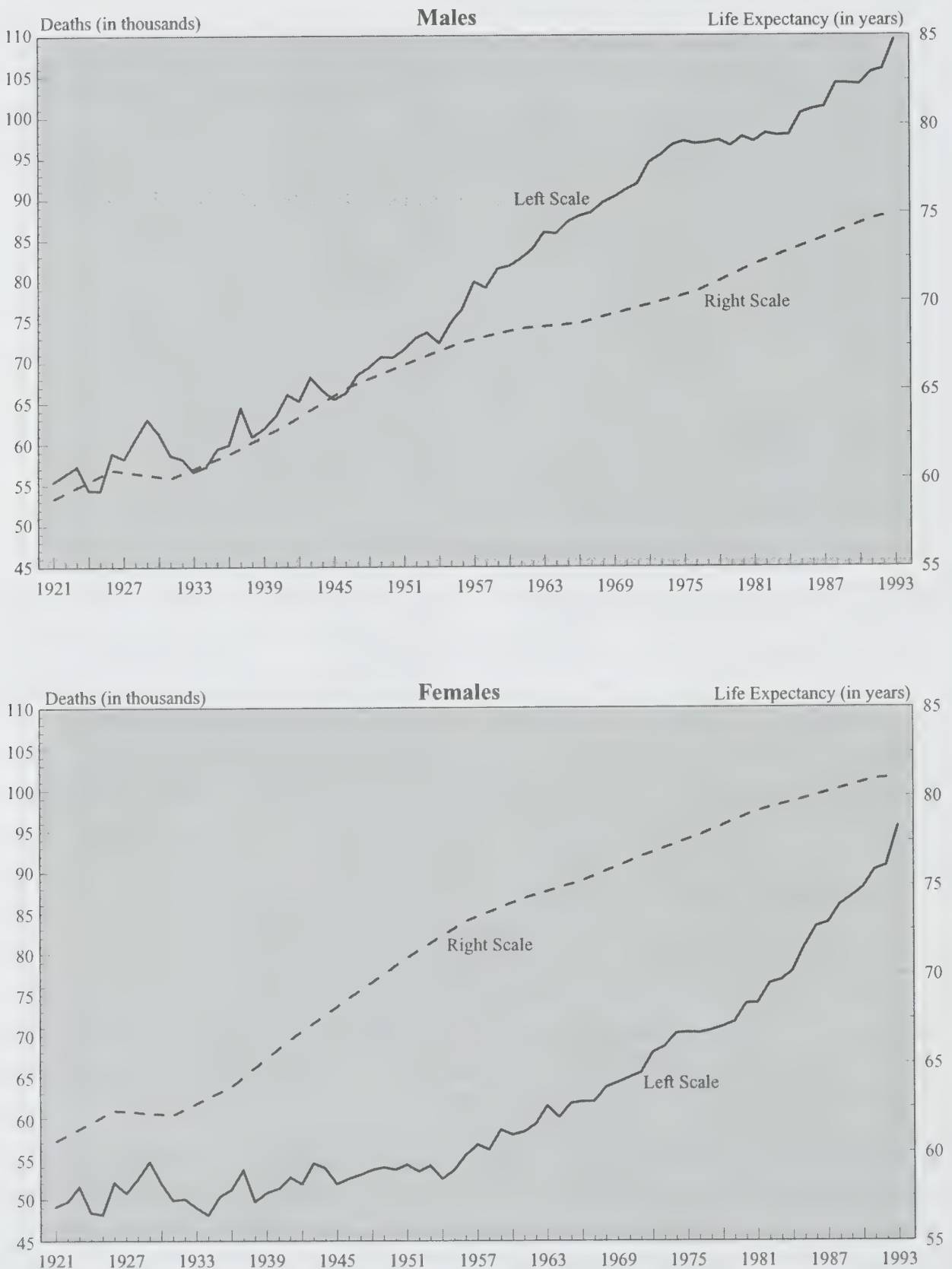
MORTALITY

The 1993 “Rise” in Mortality

The number of deaths in Canada in 1993 was 204,912 (Table A6 in the Appendix), up 8,377 (4.3%) from the previous year. The increase in the number of deaths over time in a growing and aging population is not abnormal, since sufficient gains in mortality cannot be expected to offset the increase due to age in the number of people likely to die. At the same time, by taking care to damp the inevitable accidental fluctuations by using a three-year average of deaths, the continuing steady rise in life expectancy can be seen (Figure 7). *What is noteworthy in 1993 is the size of the increase in the number of deaths, which was the highest since the Second World War.* Publication of these statistics gave rise to speculation on the possible causes of the increase. Some people saw the effect of a deterioration in health services, others the economic slowdown and increase in unemployment, still others the negative effects of increasing environmental deterioration. Because of their categorical nature, these explanations seem at the very least hasty and perhaps even imprudent since the causes mentioned normally act only quite slowly, and their effects are generally only observable in retrospective analyses, not from one year to the next.

Figure 7A shows the annual variations in the number of deaths in Canada for the period 1971 to 1993. The extent of fluctuation around the trend line from one year to another is an indication of the cautious interpretation to be made of a variation observed in a given year for predicting the following year's variation, even if the value observed for one year, as was the case in 1993, is a little farther from the line than those of the other years. The shallow positive slope of the line may be interpreted as the effect of an upward trend in the number of deaths due to the aging of the population.

Figure 7. Number of Deaths and Life Expectancy at Birth, by Sex, Canada, 1921-1993



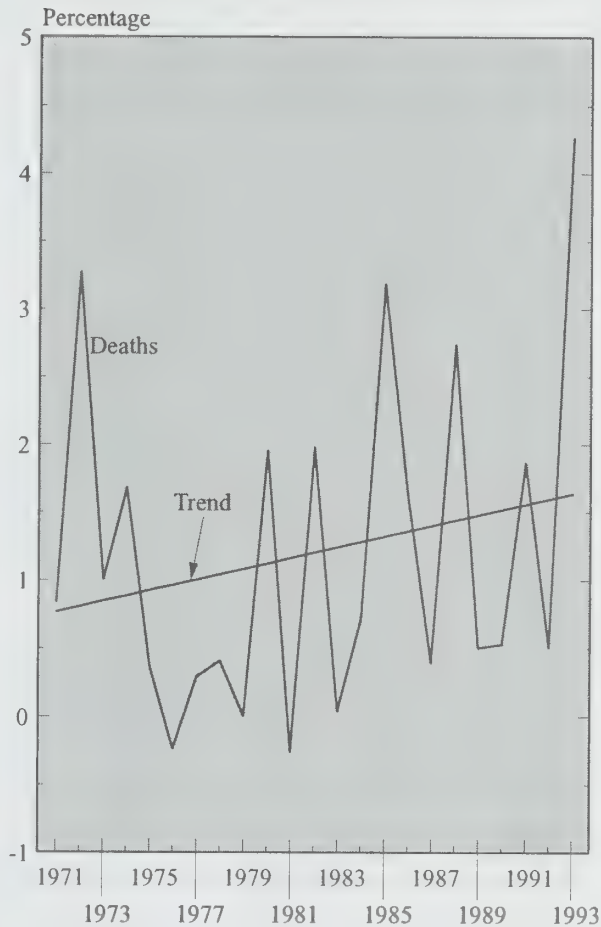
Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

On analysis, there are two components of the increase observed in the number of deaths:

- a first due to structural changes in the population (aging and increase), obtained by applying the 1992 death rates to the 1993 population, and
- a second attributable to the intrinsic and unexpected rise in the death rate obtained by calculating the difference between observed deaths and forecast deaths.

The results of these calculations are shown in Table 16. Based solely on the numerical and structural changes in the population, the number of deaths should have increased by 5,830, or 3.0%, for Canada as a whole between 1992 and 1993, but the observed increase was 8,380 or 4.3%. This suggests that 2,550 deaths, or 1.3% might be due to changes in mortality.

Figure 7A. Annual Change in the Number of Deaths, Canada, 1971-1993



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

Table 16. Number of Observed and Expected Deaths and Annual Change (in percent), Canada and Provinces, 1992 and 1993

	Observed Deaths		Expected Deaths	Annual Change			Annual Change (%)		
	1992	1993	1993	Observed	Expected	Difference	Observed	Expected	Difference
Canada	196,535	204,912	202,361	8,377	5,826	2,551	4.26	2.96	1.30
Nfld	3,798	3,891	3,889	93	91	2	2.45	2.40	0.05
P.E.I.	1,114	1,145	1,131	31	17	14	2.78	1.53	1.26
N.S.	7,544	7,559	7,712	15	168	-153	0.20	2.23	-2.03
N.B.	5,609	5,806	5,735	197	126	71	3.51	2.25	1.27
Que.	48,824	51,711	50,386	2,887	1,562	1,325	5.91	3.20	2.71
Ont.	73,206	75,853	75,383	2,647	2,177	470	3.62	2.97	0.64
Man.	8,980	9,299	9,152	319	172	147	3.55	1.92	1.64
Sask.	7,793	8,164	7,966	371	173	198	4.76	2.22	2.54
Alta	14,679	15,338	15,187	659	508	151	4.49	3.46	1.03
B.C.	24,615	25,764	25,441	1,149	826	323	4.67	3.36	1.31

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

Table 17. Evolution of Mortality from Diseases of the Circulatory System and from Tumors, by Sex, Canada, 1971-1993¹

Year	Diseases of the Circulatory System ²	Ischemic Heart Diseases ³	Cerebro-vascular Diseases ⁴	Tumors and Cancers ⁵	Malignant Tumors of the Respiratory System ⁶
Males					
1971	412.63	281.73	70.65	164.08	46.44
1972	414.59	282.18	71.68	165.62	47.31
1973	408.44	276.86	69.11	167.25	49.12
1974	408.99	277.36	68.51	166.63	51.15
1975	393.87	266.94	65.65	167.02	50.74
1976	389.54	264.38	62.45	167.30	52.54
1977	380.25	258.99	59.54	169.40	54.24
1978	365.20	246.57	57.16	171.17	55.48
1979	351.95	232.12	55.09	173.00	56.74
1980	344.81	227.49	52.27	174.58	58.77
1981	331.40	220.25	50.32	172.48	57.63
1982	323.92	214.16	47.06	175.76	60.75
1983	311.55	205.29	44.32	175.01	61.27
1984	297.40	195.85	43.00	178.49	62.63
1985	289.99	190.84	40.75	178.76	60.90
1986	282.32	183.48	39.39	179.29	61.47
1987	267.76	174.37	38.57	178.26	61.25
1988	260.77	169.29	36.80	182.16	63.23
1989	250.09	159.79	37.19	179.28	62.69
1990	231.04	146.39	35.67	177.32	61.86
1991	225.64	142.06	34.18	177.45	61.04
1992	219.64	137.65	33.25	174.87	59.49
1993	219.60	136.86	34.48	172.69	59.13
Females					
1971	335.33	188.19	84.60	134.11	8.35
1972	334.44	187.50	84.49	137.52	10.03
1973	327.98	186.06	80.00	136.61	10.61
1974	326.24	185.96	79.25	137.17	11.32
1975	312.33	174.84	77.98	132.39	11.59
1976	303.54	171.16	73.12	131.41	11.84
1977	293.10	166.00	68.64	132.50	13.36
1978	283.55	161.79	67.21	132.68	14.17
1979	271.11	149.03	63.62	135.28	15.47
1980	269.71	148.03	60.68	133.70	16.17
1981	256.43	140.88	58.55	134.21	17.07
1982	252.48	138.78	56.01	134.28	18.45
1983	240.21	131.08	52.87	134.26	18.72
1984	232.06	128.66	49.81	136.37	20.83
1985	225.44	122.61	48.74	139.10	22.41
1986	222.70	121.16	48.34	139.06	22.48
1987	210.86	114.71	45.07	138.82	23.82
1988	206.88	111.07	45.30	139.84	25.17
1989	198.12	105.39	43.94	137.90	25.09
1990	187.16	100.34	40.72	138.13	25.61
1991	184.13	97.69	40.42	138.70	27.44
1992	177.56	92.22	40.14	137.98	27.19
1993	177.88	91.78	41.17	139.06	29.01

¹ Rate per 100,000, standardized on the structure by age and sex of the 1976 population.

² Causes 390-459, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

³ Causes 410-414, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

⁴ Causes 430-438, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

⁵ Causes 140-239, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

⁶ Causes 160-165, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Causes of Death*, Catalogue No. 84-208, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 18. Number of Deaths from Diseases of the Circulatory System (Causes 460-519 in the I.C.D.) and Annual Percentage Change, by Sex and Broad Age Groups, Canada, 1987-1992 and 1992-1993

Age Group	1987	1992	1993	1987-1992	1992-1993
Males					
0-34	156	117	117	-5.6	0.0
35-59	486	486	461	0.0	-5.1
60-74	2,699	2,609	2,748	-0.7	5.3
75+	5,242	6,198	6,646	3.4	7.2
Total	8,583	9,410	9,972	1.9	6.0
Females					
0-34	119	99	106	-3.6	7.1
35-59	288	310	339	1.5	9.4
60-74	1,292	1,507	1,587	3.1	5.3
75+	4,147	5,336	6,049	5.2	13.4
Total	5,846	7,252	8,081	4.4	11.4

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Causes of Death*, Catalogue No. 84-208 and calculations by the author.

Diseases of the circulatory system and tumours and cancers are responsible for approximately two-thirds of deaths in Canada. For these two main sections of the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-9), the death rates calculated for 1993, standardized on the 1976 population, are consistent with the observed trend (Table 17), apart from a slowing of the decrease in diseases of the circulatory system. The increase in deaths among women due to malignant tumours of the respiratory system is in line with the trend of the past 20 years (an increase of 7% in the standardized rate). These two leading causes of death, then, do not explain the unexpected increase in the 1993 death rate.

The explanation must thus lie elsewhere. While the death rate for certain causes of death varies little from one year to another, for other causes, which are related to viral or bacterial infections, the number of deaths may vary significantly even without an epidemic. These include flu, pneumonia and bronchitis. Since the specific cause of death is not always clear, it is often preferable to use the broader classifications rather than the detailed causes. Flu, pneumonia and bronchitis come under Chapter VIII of ICD-9, Diseases of the Respiratory System. In 1993, there was a noticeable increase in the number of deaths from these causes, particularly among very old women (Table 18). While between 1987 and 1992 the annual average variation in the number of deaths observed for this set of causes was 1.9% for men and 4.4% for women, in 1993 the increases were 6.0% and 11.4% respectively. Among those 75 and over, the increase from 1992 to 1993 was 7.2% for

Table 19. Number of Deaths per Two-Month Period, Canada 1992 and 1993

Month	Number of Deaths		Change (%)
	1992	1993	
Total	196,535	204,912	4.3
January-February	34,651	34,774	0.4
March-April	32,716	36,903	12.8
May-June	31,784	32,747	3.0
July-August	31,574	32,359	2.5
September-October	32,053	32,972	2.9
November-December	33,757	35,157	4.1
Total without March-April	163,819	168,009	2.6

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

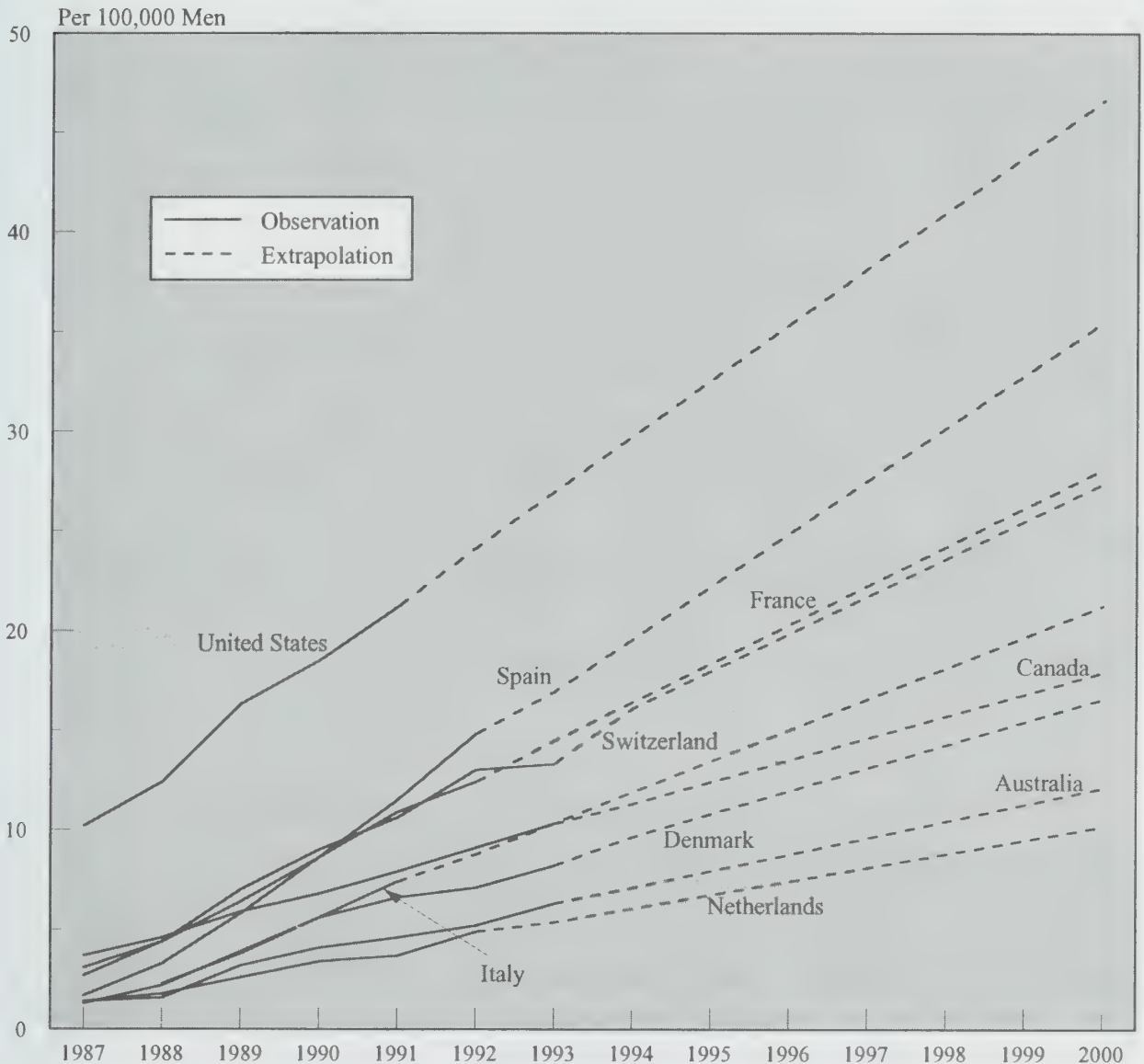
men and 13.4% for women. Another indication of the effect of diseases of the respiratory system on the unexpected increase in the number of deaths recorded in 1993 is seen in Table 19, which shows deaths for 1992 and 1993 by two-month period. The 12.8% increase observed in March and April is over three times higher than for any other two-month period. If the extraordinary increase in March and April is excluded, the average increase for the whole year would be 2.6%, or about the value that might have been expected due to structural changes alone (Table 16). *It seems reasonable to conclude that the increase in the number of deaths observed in 1993 was exceptional and accidental. Nothing indicates that there is any change in mortality trends, and it is only if the phenomenon is repeated that one would have to look for the underlying causes.*

HIV Mortality Trends in Canada and Selected Western Countries

The most recent figures for deaths due to HIV, most of them for 1993, follow almost exactly the progression lines that had been calculated with the 1987-1992 data. Figure 8 in this year's report considers only deaths among men, since the disease has so far claimed relatively few female victims.

It would seem that deaths in each of the Western countries are increasing at their own rate. The sample of countries for which figures are available has increased, but it is still not possible to group them into families of countries. The World Health Organization (WHO) collects these figures from the statistical agencies of the various countries and distributes them as is. Although in theory the medical world seems certain when it identifies deaths due to HIV, the quality of the statistics doubtless varies from one country

Figure 8. Crude Mortality Rates from HIV (Causes 042-044 in the I.C.D.) and Extrapolations, Selected Countries, 1987-2000



Sources: Data requested from the World Health Organisation, Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Causes of Death*, Catalogue No. 84-208, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

to another. Nonetheless, with the values of the rates for 6 or 7 consecutive years, the estimated regression lines still show correlation coefficients higher than 0.97, except for New Zealand where annual rates were more erratic. In general, the slope of extrapolation lines is accentuated as mortality increases and, with one exception, these lines do not cross. Projections for the year 2000 take the form of a fan, from 10.1 per 100,000 in the Netherlands to 46.6 in the United States. The exception is Canada, which is second highest at the beginning of the period of observation and sixth highest at the end of the projection period.

Table 20. Main Indicators on Deaths Due to AIDS, Certain Countries, 1993

Country	Male Rates ¹	Percentage of Deaths before Age 6 (both sexes)	Percentage of Deaths at Ages 25-54	Female Deaths as a Percent of All Deaths
Australia (1993)	6.3	0.2	89.0	4.2
Canada (1993)	10.3	0.4	90.3	5.8
Denmark (1993)	8.2	1.3	88.0	7.4
France (1992)	12.4	0.6	87.0	16.4
Germany (1993)	4.5	0.4	87.0	12.6
Italy (1991)	7.4	1.0	90.0	19.6
Netherlands (1992)	4.9	0.5	91.0	10.0
New Zealand (1992)	3.4	0.0	82.0	4.9
Spain (1992)	14.8	1.2	86.0	17.1
Switzerland (1993)	13.3	0.5	93.0	24.7
United Kingdom (1992)	1.9	1.0	85.0	6.9
United States (1991)	21.2	0.8	90.0	11.9

¹ Per 100,000.

Sources: Data requested from the World Health Organisation, Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Causes of Death*, Catalogue No. 84-208, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

It is also noteworthy that, in all countries, deaths continue to be concentrated in the 25-54 age group (85% to 91% of male deaths). Conversely, no doubt because of their small numbers in certain countries, the frequency of deaths among women is more variable, but remains low (Table 20). The death rates for children under one year of age (per 100,000) are generally low. They do not exceed 1 in Germany, the United Kingdom and Australia and are even zero in the Netherlands and New Zealand. Spain's is surprisingly high in contrast, taking successively the values 3.4, 3.0, 3.5 and 4.5 from 1989 to 1992. In most countries, the number of children's deaths is growing more slowly than those of other ages. The percentage of deaths to children under 5 year of age is lower in 1993 than in 1987. In France, the percentage dropped from 1.8% to 0.6%, in Italy 4.7% to 1.0%, in Spain 3.1% to 1.2% and in the United States from 1.4% to 0.8%. Canada reported four in 1993. This could be the beneficial effect of efforts at prevention.

In Canada, the number of deaths attributed to HIV was 1,564 in 1993, an increase of 206 (15%) over the previous year (Table 21). As in all Western countries, AIDS is a cause of death basically among males, as 94.1% of all deaths due to AIDS since 1987 were men. Despite the proximity of the United States, where the incidence of this cause of death is the highest of all Western countries, it appears to be less significant in Canada than in other countries in Western Europe.

Table 21. Deaths Due to HIV (Causes 042-044 in the ICD) by Broad Age Groups and Sex, Canada, 1987-1993

Year	Sex	Age Group					Total
		0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60 +	
1987	Males	1	85	293	87	22	488
	Females	5	7	12	8	5	37
1988	Males	2	96	361	126	29	614
	Females	3	10	28	7	9	57
1989	Males	3	124	485	164	21	797
	Females	2	10	20	10	12	54
1990	Males	3	108	576	215	35	937
	Females	1	14	19	7	4	45
1991	Males	3	129	698	233	42	1,105
	Females	4	15	25	14	7	65
1992	Males	4	161	783	305	35	1,288
	Females	4	10	38	11	7	70
1993	Males	7	159	924	330	54	1,474
	Females	2	19	49	13	7	90

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Causes of Death*, Catalogue No. 84-208.

The 1993 Life Table

To avoid random fluctuations in mortality, it is customary to calculate life tables by taking as numerator of the rates the average of deaths over a number of years, generally three. The year 1993 was the last for which data by age were available at the time of publishing this report. The last three-year table that can be calculated is therefore centred on the year 1992 and is based on the average of deaths in 1991, 1992 and 1993. Since mortality tends to decrease from year to year, however, a preliminary estimate may be obtained for the last year for which figures are available, while discounting accidental variations, by using the average of the number of deaths of the previous year (1992) and twice the number of deaths in the past year (1993). This is the approach that has always been used in this report, and Table A7 (Appendix) shows the results in terms of life expectancies at various ages.

The preliminary table thus calculated for 1993 shows that the increase in deaths discussed above was not enough to reverse the upward trend in life expectancy,⁸ which stood at 74.96 years for men and 81.16 years for women. Annual gains were, nevertheless, slowed down. During the period 1981 to 1991, life expectancy at birth increased annually on average by 0.27 years for men and 0.19 years for women. From 1991 to 1992 the increases

⁸ A life table constructed in this way does not contradict a table based on a single year. It fixes the level for a period while the annual table shows variations which can be accidental.

were 0.17 and 0.07 respectively. If life expectancy increased for both sexes, gains since the mid-1970s have been higher for men, and the gap between the life expectancies of the two sexes has continued to narrow. The gap in favour of women fell from 7.44 years in 1976 to 6.24 in 1992, but is still significant. But the situation in Canada is not exceptional, since the average difference for the 23 industrialized countries for which figures are available (see Table 2) is virtually the same: 6.19 years.

THE MEANING AND USE OF THE PARAMETERS OF THE LIFE TABLE

Principle of the Life Table

The life-table model (whether it represents mortality, nuptiality or some other phenomenon) includes several variants. Although not extremely complex, this model is nevertheless not simple. The names of its parameters seem to have such obvious and unequivocal meanings that they inspire confidence, but great familiarity with the model is needed if they are not sometimes to be used or interpreted incorrectly.

One of the most serious mistakes and also one of the commonest is to attribute to the life table a predictive capacity which it does not possess. Some people read a table of cancer mortality as a prediction that such-and-such a fraction of the population will die of this disease. Another mistake is to calculate the number of years of life remaining to a person of a given age by subtracting that age from the expectation of life at birth.

As the life table is perhaps the demographer's most useful, and most used, tool for descriptions and analyses of demographic processes, it is worth providing a succinct description of the essential principles on which it rests, a brief history of its development and an account of its weaknesses.

The life table as we know it was born gradually, with the development of arithmetic and statistics, from the desire to measure the rate at which the individuals in a group, although all born at the same time, disappear. Of course, this purpose has never been formulated in such a simplistic fashion. It has, in fact, only taken shape slowly on the basis of many discoveries, to which the table itself has given rise, on the age at which people die, the causes of death and also on the care that they could be provided with. It resulted, among other things, from knowledge of the origin of diseases and their mode of propagation. This vague quest for a law, which inspired and encouraged all these calculations and developments, is based on the fairly obvious principle that to live is to be exposed to the risk of dying and that, after having escaped this fate for a certain period of time, one inevitably

succumbs to it, whether by accident or through exhaustion of one's life force.⁹ It may thus be observed of a group of individuals born in the same year and kept under observation (which is the only criterion of uniformity normally used in constructing an aggregate mortality table¹⁰) that the number decreases as they grow older. At the end of each time unit chosen (normally a year) since birth, the survivors are counted and during each time unit those deceased. The ratio of the number of deceased to the number present at the beginning of the period provides a post-factum probability of dying within the interval, and the actual numbers of the initial group observed can be ignored by applying probabilities to a group taken as unity (in practice 10,000 or 100,000). From that point on, combining the numbers produces significant indices, the best known of which is the average duration of life, or life expectancy at birth.

It is thus essential to bear in mind when looking at a life table that the frequency of occurrence of events or the reduction in the number of persons at risk depend on the time elapsed since the source event, in the case of general mortality, since birth. The other parameters are simply the product of relations between the number of events and the number of persons at risk.

A life table drawn up as described above, if it is indeed possible to calculate it so rigorously, cannot be completed until the last individual in the group has died, or about 100 years later. Information is then available on the rate at which the individuals in the group disappeared and it can thus be shown that, on average, they lived so many years and had a probability x of dying between two given ages. For this reason, these tables are known as longitudinal tables. This information is only interesting from an historical perspective, but normally interest focusses more on current levels of mortality, strictly calculated, and the table is not an adequate instrument for this purpose. A rate, standardized if one wishes to make comparisons, would do the job in most cases. Without eliminating the fundamental problem, it is possible, however, to obtain indications using the device of the fictitious cohort and the period table. Developmental work and research in fact began with this type of table. For a long time the fact was ignored that the fragments of generations at various ages which compose the fictional cohort have characteristics resulting from living different histories. Longitudinal tables have appeared only relatively recently.

⁹ The principle of the life table is already present in the London merchant draper John Graunt's book, but after the endeavours of the astronomer Halley, it was necessary to wait for the 18th century (Deparcieux, Duvillard, Kersseboom) to perfect the model. The first table in its present form was finally drawn up by Milne and published in England in 1815 by William Farr. The first official table in the United States was prepared at the beginning of this century (1900-1902).

¹⁰ In theory, as many tables can be constructed as homogeneous populations can be identified. One may, for example, construct the life table of diabetics diagnosed at age x , or those operated on for lung cancer at age 45. The time unit chosen would doubtless be a month, and survivors, number of deceased, probabilities of survival, etc., would be calculated in the same way.

The Period Table

Instead of observing a group of individuals as they pass through various ages, the method is transposed to an artificial cohort whose experience concerning the risk of death is borrowed from the individuals of different ages running these risks during a given period (generally a year or a few years). This group is thus known as a fictitious, or hypothetical, cohort. The subsequent calculations are the same as for the generation table. The table, however, is no longer a description of experience but a statistical construction based on the hypothesis that all cohorts have the same behaviour as a function of age as far as death is concerned, although this implicit hypothesis was not made explicit, and questioned, until later.

It follows that the interpretation of the parameters of the so-called "period" table is different from that of the generation table. Strictly speaking, these parameters do not apply to any particular group of people. They are, in short, measurements of the mortality or survival characterizing the year and the population for which the table was drawn up. To say, as is often heard, that female life expectancy at birth in 1991 is 79.8 years means that a girl born that year may hope to live an average of 79.8 years, is in a strict sense a misinterpretation. However, when such tables came into general use people were particularly impressed by the advances in combating killer infectious diseases. Interest had thus shifted to gains in the probability of surviving from one birthday to the next in those segments of life where death had struck the hardest. These characteristics of the period life table and the preoccupations linked to its origins become fully apparent when it is observed that almost all of us live longer on average than the life table drawn up for the year of our birth would suggest. But it is also true that the indicators drawn from period life tables are comparable and give an indication of the speed and ages at which victories over death are won, since almost without exception changes in the probabilities of survival have to date been in only one direction, upward, and from year to year tables are drawn up in the same way.

It is thus important to bear in mind that, in the period table, it is always life already elapsed that serves as the basis, and that the assumption on which the systematic preparation of such tables depends is that the past life of cohorts has no effect on their period behaviour. Implicitly this means that the probability of surviving, for example from age 27 to age 28 during year x , is unrelated to the cohort to which one belongs, but owes everything to the circumstances prevailing during that year for people of that age.

It becomes clear from the above that drawing up a life table implies that the event being studied (so far, death) causes the individual experiencing the event to disappear from the field of observation; obviously, it is only the survivors who are subject to this risk. Since the phenomenon studied

is the only one to eliminate individuals, the measurements drawn from the table deal only with the phenomenon. When looking at the risk of death, one can thus speak of the effect of mortality, since only death, independently of any other phenomenon such as emigration, acts to reduce the size of the group. The table thus becomes a powerful analytical tool since, in a situation where a number of phenomena conflict, the effect of only one is studied to the exclusion of those of the others.

Any unrepeatable phenomenon, like death, can in principle be analyzed using the life table provided the appropriate data are available to construct it. The first phenomenon that seemed to lend itself to the construction of a table was first marriage. Marrying for the first time in a closed population is in effect to withdraw from the ranks of the unmarried and, after eliminating the effects of mortality, the number of unmarried people is seen to decline with age by marriage alone. As opposed to mortality, not all unmarried persons marry, and the table is thus normally ended at an arbitrarily set age. As well, in western countries, people cannot marry before a certain age, which sets the lower limit for beginning the table. This period table has been criticized precisely because marriage is, as pointed out by A. Sauvy, “flexible”, which means it can intensify or decline rapidly at any time in certain cohorts involved in the fictitious cohort. It becomes evident that behaviour at a given age is not independent of behaviour at earlier ages. But the purpose of the table is more to determine the levels valid for a given period than to point out “accidents”. There have also been several attempts to calculate birth-order fertility tables, since a woman cannot give birth to more than one first child, one second child, etc.

Whatever the phenomenon studied, the essential point here is that it is the fact of being eliminated from the group of persons at risk that makes the table an instrument for analyzing the phenomenon that eliminates them, and that the resemblance of an unrepeatable event to death is not in fact exact.

The Multiple-Decrement Table

Researchers have also developed a multiple-decrement table, which is a little more difficult to build and use. Still based on the duration of exposure to risk, validly represented by age in an aggregate table, this table distinguishes among those leaving a group on the basis of several causes, such as leaving the unmarried state through either marriage or death. The problem is interference between phenomena, that is, the difficulty of determining the role played by one phenomenon in the fact that the other does not appear within the chosen time unit. This type of table is often used in analyzing cause-specific mortality. It is only recently, through work by Pollard, that a satisfactory solution has been found to the problem of distributing responsibility for disappearing from observation on the basis of simple and

credible hypotheses.¹¹ Using this analytical procedure, the role played by the various causes of death in mortality can be determined. Obviously the values of the parameters of these tables are only as valid as the independence of the phenomena involved and the hypotheses which underlie their construction.

Multi-State Tables

The last category of table is the multi-state table.¹² Its proponents see it as a way to take into account and measure transitions from a state which has as its counterpart, except in the case of death, entering another state. The phenomena studied can be divorce, marriage, employment, unemployment, etc. For a given cohort, and from the demographic perspective, it is possible to deduce the mean length of time spent in one of the states which, combined, form the total life, as well as other indicators. The principal interest of these tables is thus different from that of simple tables. It is not the measurement of the degree and timing of a phenomenon, to the exclusion of others that obscure its manifestation, which single-state tables attempt to measure, but above all the evaluation of the time passed in the various states resulting precisely from the combination of effects of these phenomena. At the same time, when these tables are period tables, they may not inspire confidence because of the heterogeneity of the population. Very frequently relevant information on the time elapsed since the previous event is unavailable, so transitions are introduced into the mechanism for calculating period tables by linking their appearance to the age of the person who causes or experiences it. Age is, of course, the time elapsed since birth. But this duration is not, either in reality or in the conventions of the fictitious cohort, responsible in most cases for the appearance of the transition in question. When the time elapsed between two successive states can be taken into consideration, confidence in the table is greater. But it goes against reason when, for lack of adequate information, a constitutive element of the life of the average individual is considered to be that, x years after their birth in 1991, so many divorced women per 1,000 rejoin the ranks of the married, since this fact is not related to age understood as the duration of exposure to the risk. What happens here is that recent divorces and much older divorces are placed on the same footing, but changes of state can be very volatile,¹³ even over short periods, and their many and various combinations can in no way represent the average behaviour of individuals. The analytical power

¹¹ In fact, instead of resolving the problem as a number of other researchers before him had attempted to do, notably Calot and Léry or Arriaga, he reached his objective by bypassing the difficulty.

¹² These tables, also known as multi-regional, originate in the study of migration. In the model they propose, an individual may disappear from the group only temporarily, and then return to it and once again become an individual "at risk".

¹³ They are at the mercy of legislative changes, passing fashion and other factors completely exogenous to the phenomenon.

of such a table disappears, since, instead of having an analysis of the effect of each of the events making up the situation, their synthesis is presented, in other words, reality itself. Saying on the basis of such a table that in 1991 the average man would spend 40 years in the married state assumes that, in the abstract, men will marry, be widowed, divorced and remarry as these acts occur in 1991, and moreover at the age at which they are experienced that year. This assumes a series of hypotheses that is difficult to accept.

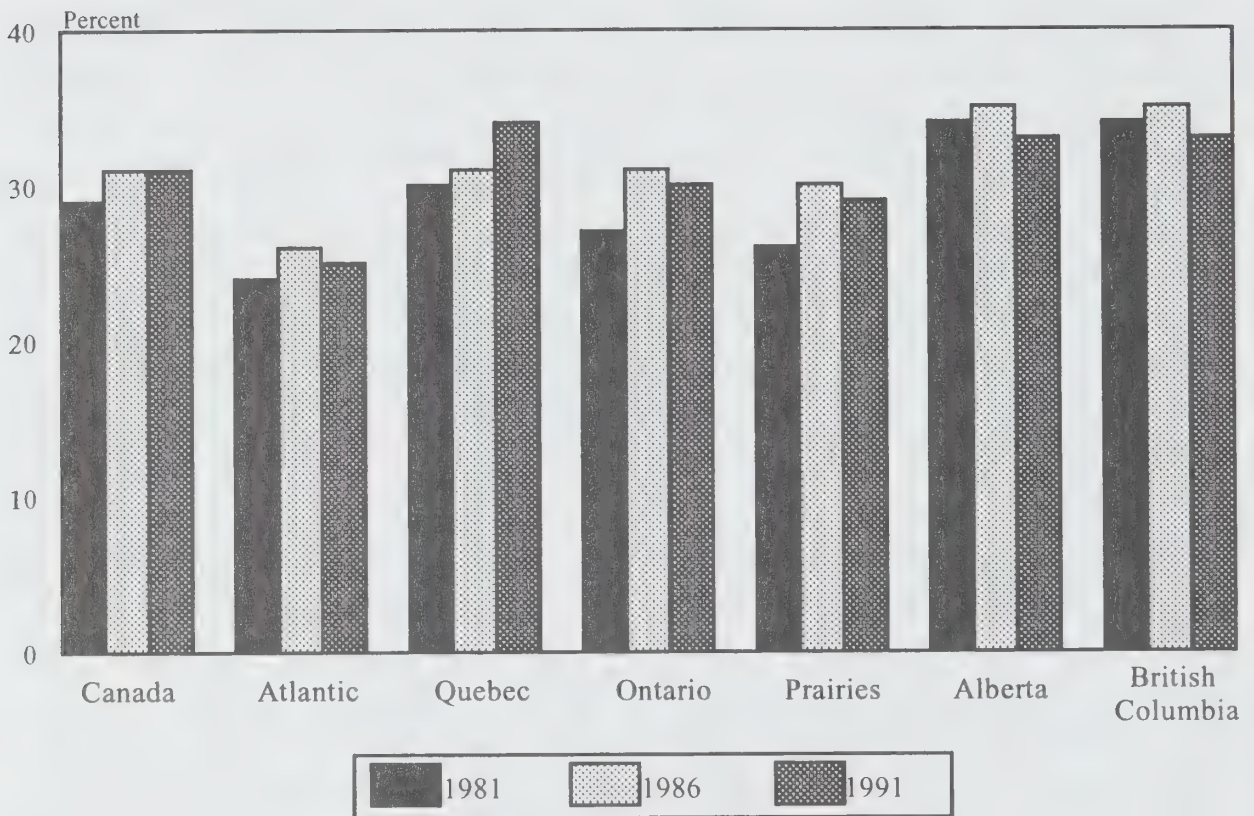
Without going into the more obscure details of their construction, the unfortunate result for the person unfamiliar with the principles on which these tables are based is that they are presented with measurements that in their simplicity give the impression of translating real average behaviour, whereas they are in fact very complex constructions, applicable it is not clear to whom, and subject to a number of hypotheses, many of which are difficult to justify.

While these multi-state tables are not satisfactory from an analytical point of view, the area in which they can be remarkably useful is in preparing projections. In constructing scenarios for the future, the projections' author can imagine behaviour and assign it to the population over whose destiny he presides in his hypotheses. The transitions he imagines and the rate at which they occur can reveal demographic states on which it is extremely useful to reflect to find courses of action that might be taken to achieve or prevent them.

Some Results of Multi-State Tables on Marriage and Divorce

Three-year multi-state tables for marriage and divorce were drawn up centred on the years 1981, 1986 and 1991. Introducing into the model the probabilities at each age of death, marriage, divorce and remarriage produces the number of events between two birthdays in a fictitious cohort forming the radix of the table (10,000 or 100,000 individuals at birth). In the table, the age-specific distribution of various events may be observed, their sum obtained (except for deaths), and classic central-tendency and dispersion indices calculated that can then be interpreted as demographic indices. For example, if 2,900 divorces are counted in the female table, it can be concluded that, out of 10,000 women, 29% were divorced in the course of their life, if the table is calculated from birth and assuming one divorce only per woman, or that 29% of 10,000 married women would divorce if the radix of the table is the group of women married at age 15. The mean age at the event, the median age, the time spent in a given state, etc., can also be calculated. The probabilities used are age-specific rates observed during the year for which the table was constructed, which are converted into quotients and applied to the "survivors" of the appropriate event. Probabilities of widowhood are derived from the death rates for the other sex, adjusted by plus or minus two years depending on whether the widowed person is a man or a

Figure 9. Proportion of Marriages Which Would End in Divorce, by Sex, Canada and Regions, 1981, 1986 and 1991 According to Multi-State Tables



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, censuses of Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

woman, since the average difference in age at marriage is about that order of magnitude. It is even possible to introduce differential mortality by marital status and different nuptiality values for unmarried persons and those already married.

The interest of the measures thus obtained is less their value than comparisons at various dates. Instead of obtaining an understanding of behaviour, one obtains descriptions at each date. It will be noted that, while the table thus constructed provides indicators with some weaknesses, they are not the only ones in the world of demography. Synthetic indices are doubtful indicators because, to use an additive synthesis, the sum of total events is taken rather than rates. These total events are valid measurements only at the cost of hypotheses that can sometimes be quite cumbersome. When they involve unrepeatable events such as first marriage, they reveal their weakness by providing values that exceed unity, which is absurd, but these weaknesses go unnoticed when

repeatable events are involved. This is the case with the total fertility rate, which is interpreted as the number of children born throughout their life to women in the fictitious cohort. The indices from the multi-state table, despite their weaknesses, provide a better estimate of period intensity since they never present illogical results.

Results

The table reveals that marriage in 1991 is almost as resistant to divorce as in 1981. While in 1981 29% of marriages would have ended in divorce, in 1991 the proportion is only slightly higher, at 31%. Figure 9 shows higher values in all regions in 1986, due to the changes to the Divorce Act in 1985. The Atlantic region shows the lowest risk of a marriage ending in divorce (24% in 1981 and 25% in 1991). Prior to 1991, the highest risk was in British Columbia (35% in 1986), but in 1991 Quebec moved into first place with 34%. But this assumes no differential migration by those divorcing or for those for whom divorce is a reason to migrate.

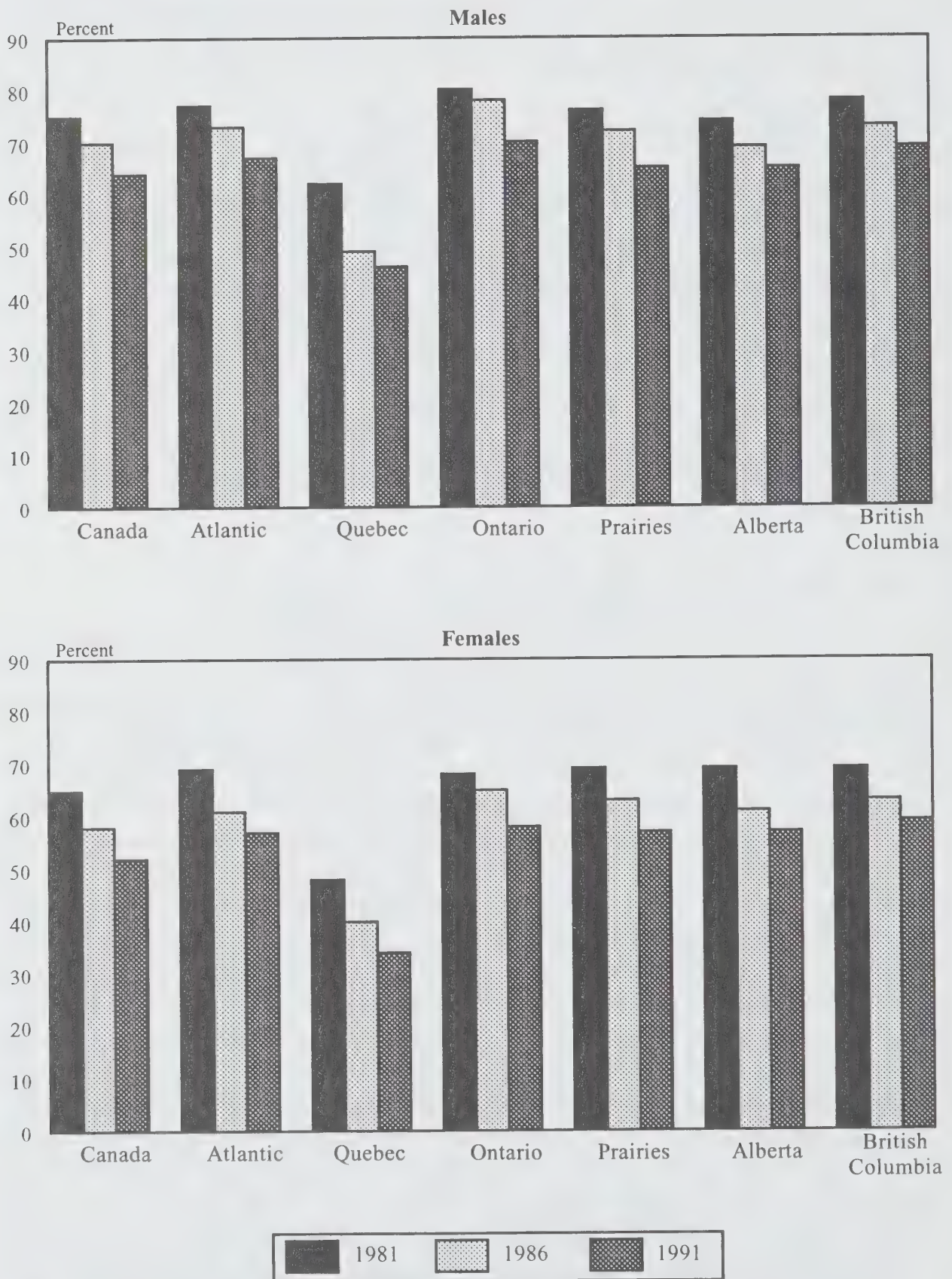
Remarriage of the Widowed and Divorced

The 1981 table showed that 75% of divorced men and 65% of divorced women remarried, while the 1991 table shows that interest declined significantly, since only 64% of men and 52% of women would remarry. Figure 10 shows that Quebec is leading the way in this disaffection (46% of divorced men and 34% of divorced women would remarry). The average age at divorce was 41.8 for Canadian men and 39.0 for Canadian women. From Figure 11 comes the observation that the probability of young divorced women remarrying is higher than that of men, but matters change with age and after age 30 it is men who are more likely to contract a new marriage. If the propensity of the widowed to remarry is less than that of the divorced, the factor responsible is the age at which the previous marriage was dissolved. The average age at widowhood is 74.1 for men and 71.2 for women. This more than venerable age is responsible for the fact that only 11% of widowers and 4% of widows remarry, and it is very likely that those people who do remarry are the younger ones.

Time Spent in Various Marital Statuses

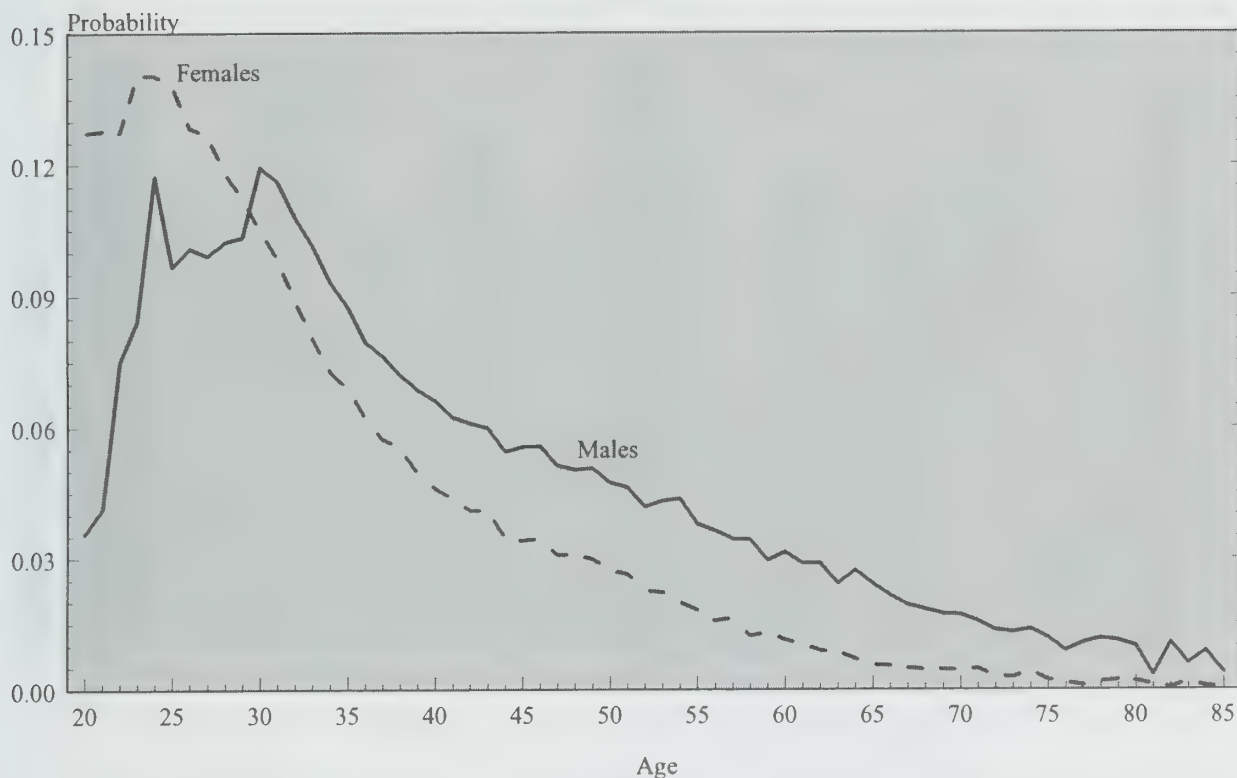
Figure 13 shows the average time spent by the average Canadian man and woman in various marital statuses, using 1981 and 1991 observations. The number of years lived as a divorcee increased by one and a half years for both men and women, while the duration of widowhood decreased by one year for women and remained the same for men. This is

Figure 10. Proportion of Divorced Who Would Remarry, by Sex, Canada and Regions, 1981, 1986 and 1991 According to Multi-State Tables



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, censuses of Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

**Figure 11. Probability of Remarriage for the Divorced by Age and Sex, Canada, 1991
According to Multi-State Tables**

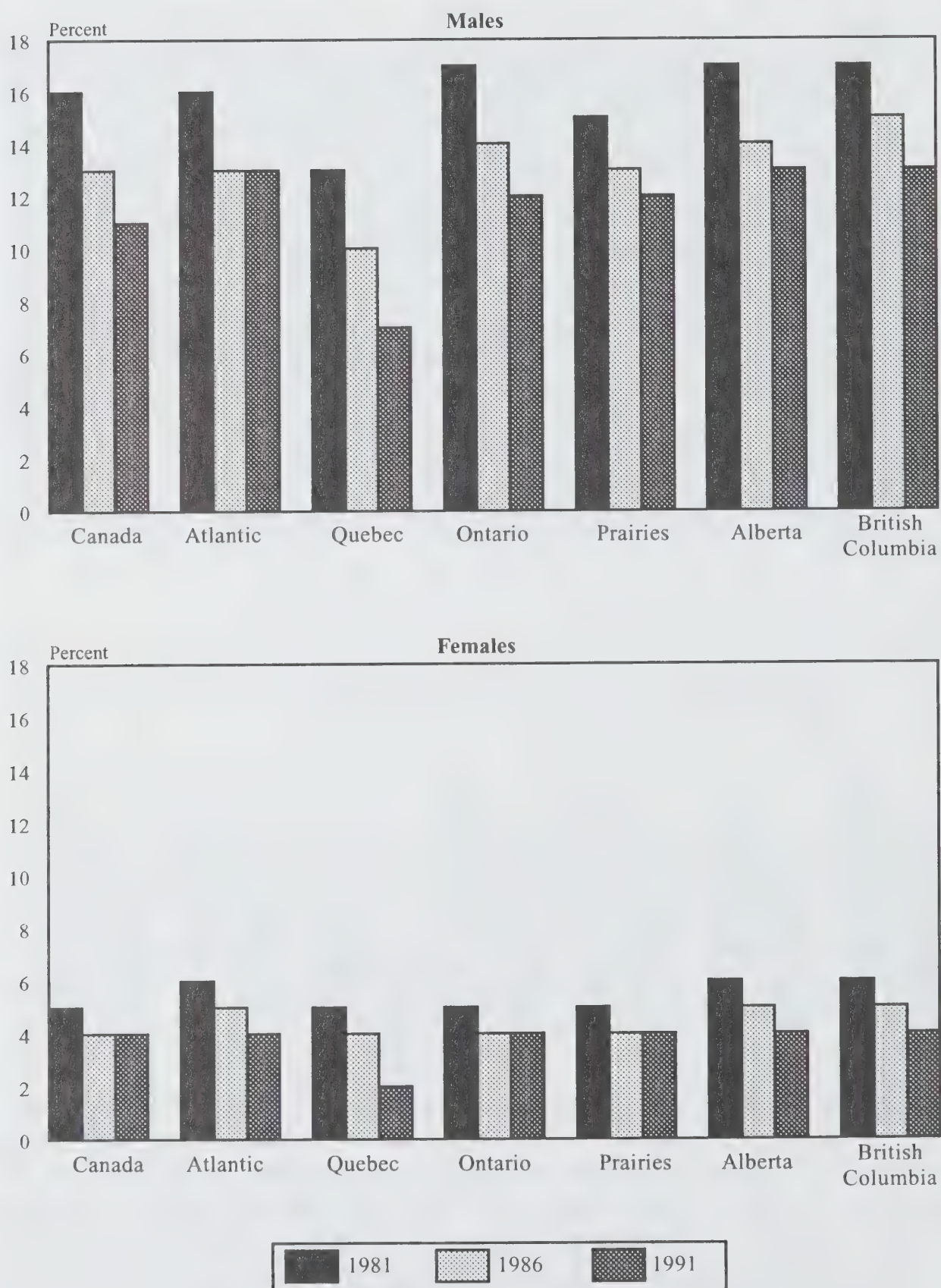


Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, censuses of Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

due to advances in male life expectancy and also the decline in interest in marriage among the divorced. The greatest changes can be seen in the time spent in the married state: a reduction of 5.7 years for men and 4.3 years for women, more than offset by the increase in time spent in the unmarried state: 6.4 years for men and 6.0 years for women. These are the effects of delaying marriage and spending more time in common-law unions.

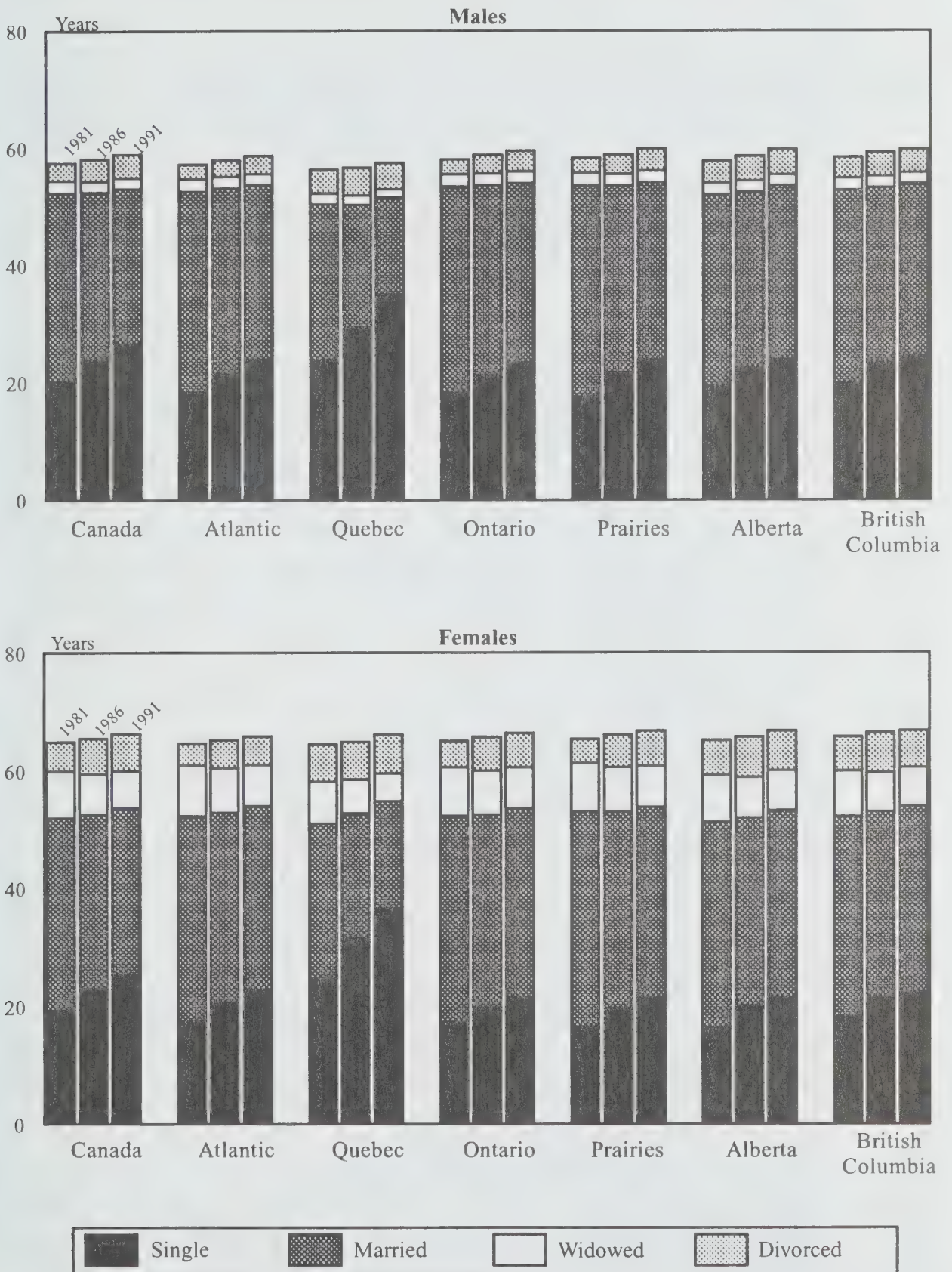
Time spent in the married state is an abstract value which depends on the proportion of people who marry, the average number of marriages per person who marries, and the average duration of each marriage. If only the average duration of each marriage had changed, the time spent as a married person would have decreased by only half a year for men and about a third of a year for women. If only the average number of marriages per married person had changed, the time spent as a married person would have decreased by 1.3 years for men and women. Most of the decrease observed is thus due to the reduction in the proportion of people who marry.

Figure 12. Proportion of the Widowed Who Would Remarry, by Sex, Canada and Regions, 1981, 1986 and 1991 According to Multi-State Tables



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, censuses of Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Figure 13. Expectation at Age 15 of Living in Different Marital Statuses, Canada and Regions, 1981, 1986 and 1991 According to Multi-State Tables



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, censuses of Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

INTERNATIONAL IMMIGRATION

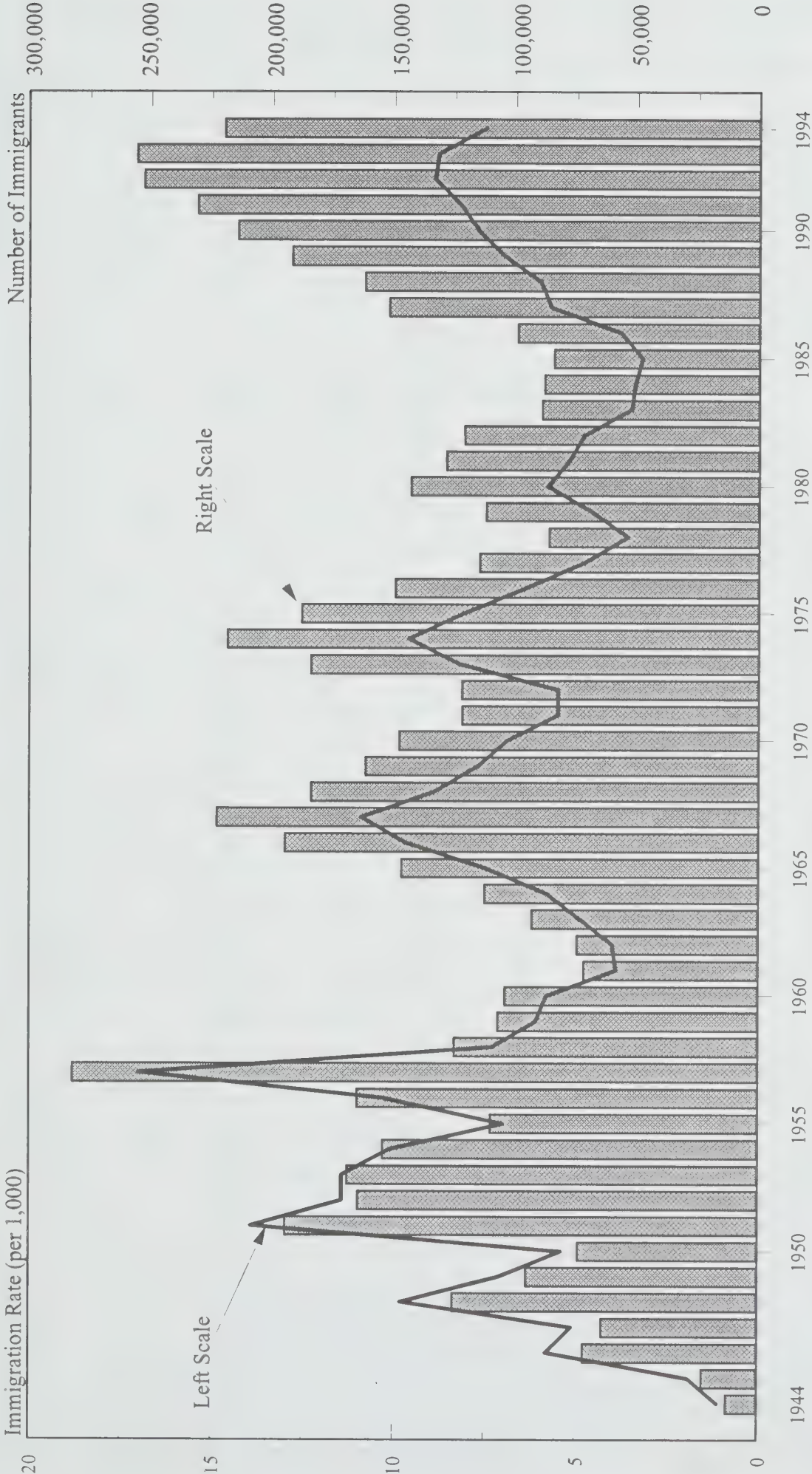
In 1994, Canada granted permanent-resident status to 217,147 people, some 38,600 fewer than the previous year. As a rate, this represents 7.4 immigrants per 1,000 population, a decrease of close to 15% from the preceding year (Figure 14). Emigration remained relatively stable at 45,400, and the net immigration rate thus also declined from 7.3 per 1,000 in 1993 to 5.9 per 1,000 in 1994. It is nonetheless still higher than in the other two leading immigration destinations, the United States (2.8 per 1,000), and Australia, which recently reduced admissions significantly (3.5 per 1,000), and of the same order of magnitude as New Zealand (6.2 per 1,000).

Origins of Immigrants

Not all countries from which immigrants come were affected to the same extent by Canada's reduction of immigration levels. The number of nationals even increased for certain countries of origin. Hong Kong (33,107), China (22,852), the Philippines (18,636) and India (17,928) were still the main sources of immigrants and are still the only ones from which Canada accepted more than 10,000 emigrants (Table 22). Immigrants of this group increased in importance both in terms of numbers and proportion again in 1994, *accounting* with 92,523 immigrants *for 42.6% of all immigration to Canada*, compared to 34.8% (89,087 immigrants) in 1993. These four countries therefore continue to stand out by the volume of their immigration to Canada. By comparison, the 9,681 immigrants from all the countries of the former Yugoslavia, fifth in the list of countries from which immigrants come, represent only about half that from the country before it: India; and less than a third of the country in first place: Hong Kong. Each of the four leading source countries sent more immigrants to Canada than all the countries of the African continent. Natives of Hong Kong and China have even increased significantly in number (9,028 or 19.2%), to the extent that in 1994 these two countries alone accounted for over a quarter (25.7%) of landed immigrants in Canada. Among the countries that supplied more than 2,000 immigrants in 1993 or 1994, increases were recorded, apart from Hong Kong and China, only for South Africa (763), Russia (732), Egypt (568) and Guyana (644).

The Asian countries are increasingly important sources of immigration to Canada (Table A8). In 1993, immigrants from these countries represented 58.4% of total immigration, and they now represent 64.0%. Not all parts of Asia are equally represented, however; the Middle East, for example, has never supplied many immigrants, and its importance continued to decline in 1994. The countries of the Far East and Southeast Asia are mainly responsible for that region's importance as a source of immigrants. The size of the immigrant flow from these countries has pushed far into the background

Figure 14. Number of Immigrants and Immigration Rate, Canada, 1944-1994



Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Table 22. Countries from Which more than 2,000 Immigrants Came to Canada in 1993 or 1994

	1993	1994 ⁴	Difference
AFRICA			
Egypt	1,658	2,226	568
Ghana	2,202	1,341	-861
Republic of South Africa	1,642	2,405	763
Somalia	3,651	1,640	-2,011
AMERICA			
El Salvador	2,963	1,178	-1,785
United States	6,446	4,931	-1,515
Guyana	3,531	4,175	644
Haiti	3,688	2,105	-1,583
Jamaica	6,099	3,774	-2,325
Trinidad and Tobago	4,201	2,289	-1,912
ASIA			
China	19,689	22,852	3,163
South Korea	3,804	2,971	-833
Hong Kong	27,242	33,107	5,865
India	21,668	17,928	-3,740
Iran	4,164	2,850	-1,314
Iraq	3,310	2,196	-1,114
Lebanon	4,794	2,612	-2,182
Pakistan	4,478	4,211	-267
Philippines	20,488	18,636	-1,852
Sri Lanka	9,417	6,744	-2,673
Taiwan	9,362	6,886	-2,476
Vietnam	8,356	6,349	-2,007
EUROPE			
France	3,347	2,483	-864
Great Britain ¹	5,928	4,622	-1,306
Poland	6,924	3,483	-3,441
Romania	3,781	3,509	-272
Russia ²	4,163	4,895	732
Yugoslavia ³	9,974	9,681	-293

¹ Includes England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Channel Islands.

² Includes U.S.S.R., Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova and Russia.

³ Includes Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

⁴ Preliminary data as of September 12, 1995.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Table 23. Percentage Distribution of Landed Immigrants by Intended Province of Destination, Canada, 1956-1994

Province	Year												
	1956	1961	1971	1981	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994 ¹
Newfoundland	0.3	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2
Prince Edward Island	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Nova Scotia	1.0	1.3	1.5	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.5
New Brunswick	0.5	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Quebec	19.0	23.6	15.8	16.4	19.6	17.6	15.9	17.8	19.1	22.4	19.1	17.6	12.5
Ontario	55.0	50.9	52.8	42.7	50.0	55.8	55.0	54.6	53.0	51.5	54.7	52.5	51.9
Manitoba	3.5	3.5	4.3	4.2	3.8	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.1	2.4	2.0	1.9	1.8
Saskatchewan	1.3	1.9	1.2	1.9	1.9	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	0.9	1.0
Alberta	6.0	6.7	7.1	15.0	9.7	7.9	8.7	8.4	8.8	7.4	7.0	7.3	7.9
British Columbia	10.8	10.2	15.5	17.1	12.7	12.4	14.3	13.2	13.4	13.9	14.5	17.9	21.7
Yukon and Northwest Territories	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Unknown	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
Total Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number	164,857	71,689	121,900	128,618	99,219	152,098	161,929	192,001	214,230	230,781	252,842	255,747	219,690

¹ Preliminary data as of September 13, 1995.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Table 24. Percentage of Immigrants to Canada Whose Province of Destination is Quebec, by Class, 1990-1994

Class	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	5 Years
Total	19.1	22.4	19.1	17.6	12.4	18.2
Family	12.5	14.9	12.9	15.0	12.7	13.7
Refugees	17.6	29.2	21.0	21.8	20.7	22.7
Assisted Relatives	13.3	13.7	6.7	5.1	2.5	8.2
Independents	24.4	25.5	24.4	19.1	10.8	20.6

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Ministère des Affaires internationales, de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, *Le Québec en Mouvement 1995* and calculations by the author.

the European countries which, even in the early 1980s, still supplied about a third of Canada's immigrants but which in 1994 accounted for only a sixth (16.9%).

Immigration from Poland appears to have hit a low. In the early 1990s, there were as many as 16,000 immigrants a year from this country, only surpassed by those from Hong Kong. Their number has been declining rapidly since 1992 (Table A8); in 1994, there were fewer than 3,500, a decrease of 50% from the previous year. This situation is due to geopolitical changes in Europe. Between 1993 and 1994, the number of immigrants from four other countries dropped by over 40%: El Salvador (-60%), Somalia (-55%), Trinidad and Tobago (-45%) and Lebanon (-45%). These are countries to which Canada opened its doors wide for humanitarian reasons.

Anticipated Province of Destination

Ontario has always been by far the most popular destination for immigrants. Over half of them (114,100 or 51.9%) planned to settle there, a proportion more or less equal to that of the previous year (Table 23). In terms of numbers, however, this is a reduction of over 20,000. What was really noteworthy was the attraction of British Columbia, particularly in 1994. In a decreasing immigrant flow, the proportion (18% in 1993 and 22% in 1994) and number (45,700 in 1993 and 47,800 in 1994) of immigrants choosing British Columbia increased.

The extent of changes observed in 1994 in the distribution of immigrants by province of destination was all the more striking because annual variations are normally quite small. Since Ontario continues to attract over than half of all immigrants, the increase in the proportion of immigrants choosing British Columbia was at the expense of Quebec. The west coast has long directly attracted approximately 15% of annual immigrants, but in 1994 for the first time, 22% of immigrants said they planned to settle there. Since

Table 25. Projected Number of Immigrants by Class According to the New Immigration Plan, Canada, 1994-1995

	Number (in thousands)			Percentage			
	1994		1995 Plan	1994		1995 Plan	
	Planned	Observed		Planned	Observed	Minimum	Maximum
Immediate Family	68.0	..	53.0 to 55.0	27.2	..	27.9	25.6
Parents and Grandparents	43.0	..	33.0 to 35.0	17.2	..	17.4	16.3
Total (Family)	111.0	92.3	86.0 to 90.0	44.4	42.4	45.3	41.9
Skilled Workers	73.7	80.0	56.0 to 61.0	29.5	36.7	29.5	28.4
Principal Applicant	30.7	..	24.0 to 26.0	12.3	..	12.6	12.1
Dependant	43.0	..	32.0 to 35.0	17.2	..	16.8	16.3
Business	24.0	27.0	15.0 to 19.0	9.6	12.4	7.9	8.8
Principal Applicant	6.0	..	4.0 to 5.0	2.4	..	2.1	2.3
Dependant	18.0	..	11.0 to 14.0	7.2	..	5.8	6.5
Total (Economic)	97.7	107.0	71.0 to 80.0	39.1	49.1	37.4	37.2
Live-in Caregiver	8.0	..	5.0 to 7.0	3.2	..	2.6	3.3
Deferred Removal Order Class	-	..	4.0 to 6.0	-	..	2.1	2.8
Retirees	5.0	..	...	2.0	..	...	...
Total (Others)	13.0	..	9.0 to 13.0	5.2	..	4.7	6.0
Total Immigrant	221.7	199.3	166.0 to 183.0	88.7	91.5	87.4	85.1
Government Assisted	7.3	..	7.3 to 7.3	2.9	..	3.8	3.4
Privately Sponsored	6.0	..	2.7 to 3.7	2.4	..	1.4	1.7
Refugees Landed in Canada	15.0	..	12.0 to 18.0	6.0	..	6.3	8.4
Dependants Abroad	-	..	2.0 to 3.0	-	..	1.1	1.4
Total (Refugee)	28.3	18.5	24.0 to 32.0	11.3	8.5	12.6	14.9
Total	250.0	217.8	190.0 to 215.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *A Broader Vision: Immigration and Citizenship Plan 1995-2000*, annual report to Parliament, 1994.

1946, Quebec has only occasionally received less than 17% of immigrants to Canada, but in 1994 only 12.5% planned to settle there. In two years, Quebec and British Columbia had changed place. In 1992, Quebec's international migration balance was 42,300 and that of British Columbia, 30,000; in 1994 these balances were 21,400 and 41,300 respectively.

The decrease in immigration to Quebec in number of persons is impressive: 27,400 immigrants in 1994 compared to 44,900 in 1993, a drop of 17,500 or 39% from the 1993 level. This is despite the fact that Quebec's immigration plan anticipated 40,000 immigrants.¹⁴ Under the Canada-Quebec Accord on Immigration, this province participates in the selection of independent immigrants,¹⁵ which might explain the larger proportion of this class in Quebec before 1994 (Table 24). These immigrants, and in particular

¹⁴ This is already well below the 55,000 immigrants Quebec might have received under the provisions of the Canada-Quebec Accord on Immigration, which was intended to allow this province to receive the proportion of immigrants to Canada each year that corresponds to its demographic weight in Confederation.

¹⁵ The independent-immigrant class includes retirees, business, assisted relatives and other independents.

Table 26. Percentage Distribution of Immigrants by Class According to the New Immigration Plan, Canada, 1994-2000

Class	1994	1995	1996	1997-1999	2000
Economic	43.0	43.0	47.0	52.0	53.0
Family	51.0	51.0	47.0	44.0	44.0
Others	6.0	6.0	6.0	4.0	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *A Broader Vision: Immigration and Citizenship Plan 1995-2000*, annual report to Parliament, 1994.

business people, are sensitive to the economic climate, and it is not unlikely that the current economic situation is responsible for the decline in the number of foreign applications. In addition, as a result of difficult labour-market conditions, Quebec's Department of International Affairs, Immigration and Cultural Communities (MAIICC) has tightened its selection criteria. Operational problems related to the reorganization of immigration offices by the federal government might also have been partly responsible for this decrease, in particular with respect to immigrants selected abroad.

Immigration Levels and the New Immigration and Citizenship Plan

The 1991-1995 five-year plan, which anticipated maintaining the annual number of immigrants at 250,000 until 1995, has now been abandoned and replaced by a new plan which puts more emphasis on the objectives of immigration policy than on the total number of immigrants accepted. The former plan allowed a shortfall in one class to be offset by an increase in the number of immigrants accepted in another class to arrive at the total number of immigrants expected, despite the fact that the size of each class had been calculated in the first place on the basis of a policy objective (the economy, humanitarian aid and family reunification). From now on, the total number of people admitted every year will be the sum of the number admissible in each class. There will obviously be a range of values in each class so as to maintain a degree of flexibility and achieve the overall objectives of the policy. Immigration levels are expected to drop, and the number of immigrants in 1995 might lie between 190,000 and 215,000 (Table 25).

The new plan puts the accent on the economic aspect of immigration policy. While the new orientation means that numbers are no longer an imperative,¹⁶ the proportion that each class should represent will continue to be calculated. The breakdown forecast for the period 1995-2000 (Table 26)

¹⁶ The total number of immigrants will be set on an annual basis taking into account the absorptive capacity of the country and long-term objectives.

Table 27. Immigrants to Canada by Class, 1981-1994

Year		Family Class	Refugees ²	Designated Persons	Assisted Relatives	Independent Immigrants ³	Total
1981	No.	51,017	810	14,169	17,590	45,032	128,618
	%	39.7	0.6	11.0	13.7	35.0	100.0
1982	No.	49,980	1,791	15,134	11,948	42,294	121,147
	%	41.3	1.5	12.5	9.9	34.9	100.0
1983	No.	48,698	4,100	9,867	4,997	21,495	89,157
	%	54.6	4.6	11.1	5.6	24.1	100.0
1984	No.	43,814	5,625	9,717	8,167	20,916	88,239
	%	49.7	6.4	11.0	9.3	23.7	100.0
1985	No.	38,514	6,080	10,680	7,396	21,632	84,302
	%	45.7	7.2	12.7	8.8	25.7	100.0
1986	No.	42,197	6,490	12,657	5,890	31,985	99,219
	%	42.5	6.5	12.8	5.9	32.2	100.0
1987	No.	53,598	7,473	14,092	12,283	64,652	152,098
	%	35.2	4.9	9.3	8.1	42.5	100.0
1988	No.	51,331	8,741	18,095	15,567	68,195	161,929
	%	31.7	5.4	11.2	9.6	42.1	100.0
1989	No.	60,774	10,210	26,794	21,520	72,703	192,001
	%	31.7	5.3	14.0	11.2	37.9	100.0
1990	No.	73,457	11,398	28,291	23,393	77,691	214,230
	%	34.3	5.3	13.2	10.9	36.3	100.0
1991	No.	86,378	18,374	35,027	22,247	68,755	230,781
	%	37.4	8.0	15.2	9.6	29.8	100.0
1992	No.	99,960	28,699	23,176	19,880	81,127	252,842
	%	39.5	11.4	9.2	7.9	32.1	100.0
1993 ¹	No.	111,178	22,035	8,159	22,191	88,574	252,137
	%	44.1	8.7	3.2	8.8	35.1	100.0
1994 ¹	No.	92,263	16,643	1,864	26,939	80,054	217,763
	%	42.4	7.6	0.9	12.4	36.8	100.0

¹ Preliminary data as of April 1995.

² Convention refugees.

³ Includes business, retirees and other independants.

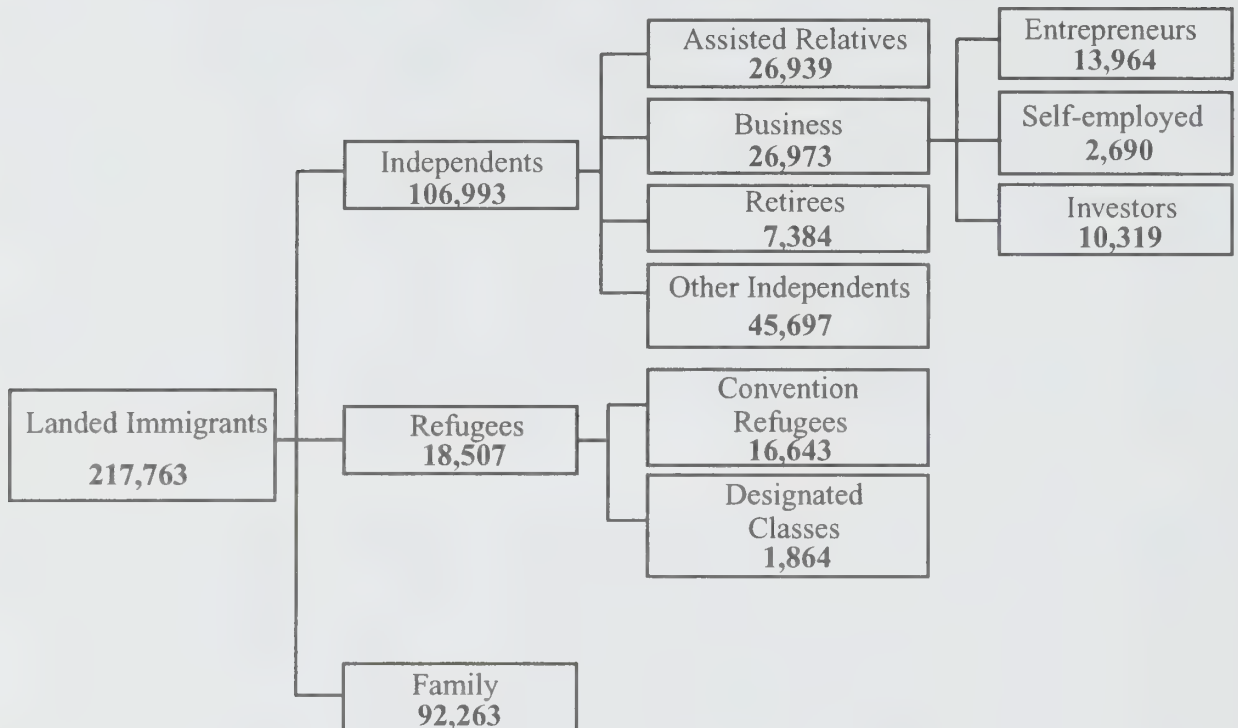
Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

shows a wish to increase the independent class (from 43% in 1995 to 53% in 2000), and to reduce immigrants coming in under family reunification (from 51% to 44%). The importance given to independent immigrants is also reflected in the awarding of selection points; since 1993, more points have been given for educational level and skills as well as for the ability to speak one of the two official languages.

Immigrant Classes for 1994

Preliminary figures for 1994 show this policy being put into effect (Figure 15 and Table 27). The number of immigrants decreased in the three classes, although at quite different rates. Whereas immigrants in the family class decreased in a proportion similar to that of the total (-17.0%), those

Figure 15. Distribution of Immigrants by Class and Category, 1994¹



¹ Preliminary data as of April 1995.

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

in the refugee category were down much more (-38.7%) and *the independent class remained relatively stable* (-3.4%). The result is that this last class increased considerably and now represents close to half the total immigrants (49.1% compared to 43.9% the previous year), *at the expense of the refugee category, whose proportion (8.5%) dipped below the 10% level for the first time since these statistics began being published (1981).*

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW IMMIGRANTS ON ARRIVAL

Age and Sex

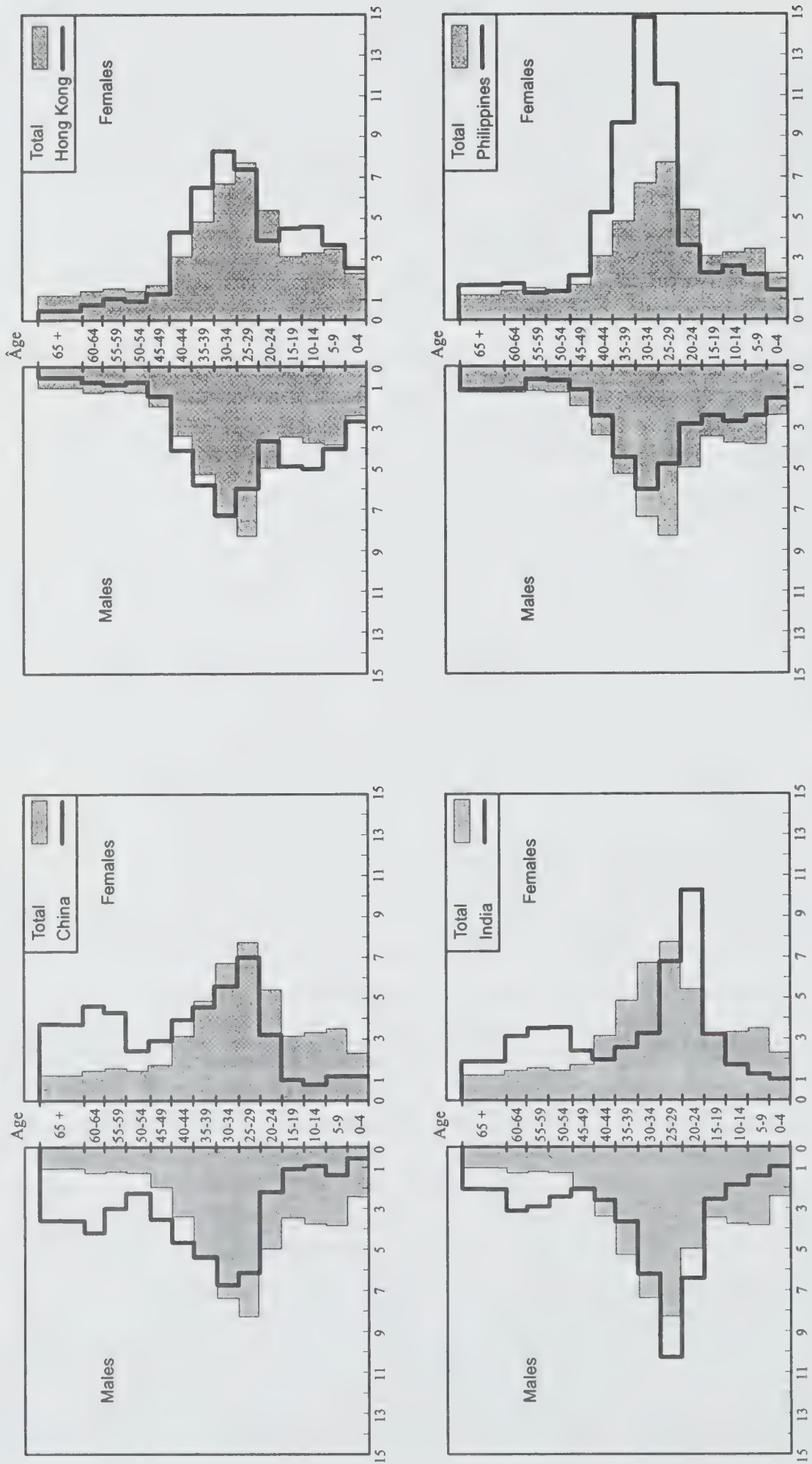
Given the importance taken by the new countries contributing to immigration, it is worthwhile to examine the demographic characteristics of new arrivals. The information comes from the immigration statistics compiled each year by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and concerns immigrants arriving during the period 1990 to 1992, the last three years for which final figures were available at the time of writing. While basic demographic data such as age, sex and marital status can be assumed to be reliable, figures on province of destination require more caution since they have to do only with intentions.

Figure 16 compares the breakdown by age and sex of all immigrants with that of immigrants who were natives of the four main source countries. *The age pyramid of the immigrant population is a pyramid in name only. The overall shape of the age and sex breakdown of this population looks more like a lozenge due to the high concentration in the 20-44 age group, which accounts for over half of all immigrants (57%).* The immigrant population is young, in the sense that the proportion of those under 20 (26%) is greater than that of those over 45 (17%) and there are very few individuals over 65 (5%). The sex ratio is close to unity (349,500 men and 348,300 women).

Compared to immigrants as a whole, those born in Hong Kong were even younger: 32% were under 20 and only 10% were over 45, of whom only 2% were over 65. Women were slightly more numerous than men (the sex ratio was 94.3). Those from China had a similar sex ratio with 96.0 men per 100 women, but the age structure is bimodal and, above all, the population is much older: 15% of immigrants born in China were over 65 on arriving in Canada, a percentage three times higher than that of immigrants as a whole and even higher than that of the Canadian population in the 1991 census (11.6%). The Chinese represent 8% of all immigrants, but 26% of immigrants 65 and over. At the opposite end of the age scale, people under 20 made up over a quarter of all immigrants but only a twelfth of the immigrants born in China. There were also large proportions of immigrants in the 25-29 and 30-34 age groups, which, although not peculiar to China, nevertheless stands out in contrast to the abnormally small younger age groups.

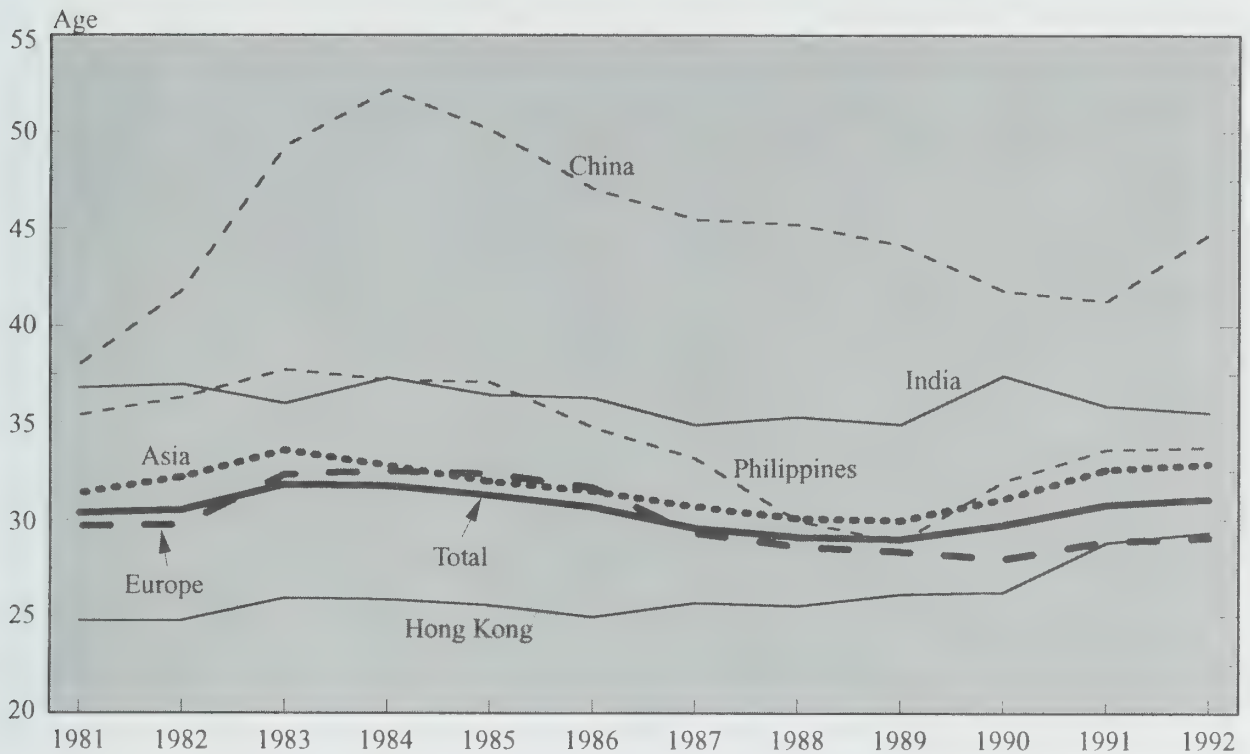
As a general rule, the place of birth of immigrants gives a good idea of their ethnic origin, but in the case of Hong Kong and mainland China it is hard to make a distinction between the two countries since the ethnic origin is often the same. Two historical events explain the surprising shape of the age pyramid of immigrants born in China. The history of migratory exchanges between China and Hong Kong is to a great extent responsible for the large proportion of elderly people among immigrants born in China. Hong Kong is a young “city state” with a capitalist regime whose recent rapid population growth has been fuelled by immigration from its neighbour, the most densely populated country in the world, with a Communist political regime. A large proportion of Hong Kong residents are Chinese who first fled the socialist regime of the People’s Republic of China. With the coming expiry of the long-term lease between the British and the Chinese and the consequent return of Hong Kong to China, many of those who first fled the socialist regime are now seeking to leave Hong Kong. In 1992, for example, over half the immigrants born in China and close to three-quarters of those over 65 gave Hong Kong as their last country of permanent residence. The second important event was the Canadian decision, following the armed repression of student demonstrations in Tien an Men Square, to offer all Chinese students temporarily resident in Canada the opportunity to exchange their temporary-

Figure 16. Age Pyramids of Immigrants by Place of Birth, Canada, 1990-1992 (in percent)



Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, and calculations by the author.

Figure 17. Average Age of Immigrants by Place of Birth, Canada, 1981-1992



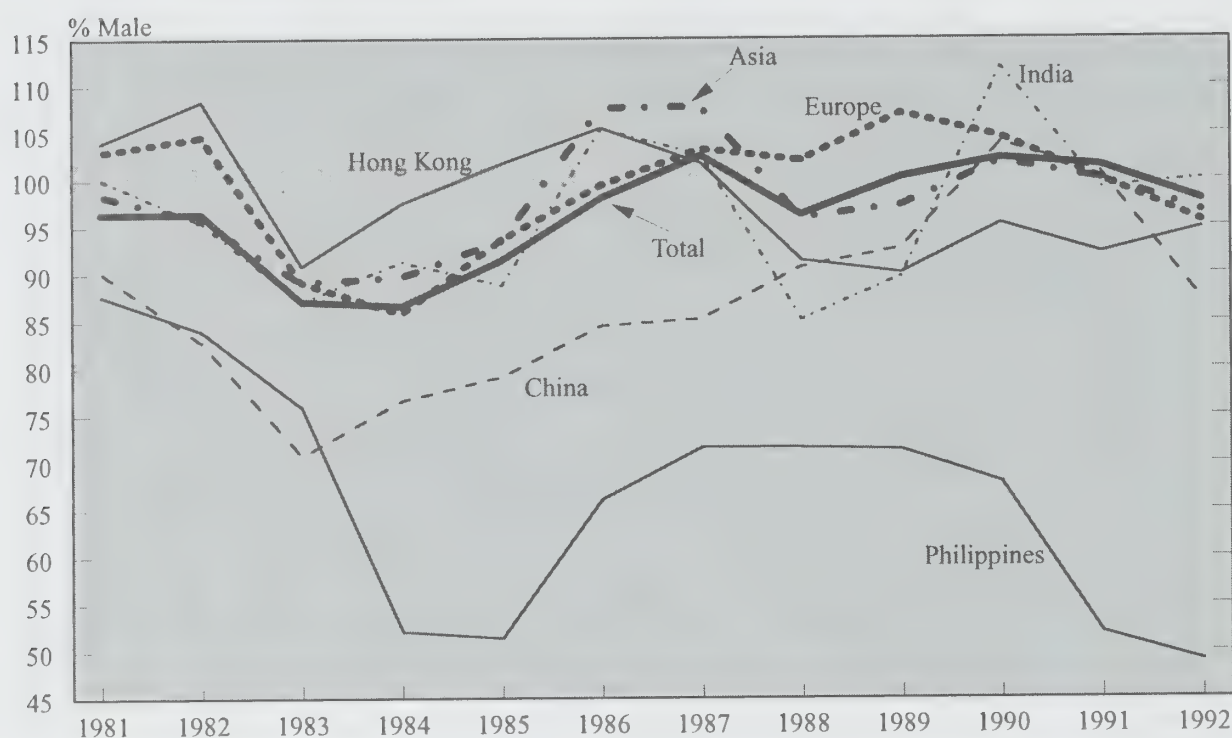
Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and calculations by the author.

resident visa for permanent-resident status. Some 19,000 students benefitted from this exceptional measure and became landed immigrants. Since these were generally graduate university students, often without children, this would explain both the size of the 25-34 age group and the small proportion of those 14 and under.

The age structure of immigrants from India shows a larger proportion of older people and a smaller proportion of young people under 20 than in the immigrant population as a whole, without however displaying distortions as wide as those of immigrants born in China. Only 14% of Indian immigrants were under 20 and about 8% were over 65. What is curious is the size of the group of women aged 20 to 24, 21% of women, almost twice the proportion of immigrants as a whole (11%). For men, the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups were also large compared to the total. It is possible that the high degree of endogamy among immigrants from India results in the concentration of immigrants in these male and female age groups, since these are the ages when most marriages take place. Many Indian men and women in Canada would choose their future spouse in India.

As for immigration from the Philippines, it is noteworthy for the large number of women, particularly between the ages 25 and 39. Two-thirds of Filipino immigrants are women. This state of affairs is directly linked

Figure 18. Sex Ratio of Immigrants by Country of Birth, Canada, 1981-1992



Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and calculations by the author.

to the importance that the Canadian Live-in Caregiver Program has taken on over the years for citizens of this country. People accepted under this program first come in as non-permanent residents and, after working for two years with a temporary work permit, can apply for permanent-resident status. This waiting period would explain in part why the modal age group is older than that of the immigrant population in general.

As shown in Figures 17 and 18, the differences in structure by age and sex seen in the age pyramids of immigrants arriving between 1990 and 1992 are not due to the current economic situation. The average ages of immigrants born in China, and to a lesser extent those from India, are consistently higher, in fact much higher, than the average age of immigrants as a whole. Conversely, immigrants born in Hong Kong are consistently younger, although the trend in recent years has been towards the average. The sex ratio of immigrants from the Philippines exceeded 75 men per 100 women only in 1981 and 1982, but has twice as often been around 50 men per 100 women.

Marital and Family Status

Immigrants from these four countries show breakdowns by marital status and family status that differ both one from the other and from all other

Table 28. Distribution of Immigrants of the Four Main Countries of Origin by Marital Status and Family Status, Canada, 1990-1993

	Country of Origin					
	China	Hong Kong	India	Philippines	Others	Total
Single Married Widowed Divorced Others Total	Marital Status					
	27.5	60.8	37.6	62.8	51.6	50.3
	64.0	37.5	56.6	32.3	43.6	44.8
	6.9	1.0	5.2	3.6	2.6	3.0
	1.0	0.5	0.3	0.3	1.5	1.2
	0.6	0.1	0.2	1.0	0.6	0.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Claimant Spouse Dependent Child Others Total	Family Status					
	63.0	29.6	55.4	62.8	54.5	53.3
	23.3	16.4	16.9	9.0	13.0	14.2
	10.2	39.3	24.4	22.6	28.6	27.6
	3.5	14.6	3.2	5.6	3.9	5.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics*, and calculations by the author.

immigrant source countries (Table 28). Whereas half of all immigrants are unmarried on arrival in Canada, this proportion is almost two-thirds for those born in Hong Kong (60.8%) and the Philippines (62.8%), one-third among those from India (37.6%) and a little over a quarter for those from China (27.5%). In the case of India, this observation gives further support to the hypothesis of search for a spouse because of endogamy. These differences are obviously linked to the particularly young age structure of immigrants from the Philippines and Hong Kong and the older age structure of those from India and particularly China.

It should be noted that, while the breakdowns by marital status for immigrants born in Hong Kong and the Philippines are similar, there is a great difference between them in their relative proportions of applicants and dependants. Two-thirds of Filipino immigrants are themselves applicants, while the proportion is less than a third for natives of Hong Kong. The high proportions of unmarried people and principal applicants among Filipinos are in line with the importance of the Live-in Caregiver Program. In the case of natives of Hong Kong, many of the children born there have parents who were born in China, which would explain the unusually high percentage of dependent children (39.3%) from this country and the curiously low percentage of applicants (29.6%).

Table 29. Distribution of Immigrants of Four Main Countries of Origin by Intended Region of Destination, Canada, 1990-1993

	Country of Birth					
	China	Hong Kong	India	Philippines	Others	Total
Atlantic	1.7	0.7	1.4	0.5	1.8	1.6
Quebec	11.6	12.4	7.0	7.6	23.7	19.5
Ontario	47.5	48.5	53.4	54.4	54.1	53.0
Prairies	13.0	11.0	11.7	19.8	9.8	10.9
British Columbia	26.2	27.5	26.6	17.8	10.6	15.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and calculations by the author.

Choice of Province of Destination

Nearly half the immigrants from each of these four immigrant source countries stated that they intended to settle in Ontario, and in this they differ little from other immigrants (Table 29). However, a much smaller proportion of these immigrants choose Quebec, which has the effect of benefiting especially British Columbia. Although during the period under study Quebec succeeded in attracting 23.7% of immigrants from all other countries, a percentage fairly close to its demographic weight in Confederation, only one immigrant out of fifteen (7.0%) from India planned to settle in that province and, although slightly higher, the proportion of Hong Kong natives¹⁷ was nevertheless no more than one out of eight (12.4%). British Columbia on the other hand attracted a much larger proportion of immigrants from these four countries than from all other countries. Over a quarter of immigrants born in China (26.2%), Hong Kong (27.5%) and India (26.6%) planned to settle in this west-coast province, whereas one counted only one out of ten (10.6%) among those from other countries. It is also curious to note the substantial proportion of immigrants from the Philippines (19.8%) who wanted to settle in the Prairies, a percentage almost twice as high as that for other countries (9.8%).

INTERNAL MIGRATION

Traditionally, preliminary estimates of internal migration were calculated on the basis of information from family-allowance records. This universal program yielded one of the best estimates of monthly internal movements of families with children in the world. Thanks to adjustment factors proven through long use, it was possible to obtain a highly satisfactory estimate of the annual number of interprovincial migrants and of flows between provinces. For the first time in 1993, preliminary figures on internal mobility

¹⁷Quebec makes special efforts to recruit these well-off immigrants.

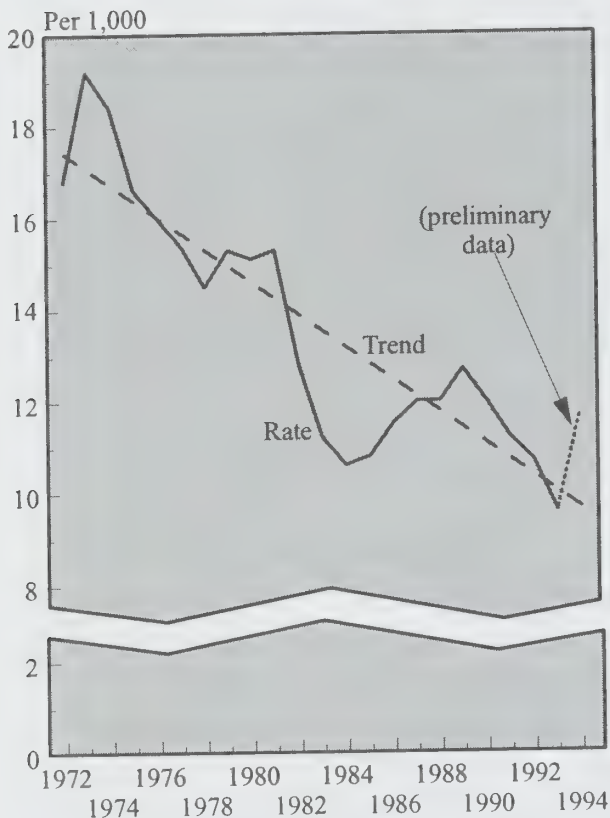
Table 30. Annual Number of Interprovincial Migrants from Revenue Canada Tax Files,
January to December 1993

Number of Migrants: 276,413

Province of Origin	Province of Destination											
	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.
Newfoundland	...	146	1,708	629	263	4,333	181	89	1,268	1,402	47	193
Prince Edward Island	74	...	446	368	69	544	17	6	165	182	1	3
Nova Scotia	1,012	511	...	2,457	1,012	5,950	525	259	1,717	2,927	28	98
New Brunswick	358	416	2,299	...	1,910	3,644	270	119	1,060	1,082	12	39
Quebec	286	119	865	1,865	...	19,379	521	264	2,057	5,146	65	145
Ontario	3,263	854	5,902	3,482	15,464	...	4,463	2,393	11,050	25,048	145	564
Manitoba	178	21	475	274	589	5,063	...	2,314	4,300	5,705	47	249
Saskatchewan	77	18	283	73	416	2,101	2,280	...	9,723	5,276	135	219
Alberta	697	190	1,207	816	1,715	9,222	3,262	7,135	...	25,611	349	1,022
British Columbia	512	159	1,486	716	1,919	9,877	2,647	2,874	15,526	...	664	353
Yukon	56	5	47	14	34	205	82	146	507	1,233	...	63
Northwest Territories	90	24	96	62	144	390	230	232	1,115	576	108	...
In	6,603	2,463	14,814	10,756	23,535	60,708	14,478	15,831	48,488	74,188	1,601	2,948
Out	10,259	1,875	16,496	11,209	30,712	72,628	19,215	20,601	51,226	36,733	2,392	3,067
Net Migration	-3,656	588	-1,682	-453	-7,177	-11,920	-4,737	-4,770	-2,738	37,455	-791	-119

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Figure 19. Interprovincial Migration Rates, Canada, 1972-1994



Sources: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

losses for Ontario (-11,900 instead of -15,200) and Alberta (-2,700 instead of -4,400) against lower gains for British Columbia (37,500 instead 38,900) and heavier losses for Nova Scotia (-1,700 instead of -500) and Saskatchewan (-4,800 instead of -3,300).

For almost a quarter of a century mobility in Canada has been falling (Figure 19), but overlying this basic trend are small fluctuations which coincide with recessions. Observation shows that, during periods of recession, employment stagnates or shrinks, with fewer job offerings exerting downward pressure on mobility. Conversely, during periods of prosperity, the number of movements increases. *The internal migration rate reached its lowest levels at the end of the last two recessions: 10.6 per 1,000 in 1984 and 9.6 per 1,000 in 1993. The low mobility in 1993 is in line with the long-term trend represented by the trend line and also reflects the extent of the economic difficulties that affected the country in the early 1990s.*

were calculated in part using records on child tax benefits, those on family allowances having been phased out.¹⁸ These changes have no doubt weakened the quality of preliminary data. Compared to the final figures obtained using income-tax records, the preliminary estimates for 1993 were overestimated: instead of 319,000 interprovincial migrants, the final figures show 276,400, approximately 42,700 people or 13.4% fewer (Table 30).

Almost all interprovincial movements were overestimated (84 out of 90) but, although the volume of migrants indicated by the preliminary figures was significantly affected, provincial net balances were much less affected, and remarks concerning overall migratory trends, in particular the attraction of British Columbia for those leaving all other provinces, remain valid. Among the most noteworthy changes resulting from the final figures are the lower

¹⁸ Eligibility for these benefits is no longer universal but depends on family income.

Table 31. Annual Number of Interprovincial Migrants from Revenue Canada Tax Files
and Child Tax Credits
January to December 1994
Number of Migrants: 341,863

Province of Origin	Province of Destination											
	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.
Newfoundland	...	223	2,629	717	416	7,470	216	134	1,709	2,000	34	390
Prince Edward Island	126	...	509	419	103	538	32	97	182	241	-	-
Nova Scotia	1,569	922	...	3,109	1,059	7,572	515	265	1,934	3,737	32	242
New Brunswick	457	632	2,846	...	2,335	4,789	345	121	1,277	1,131	-	156
Quebec	369	115	1,158	2,612	...	26,262	583	320	1,949	6,788	53	159
Ontario	4,515	953	6,671	4,519	17,000	...	5,545	2,657	12,323	26,702	179	483
Manitoba	227	52	456	487	680	5,796	...	3,339	5,178	6,907	44	275
Saskatchewan	87	56	228	170	223	2,750	3,426	...	11,863	5,946	55	290
Alberta	885	173	1,762	807	1,666	10,864	5,125	9,873	...	30,850	528	1,268
British Columbia	507	192	1,631	841	2,323	14,175	3,771	4,047	19,298	...	860	420
Yukon	23	4	17	8	22	127	30	37	547	1,313	...	154
Northwest Territories	132	6	135	130	194	561	359	241	1,394	717	166	...
In	8,897	3,328	18,042	13,819	26,021	80,904	19,947	21,131	57,654	86,332	1,951	3,837
Out	15,938	2,247	20,956	14,089	40,368	81,547	23,441	25,094	63,801	48,065	2,282	4,035
Net Migration	-7,041	1,081	-2,914	-270	-14,347	-643	-3,494	-3,963	-6,147	38,267	-331	-198

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Table 32. Net Migration for Provinces and Territories, 1970-1994

Year	New- foundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon and Northwest Territories	Total
1970	-5,950	-29	-3,967	-2,373	-41,156	54,590	-7,707	-28,358	9,898	22,579	2,473	412,559
1971	733	-129	-755	1,798	-25,005	18,580	-7,251	-17,986	2,408	25,034	2,573	405,301
1972	-189	858	2,845	241	-19,891	8,227	-7,735	-17,296	6,538	24,927	1,475	375,184
1973	-2,510	478	2,107	2,841	-14,730	-5,275	-2,200	-13,261	2,698	30,537	-685	433,992
1974	-618	1,386	1,576	4,192	-11,852	-22,163	-5,400	-4,835	14,810	22,655	249	421,336
1975	915	814	4,454	7,572	-12,340	-25,057	-4,134	6,555	23,463	-2,864	622	385,330
1976	-2,732	309	361	1,640	-20,801	-10,508	-3,655	3,819	34,215	-1,490	-1,158	376,970
1977	-4,009	614	-1,277	-886	-46,536	8,596	-3,789	384	32,344	15,507	-948	366,918
1978	-3,540	25	-109	-1,644	-33,424	415	-9,557	-3,701	31,987	20,698	-1,150	348,929
1979	-4,217	-225	-1,840	-2,219	-30,025	-15,317	-13,806	-3,510	39,212	33,241	-1,294	370,862
1980	-3,082	-1,082	-2,494	-4,165	-24,283	-34,919	-11,342	-4,382	46,933	40,165	-1,349	372,167
1981	-6,238	-783	-2,465	-4,766	-22,549	-19,665	-3,621	-520	40,243	21,565	-1,201	380,041
1982	261	-6	1,591	2,183	-28,169	19,614	1,498	1,743	3,961	-2,019	-657	322,634
1983	-1,092	799	3,861	2,296	-19,080	32,825	950	2,501	-26,246	4,029	-843	285,599
1984	-3,585	524	2,963	812	-10,943	36,691	-49	733	-30,591	3,505	-60	273,323
1985	-5,019	-13	-234	-1,559	-6,023	33,414	-1,755	-5,014	-9,568	-3,199	-1,030	281,275
1986	-4,682	-493	-739	-2,897	-3,020	42,916	-3,039	-7,020	-20,293	910	-1,643	302,352
1987	-4,374	301	-2,183	-1,762	-7,410	40,278	-4,751	-9,043	-27,595	17,618	-1,079	318,890
1988	-2,154	424	71	-1,215	-7,003	14,898	-8,584	-16,338	-5,535	25,865	-429	323,685
1989	-2,606	-102	572	-21	-8,379	-1,205	-10,004	-18,589	3,366	37,367	-399	347,990
1990	-1,137	-273	-106	1,014	-9,567	-15,117	-8,613	-15,928	11,055	38,704	-32	332,637
1991	-1,086	-416	1,039	-79	-13,047	-9,978	-7,581	-9,498	5,510	34,572	564	315,419
1992	-2,731	482	138	-1,155	-9,501	-13,242	-6,152	-6,914	-73	39,458	-310	306,382
1993	-3,656	588	-1,682	-453	-7,177	-11,920	-4,737	-4,770	-2,738	37,455	-910	276,413
1994	-7,041	1,081	-2,914	-270	-14,347	-643	-3,494	-3,963	-6,147	38,267	-529	341,863
Total	-70,339	5,132	813	-875	-446,258	126,035	-136,508	-175,191	179,855	525,086	-7,750	8,678,051

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Preliminary figures for 1994 appear to indicate that the economic recovery, like those before it, has favoured mobility. According to these preliminary figures the number of migrants stood at 341,900 in 1994 (Table 31). The comparison of the preliminary and final figures for 1993 suggests that this figure might be overestimated,¹⁹ but that the trends and particularly the balances should indicate real changes. Among the most notable can be emphasized: an almost nil balance for Ontario in contrast with the large negative balances of the four previous years (-12,600 on average, Table 32), but consonant with the economic recovery; an important deterioration in the position of Quebec (a loss of 14,300) and Newfoundland (a loss of 7,000) mainly benefiting Ontario, and a negative balance for Alberta (-6,100) mainly in favour of British Columbia. As for this province, it continued to be the only one showing a large positive balance in its population exchanges with the others (38,300).

THE INSTITUTIONALIZED POPULATION

What do a nun in a convent, a Naval rating at sea, an elderly nursing-home resident and a penitentiary inmate have in common? They are all classified by the Census as residents in collective dwellings. Published census data include the minimum of information on this population, and it is excluded from almost all surveys. The grounds for this neglect are that its share of the total population is small, 1.6% in 1991,²⁰ and has been shrinking; and that it is a residual category whose members have nothing important in common.

But there are arguments for paying more attention to it. The population in collective dwellings, although small, is not negligible: over 440,000 people in the 1991 census. The aging of the population is slowing the fall in its share of the population. Certain components of the population are of public-policy interest: long-term residents of health-related facilities, for example, or the inmates of correctional institutions. Recent public policy has stressed deinstitutionalization, shifting people from supervised collective dwellings to private households. Finally, however little else they have in common, the members of this population are distinguished by the fact that, willingly or unwillingly, they find themselves in living arrangements differing from those modern society considers normal. Its demographic significance lies in this feature: it is that part of the population which, for one reason or another, is outside the nuclear family, the milieu in which the population is reproduced.²¹

¹⁹ It would constitute a 23.7% increase over the number of migrants in the previous year!

²⁰ 1991 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada Catalogue No. 93-311, Table 2.

²¹ With one notable exception: members of the Hutterian Brotherhood.

Census Concepts

The current Census concepts on the subject date back to the 1961 census, although the basic idea goes back much further. Census enumeration begins with the dwelling, a set of living quarters in which a person or group of persons resides or could reside. Dwellings are classified as collective or private. A collective dwelling is one of a commercial, institutional or communal nature. Like private dwellings, collective dwellings may be unoccupied, or occupied by usual residents. Only in the latter case is the dwelling counted in the census. It should be kept in mind that collective dwellings are not the same as non-family households; the latter are in private dwellings.

People are enumerated where they are found on the day of the census but tabulated in their usual place of residence. Of course most people are found in the private dwelling in which they normally live, but some are temporarily away from home (for example, in a hotel or hospital) and some do not live in a private dwelling (for example, soldiers in barracks or someone living in a rooming house). They will be enumerated as residents of a collective dwelling only if they are long-term residents (resident for more than six months) or if they have no other usual place of residence in Canada.

Collective dwellings are grouped into a few large categories. The two most important numerically are institutional collective dwellings and service collective dwellings. Smaller categories are work camps, military camps and Hutterite colonies. In the 1991 census, institutional residents make up three-quarters of the population in collective dwellings. Institutions comprise hospitals and other related institutions, with 63% of the population in collective dwellings (these are referred to as health-related facilities in this section), religious institutions (7%), correctional institutions (4%) and orphanages (less than 1%). Within the hospital category, the most important institutions in terms of number of long-term residents are special-care homes for the elderly and the chronically ill. These include fully half the population in collective dwellings.

The most important of the non-institutional groups in collective dwellings is people living in service collective dwellings, for example, lodgings, but this is no longer a common life-style. Here, older men are slightly more numerous than older women (5,500 compared to 4,200 for those aged 65 or over), contrary to the situation in health-related facilities.

The age-sex structure is highly skewed in most components of the population in collective dwellings, although not always in the same direction. In the 1991 census, women aged 75 or over make up 58% of all residents of special-care homes, and women aged 65 or over make up 53% of all residents of religious institutions. At the same time, men under 35 make up 65% of all residents of correctional facilities.

In fact, in the younger adult years, men are more likely to be long-term residents of collective dwellings than women whatever the type of dwelling. This is obviously true for work camps and military camps, and notoriously true for correctional facilities, but it is also true for health-related facilities.

While other segments of the population in collective dwellings are also affected by public policy or by the shifting age-sex structure of the population, particularly those in correctional facilities, the armed forces and service collective dwellings, the long-term population in health-related facilities is of particular importance because of its large and growing size and the costs associated with it.

Health-Related Facilities in Non-Census Data

Statistics Canada occasionally may publish data indirectly related to the population in collective dwellings, especially in the health field. In particular, the Health and Activity Limitation Surveys, 1986-87 and 1991, include the population in health-related facilities. Administrative data are potentially useful in the study of this population because they consist of annual data or provide a broader context for analysis. But conceptual and measurement differences make it difficult to make direct comparisons between the results of these surveys and census data, and the following analysis will be restricted to the latter.

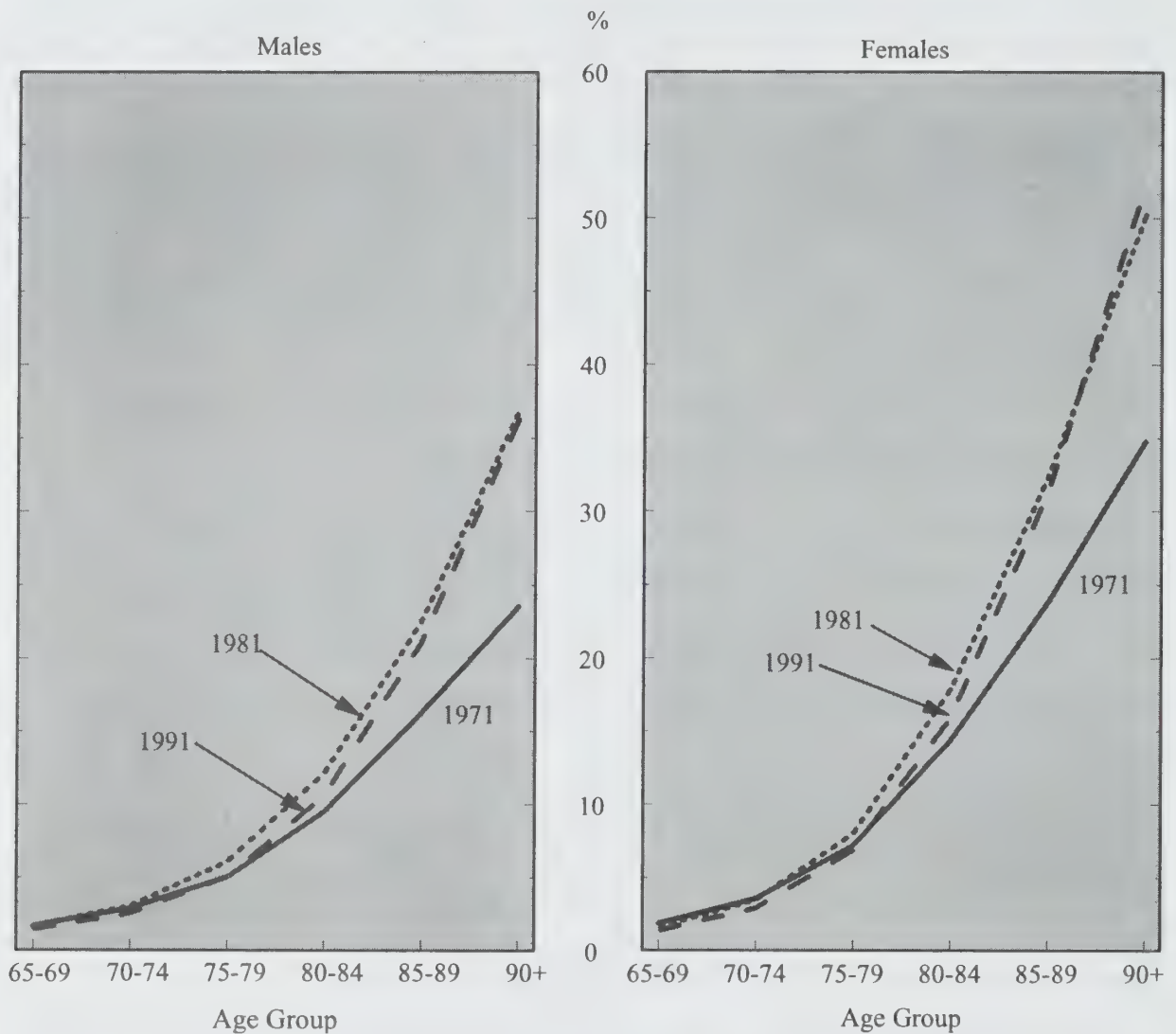
The Population in Health-Related Facilities in the Census

The data used here bear on age, sex and marital status. Their source is special tabulations from the 1971, 1981 and 1991 censuses. The small number of permanently resident staff has been omitted.

*In 1971, about 176,000 people are in health-related facilities, increasing to about 233,000 in 1981 and 280,000 in 1991.*²² Population growth and the aging of the population account almost equally for this increase; changes in prevalence by sex and age by themselves would have resulted in a decrease. Figure 20 (for people 65 and over) and Appendix Table A9 show the prevalence of residence in health-related facilities by sex and age. The proportion of the population in health-related facilities increases fractionally: from 0.82% in 1971 to 0.96% in 1981 to 1.03% in 1991. The distribution by age is highly skewed. At the ages of 90 and over, long-term residents of health-related facilities are 30% or more of the population of those ages, but the percentage falls rapidly with age and by 55 to 59 is below 1% of the population of those ages.

²² Numbers in this section are from the unpublished tables.

Figure 20. Prevalence of Residence in a Health-Related Facility, by Sex and Age Group for Those Aged 65 and over, Canada, 1971, 1981 and 1991



Source: Table A10.

The proportion of the population in health-related facilities falls between 1971 and 1981 at ages below 70 (for example, in the population aged 15 to 64 it falls from 0.5% to 0.3%; at younger ages the fall is relatively even greater, although the percentages are very small). In contrast, the proportion of the population in health-related facilities increases at ages 70 or over, slightly at ages 70 to 74 and more in older age groups. For those aged 90 or over, the increase is from 31% of the population to 46%. Between 1981 and 1991, despite the fact that the proportion in health-related facilities actually rises in the population as a whole, it falls in all age groups except 35 to 39, where it is unchanged, and 90 or over, where it rises slightly. The overall proportion increases because of the greater increase in the size of the oldest age groups in the total population relative to younger ages.

A larger proportion of women is in health-related facilities than men, and the gap widens between 1971 and 1991. There is, however, a significant difference in terms of age. At younger ages, the proportion of women in health-related facilities is generally lower than that of men. The situation of younger men and women improves between 1971 and 1991, but that of women improves more. In 1971, with the exception of the 15-24 age groups,²³ women are less likely to be in health-related facilities than men in all groups up to the age of 49. In 1981 and 1991, except for the 0-4 age group, where the sexes are equal, women are less likely to be in health-related facilities until age 70.

The experience of men and women at older ages is in sharp contrast. The proportion of women resident in health-related facilities is greater than that of men. The difference increases with age and also with time. At ages 80 or over, the proportion of women is 7 percentage points higher than that of men in 1971, 9 percentage points higher in 1981 and 10 percentage points higher in 1991. Most of the increase for older men and women takes place between 1971 and 1981; between 1981 and 1991, the situation of men, and to a lesser degree of women, improves slightly, except for women aged 90 or over, where the proportion resident in health-related facilities increases. In 1991, 52% of women aged 90 or over are long-term residents of health-related facilities, compared to 36% of men of the same age.²⁴

The Marital Status of Residents of Health-Related Facilities

Since the population resident in collective dwellings (including health-related facilities) is the population outside the domestic circle, this circumstance should be reflected in their marital status. Marital status is here grouped in three categories: married, including consensual unions; separated, widowed or divorced; and never married.

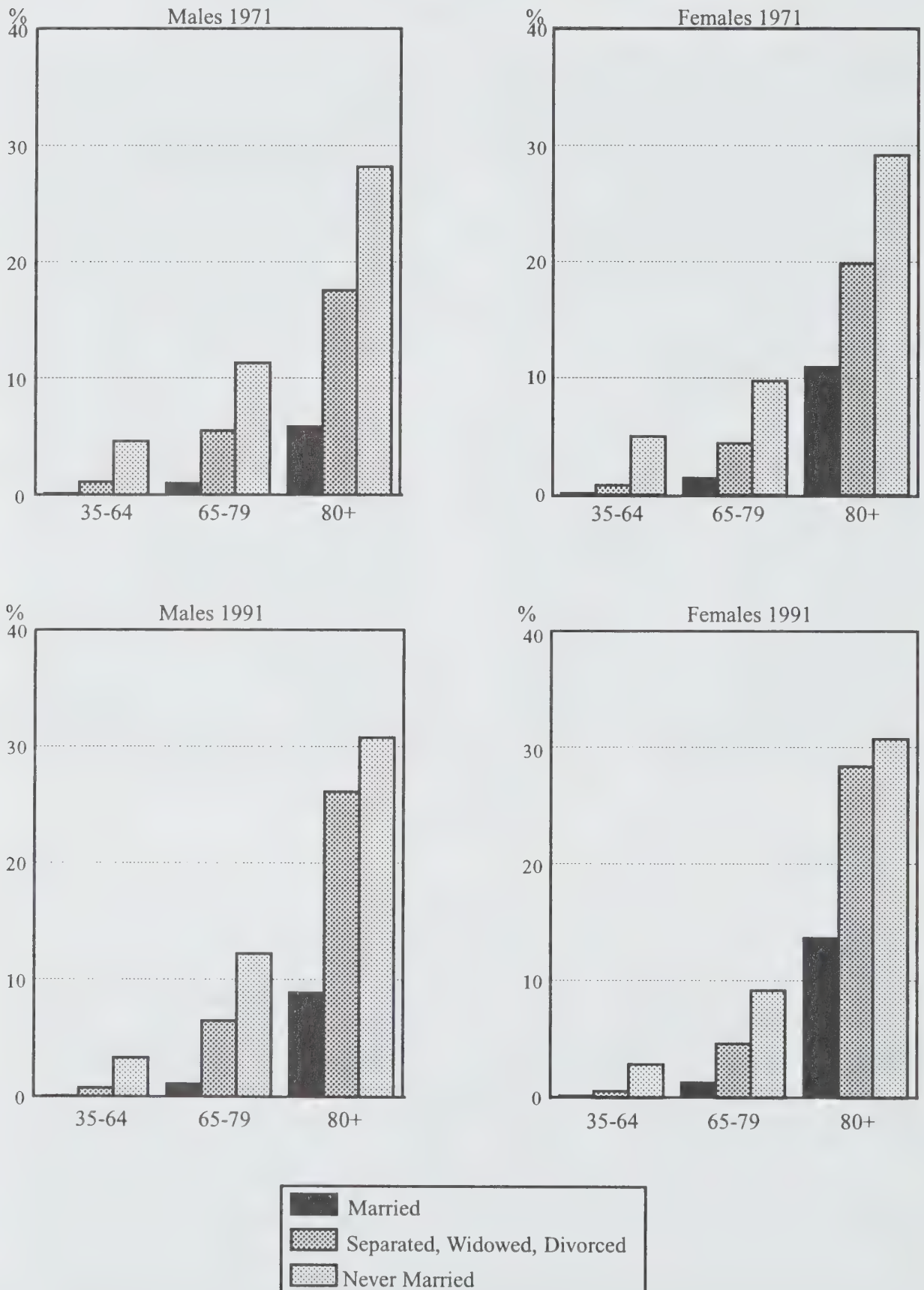
Long-term residents of health-related facilities, whether men or women, are a larger proportion of the never married than of other marital statuses in all the broad age groups shown in Figure 21, and of the separated, widowed or divorced than of the married. For example, in the age group 35 to 64 in 1991, 3% of never-married men are resident in health-related facilities compared to 0.8% of separated, widowed or divorced men and less than 0.1% of married men (Figure 21 and Appendix Table A10). For women of the same ages, the figures are 3%, 0.6% and less than 0.1%.

In each of the three marital statuses, the proportion resident in health-related facilities increases with age, but at different rates. The most rapid

²³ The unusually high proportions of women aged 15 to 24 who are long-term residents of health-related facilities in 1971, about 0.5% representing about 10,000 individuals, is difficult to account for; the overrepresentation is slight in 1981, and has disappeared by 1991.

²⁴ But note that men aged 90 or over will be on average somewhat younger than women aged 90 or over.

Figure 21. Prevalence of Residence in a Health-Related Facility, by Sex, Marital Status and Age, for Those Aged 35 and over, Canada, 1971 and 1991



Source: Table A11.

growth for the never married occurs early, in the transition from the 15-34 age group to the 35-64 age group, and growth between older age groups is at a slower pace. Institutionalization may have been precipitated by lack of the support provided by a spouse; alternatively, the condition leading to institutionalization may have prevented the person from finding a marriage partner. For the separated, widowed or divorced, the most rapid growth occurs from the 35-64 age group to the 65-79 age group. For the married, rapid growth occurs both here and in the next transition, from the 65-79 age group to 80 or over. The later transition for the married may reflect the support provided by the spouse, which only fails as the couple reaches advanced age. Married women aged 80 or over are much more likely than married men of the same age to be institutionalized, presumably reflecting the traditional division of roles between the sexes, in which the husband is less likely to be the care-giver.

Between 1971 and 1991, the proportion of never-married men and women resident in health-related facilities does not change much in each age group. This is also true of the separated, widowed or divorced and of the married, except for those in the oldest age group. Here there is an increase between 1971 and 1981 (from 7% to 11% for the married and from 19% to 28% for the separated, widowed or divorced) followed by a very slight decrease to 1991, narrowing the gap between the marital statuses at the ages of 80 and over. It is only possible to speculate on the reason for this change. Over the two decades, sources of support for the frail elderly among the married and the separated, widowed or divorced in their own household or in the extended family may have grown fewer, or access to institutional support may have increased for these groups. The Census reveals the change, but does not lend itself to explaining it.

The changing marital-status structure of residents of health-related facilities results from changes in the age and marital-status structure of the population and in the prevalence of institutionalization in each group.

Below the age of 65, the large majority of residents in health-related facilities has never been married (in 1991, 41,000 compared to 13,000 of other marital statuses: see Table 33). In 1971, never-married men and women residents of health-related facilities in this age group are almost equal in number. Between 1971 and 1991, due to changing age-sex prevalence rates, the number of women falls sharply, from 29,000 to 16,000, compared to the number of men, which falls from 30,000 to 25,000.

At 65 to 79, due to population aging and changes in the population in terms of marital status (and not to changes in prevalence), the never married are a minority, and separated, widowed or divorced women begin to predominate. At the ages of 80 or over, separated, widowed or divorced women are the fastest growing category. In 1971 they make up 17% of the

Table 33. Number of Long-Term Residents in Health-Related Facilities, by Sex, Marital Status and Broad Age Group, Canada, 1971, 1981 and 1991

Age Group	Marital Status and Sex					
	Married		Separated, Widowed, Divorced		Never Married	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1971						
0-64	3,350	3,800	2,345	3,690	29,680	29,460
65-79	4,530	4,655	5,715	15,700	7,755	7,865
80+	4,055	3,250	9,930	29,700	4,005	6,380
Total	11,940	11,725	17,995	49,080	41,450	43,690
1981						
0-64	2,620	2,705	3,690	4,265	27,920	18,985
65-79	7,580	6,625	9,295	24,295	9,290	8,480
80+	7,905	5,910	16,150	63,730	4,610	9,075
Total	18,105	15,255	29,145	92,285	41,810	36,535
1991						
0-64	2,320	2,300	3,710	4,745	25,100	16,250
65-79	9,385	8,290	10,485	28,870	9,145	8,960
80+	11,920	9,300	19,500	91,250	5,445	13,255
Total	23,620	19,900	33,690	124,850	39,690	38,460

Note: Excludes resident staff. Married includes consensual unions.

Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of Canada of 1971, 1981 and 1991, unpublished data.

residents of health-related facilities of all ages and marital statuses and of both sexes, in 1981, 27%, and in 1991, 33%. Between 1971 and 1981, just over half of the increase in the institutionalization of this group is due to the increase in their prevalence of institutionalization and just under half to their increasing numbers in the population. Between 1981 and 1991, it is wholly due to their increasing numbers in the population, which in fact offset a slight fall in prevalence.

In 1971, the never married make up 48% of residents of health-related facilities. The changes described above produce substantial changes over the next two decades. The separated, widowed or divorced more than double in number, the never married decrease slightly and the married almost double to produce a marital distribution by 1991 in which the never married make up only 28%. These changes represent especially the growing number of older women who are separated, widowed or divorced, as well as the changes in institutionalization between 1971 and 1991, increasing the prevalence rates for the oldest groups and decreasing them for younger people.

Table 34. Prevalence of Residence in a Health-Related Facility by Age Group and Sex, Regions, 1971, 1981 and 1991 (in percent)

Age Group	Sex and Region							
	Male				Female			
	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	West	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	West
1971								
0-64	0.32	0.44	0.31	0.33	0.50	0.48	0.30	0.32
65-69	1.50	1.92	1.69	1.57	1.39	2.62	1.59	1.53
70-74	1.89	3.52	2.88	2.74	2.57	5.12	3.07	3.13
75-79	3.21	6.16	4.83	5.06	4.42	9.23	6.78	7.05
80+	7.42	13.18	13.15	13.91	12.51	18.94	20.19	21.43
Total	0.53	0.70	0.61	0.74	0.89	1.00	0.94	1.01
1981								
0-64	0.27	0.37	0.30	0.28	0.21	0.29	0.22	0.22
65-69	1.44	1.94	1.60	1.69	1.38	1.88	1.47	1.51
70-74	2.55	3.46	2.89	3.06	2.89	4.30	3.11	3.31
75-79	4.90	6.79	5.81	6.19	6.22	9.68	7.37	7.79
80+	13.28	19.23	17.28	19.61	20.38	27.05	26.69	29.35
Total	0.62	0.76	0.71	0.79	0.95	1.15	1.21	1.23
1991								
0-64	0.26	0.33	0.23	0.22	0.20	0.26	0.17	0.17
65-69	1.45	1.89	1.28	1.32	1.22	1.78	1.23	1.22
70-74	2.22	3.33	2.29	2.35	2.47	3.83	2.60	2.58
75-79	4.60	6.70	4.67	4.41	5.54	8.85	6.41	6.10
80+	13.60	19.10	15.64	15.87	20.99	27.96	26.66	25.88
Total	0.69	0.83	0.66	0.70	1.14	1.47	1.31	1.27

Notes: Excludes resident staff. West includes Territories.

Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of Canada of 1971, 1981 and 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Regional Differences in Institutionalization

Because long-term residential care in health-related facilities is an important element in public spending, it is of interest to examine institutionalization on a geographical basis. Because numbers are not large, the population has been grouped into four regions, the Atlantic, Ontario, Quebec, and the West (including the Territories). Since attention focuses mainly on older people, the population under 65 is presented as a single age group, and five-year age groups are used for the population aged 65 to 79.

In 1991, about 1% of the population are long-term residents of health-related facilities (Table A9 in the Appendix). The prevalence for women is almost twice that for men, due to the much higher proportion of women aged 75 or over and especially 80 or over resident in health-related facilities. Are there regional variations in institutionalization, and specifically in these patterns?

In 1991, Quebec has the highest proportion of its population resident in health-related facilities, 0.8% of men and 1.5% of women (Table 34). The other regions are much alike as far as the institutionalization of men goes, all about 0.7%, while Ontario is second in terms of the institutionalization of women. This pattern is recent. In 1981, the West led, while Quebec was second for men and third for women; in 1971, the West again led, with Quebec second for men and a close second for women. The Atlantic region shows in most instances the weakest trend in institutionalization.

When particular age-sex groups are examined, differences between regions, mostly minor, are observed. In 1991, Quebec has the highest prevalence of institutionalization for both sexes and at all ages, except that that for women aged 80 or over (28%) is not much higher than that for Ontario (27%), the next highest in this age-sex category. In 1971 and 1981, the West has the highest overall prevalence of institutionalization (0.7% and 0.8% for men and 1.0% and 1.2% for women), but due entirely to higher prevalence among people aged 80 or over. At younger ages, Quebec again takes the lead. However, these interregional differences are not large.

The most striking differences are between the Atlantic region and all others, especially in the oldest age groups. For example, in 1971, 7% of men in the Atlantic region aged 80 or over were resident in health-related facilities, compared to 13% to 14% in the other regions, and 13% of women compared to 19% to 21% in other regions. By 1991, the differences had decreased: 14% for men compared to 16% to 19% in the other regions and 21% for women compared to 26% to 28% in the other regions. But the lower prevalence of institutionalization in the Atlantic region remains the only important and sustained interregional difference.

Levels of institutionalization depend on a number of factors, including the health status of the population and the availability of and relative emphasis between institutional and home-based services in different jurisdictions. Because the health status of the population is comparatively stable geographically at present, substantial differences in rates of institutionalization are more likely to reflect differences in service provision.

Why Pay Attention to the Population in Collective Dwellings?

Although attention here has focussed on residents of health-related facilities, the purpose has been to demonstrate the interest of the census category of long-term residents in collective dwellings as a whole. The limited attention given to this population is undeserved. Its number is greater than the 1991 populations of sixteen out of Canada's 25 census metropolitan areas, and greater than the total urban population of three out of ten provinces.

At one time much more diverse, it is becoming increasingly homogeneous in terms of age, sex, and the type of dwelling people live in. Decreasing institutionalization at younger ages represents a success for public policy, just as the increasing institutionalization of elderly women represents a serious challenge. Regional differences reflect different approaches to the provision of health services and raise issues of the degree to which needs are met throughout the country.

Appendices

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Newfoundland

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	545.2	4.2	8.5	0.5	0.3	0.1	13.0	15.5	-2.5	2.6
1974	549.4	4.5	7.0	0.5	0.2	0.0	12.4	13.0	-0.6	2.6
1975	553.9	7.3	8.0	0.6	0.2	0.1	12.3	11.4	0.9	2.6
1976	561.2	4.0	7.8	0.3	0.2	0.0	9.7	12.4	-2.7	1.6
1977	565.2	2.7	7.3	0.2	0.2	0.0	8.1	12.2	-4.0	1.0
1978	567.9	2.1	6.4	0.0	0.2	0.0	8.1	11.7	-3.5	1.0
1979	569.9	2.3	7.0	0.2	0.2	0.1	8.9	13.1	-4.2	1.0
1980	572.2	3.5	7.0	0.3	0.2	0.1	9.3	12.4	-3.1	1.0
1981	575.8	-0.6	6.9	0.1	0.2	0.1	8.5	14.8	-6.2	1.6
1982	575.1	4.2	5.8	-0.1	0.2	0.1	10.6	10.3	0.3	2.1
1983	579.4	2.0	5.4	-0.2	0.2	-0.2	7.6	8.7	-1.1	2.1
1984	581.4	-0.5	5.0	-0.1	0.2	0.1	5.7	9.3	-3.6	2.1
1985	580.9	-2.0	4.9	-0.1	0.2	0.0	6.0	11.0	-5.0	2.1
1986	578.8	-1.7	4.6	-0.2	0.2	0.2	7.7	12.4	-4.7	1.8
1987	577.1	-1.2	4.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	8.4	12.8	-4.4	1.5
1988	575.9	0.9	3.9	0.2	0.2	0.3	10.0	12.2	-2.2	1.5
1989	576.8	0.7	4.0	0.3	0.1	0.4	10.1	12.7	-2.6	1.5
1990	577.5	1.5	3.7	0.4	0.1	-0.1	10.2	11.4	-1.1	1.5
1991	578.9	2.6	3.4	0.3	0.1	0.5	9.9	10.9	-1.1	0.6
1992 (PD)	581.5	2.5	3.1	0.5	0.1	1.5	8.0	10.7	-2.7	...
1993 (PR)	584.1	-1.1	2.5	0.5	0.1	-0.6	6.6	10.3	-3.7	...
1994 (PR)	583.0	-4.2	2.3	0.3	0.1	..	8.9	15.9	-7.0	...
1995 (PR)	578.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
	1973	545.2	7.7	15.5	-7.8	21.8	6.2	0.6	28.4	0.8
1974	549.4	8.2	12.6	-4.4	18.6	6.0	0.6	23.6	0.9	
1975	553.9	13.1	14.3	-1.2	20.1	5.8	0.6	20.5	1.1	
1976	561.2	7.0	13.9	-6.8	19.8	5.9	0.4	22.1	0.5	
1977	565.2	4.7	12.8	-8.1	18.4	5.5	0.4	21.5	0.3	
1978	567.9	3.6	11.3	-7.6	16.7	5.5	0.4	20.5	-0.1	
1979	569.9	4.1	12.3	-8.2	17.8	5.5	0.4	23.0	0.4	
1980	572.2	6.1	12.2	-6.0	18.0	5.8	0.4	21.5	0.5	
1981	575.8	-1.1	12.0	-13.1	17.6	5.6	0.4	25.7	0.2	
1982	575.1	7.3	10.0	-2.7	15.9	5.9	0.4	17.9	-0.1	
1983	579.4	3.5	9.4	-5.9	15.4	6.0	0.3	14.9	-0.4	
1984	581.4	-0.9	8.7	-9.5	14.7	6.1	0.2	16.0	-0.2	
1985	580.9	-3.5	8.5	-12.1	14.7	6.1	0.2	18.9	-0.2	
1986	578.8	-3.0	7.9	-10.9	14.0	6.1	0.3	21.4	-0.4	
1987	577.1	-2.1	7.2	-9.3	13.5	6.3	0.3	22.2	0.2	
1988	575.9	1.5	6.8	-5.3	13.0	6.2	0.4	21.1	0.3	
1989	576.8	1.2	7.0	-5.8	13.4	6.4	0.4	22.0	0.5	
1990	577.5	2.6	6.4	-3.9	13.2	6.7	0.4	19.7	0.6	
1991	578.9	4.5	5.8	-1.3	12.4	6.5	0.4	18.8	0.6	
1992 (PD)	581.5	4.4	5.4	-1.0	11.9	6.5	0.3	18.4	0.9	
1993 (PR)	584.1	-1.8	4.3	-6.2	11.0	6.7	0.2	17.6	0.9	
1994 (PR)	583.0	-7.2	4.0	-11.2	10.9	6.9	0.3	27.4	0.5	
1995 (PR)	578.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Prince Edward Island

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	114.5	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.8	4.3	0.5	0.7
1974	115.4	1.8	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.0	5.2	3.8	1.4	0.7
1975	117.2	1.2	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.6	3.8	0.8	0.7
1976	118.4	1.1	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.3	4.0	0.3	0.2
1977	119.5	1.8	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	3.9	3.3	0.6	-0.1
1978	121.3	1.2	1.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	3.5	3.5	0.0	-0.1
1979	122.5	1.0	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.0	3.4	3.6	-0.2	-0.1
1980	123.5	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.0	4.1	-1.1	-0.1
1981	123.6	0.2	0.9	0.0	0.1	0.0	3.5	4.3	-0.8	0.0
1982	123.8	1.0	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	0.1
1983	124.8	1.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	2.5	0.8	0.1
1984	126.4	1.3	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.5	0.5	0.1
1985	127.8	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.8	0.0	0.1
1986	128.7	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.1	2.5	3.0	-0.5	0.4
1987	128.8	0.7	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.8	0.3	0.6
1988	129.6	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.5	3.1	0.4	0.6
1989	130.5	0.3	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.3	3.4	-0.1	0.6
1990	130.8	0.2	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.8	3.1	-0.3	0.6
1991	131.0	0.2	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	3.3	-0.4	0.2
1992 (PD)	131.1	1.4	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.1	2.7	2.3	0.5	...
1993 (PR)	132.5	1.4	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.5	1.9	0.6	...
1994 (PR)	132.5	1.7	0.5	0.1	0.0	..	3.3	2.2	1.1	...
1995 (PR)	133.9
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	114.5	7.7	7.5	0.2	16.4	8.9	0.2	37.7	1.3	
1974	115.4	15.6	7.3	8.3	16.7	9.4	0.2	32.5	1.6	
1975	117.2	10.2	7.4	2.8	16.4	9.0	0.2	32.2	1.1	
1976	118.4	9.3	7.1	2.2	16.3	9.2	0.2	33.6	1.1	
1977	119.5	14.6	7.7	7.0	16.4	8.7	0.2	27.2	0.8	
1978	121.3	9.8	8.1	1.7	16.3	8.2	0.1	28.4	0.4	
1979	122.5	8.3	7.4	0.9	15.7	8.3	0.1	29.4	1.7	
1980	123.5	0.7	7.5	-6.7	15.8	8.4	0.1	33.3	1.0	
1981	123.6	2.0	7.3	-5.3	15.3	8.0	0.1	34.4	0.3	
1982	123.8	7.7	7.6	0.2	15.5	7.9	0.1	27.1	0.6	
1983	124.8	13.1	6.8	6.2	15.2	8.4	0.1	19.7	0.0	
1984	126.4	10.6	6.6	3.9	15.4	8.7	0.1	20.0	0.1	
1985	127.8	6.9	7.0	-0.1	15.7	8.7	0.1	22.2	0.2	
1986	128.7	1.2	6.3	-5.0	15.0	8.7	0.1	23.2	0.7	
1987	128.8	5.8	6.5	-0.7	15.1	8.6	0.1	21.5	0.9	
1988	129.6	6.8	6.7	0.2	15.2	8.6	0.1	23.5	0.7	
1989	130.5	2.6	6.5	-3.9	14.8	8.3	0.1	26.4	0.7	
1990	130.8	1.4	6.7	-5.2	15.4	8.7	0.1	23.7	1.1	
1991	131.0	1.2	5.3	-4.1	14.4	9.1	0.1	25.2	0.4	
1992 (PR)	131.1	10.4	5.6	4.8	14.0	8.5	0.1	17.1	0.5	
1993 (PR)	132.5	10.2	4.6	5.7	13.2	8.6	0.1	14.1	0.7	
1994 (PR)	132.5	12.8	3.6	9.2	12.5	8.9	0.1	16.7	0.7	
1995 (PR)	133.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Nova Scotia

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	810.4	7.6	6.4	1.8	0.4	0.1	26.3	24.1	2.1	3.2
1974	818.1	6.6	6.0	1.9	0.3	-0.1	27.2	25.6	1.6	3.2
1975	824.7	9.6	6.3	1.5	0.3	0.1	25.6	21.1	4.5	3.2
1976	834.2	5.8	5.9	1.4	0.3	-0.1	23.0	22.6	0.4	2.1
1977	840.0	4.1	5.4	1.0	0.3	-0.1	19.9	21.2	-1.3	1.3
1978	844.2	4.9	5.7	0.4	0.3	-0.1	19.5	19.6	-0.1	1.3
1979	849.1	3.7	5.6	0.8	0.3	0.1	18.4	20.3	-1.8	1.3
1980	852.8	3.3	5.4	1.2	0.3	0.2	18.5	21.0	-2.5	1.3
1981	856.1	3.5	5.1	0.9	0.3	0.6	19.3	21.7	-2.5	0.9
1982	859.6	7.5	5.4	0.8	0.2	0.2	18.8	17.3	1.6	0.6
1983	867.1	9.4	5.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	18.3	14.5	3.9	0.6
1984	876.5	8.7	5.5	0.6	0.2	0.0	17.3	14.4	3.0	0.6
1985	885.2	4.8	5.1	0.5	0.2	-0.2	16.7	16.9	-0.2	0.6
1986	890.0	4.4	5.1	0.6	0.2	0.0	17.1	17.8	-0.7	0.8
1987	894.4	3.1	5.0	0.7	0.3	0.3	17.6	19.8	-2.2	1.0
1988	897.5	5.8	4.8	0.9	0.2	0.8	19.2	19.1	0.1	1.0
1989	903.2	6.5	5.0	1.0	0.2	0.7	20.4	19.8	0.6	1.0
1990	909.8	5.4	5.5	0.9	0.2	-0.2	18.6	18.7	-0.1	1.0
1991	915.2	6.4	4.8	0.5	0.3	0.1	19.0	17.9	1.0	0.4
1992 (PD)	921.6	7.2	4.3	1.5	0.4	0.9	17.8	17.7	0.1	...
1993 (PR)	928.8	4.3	4.0	2.2	0.4	-0.6	14.8	16.5	-1.7	...
1994 (PR)	921.6	3.6	3.7	2.6	0.4	..	18.0	21.0	-2.9	...
1995 (PR)	928.8
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	810.4	9.4	7.8	1.5	16.3	8.5	1.2	29.7	2.2	
1974	818.1	8.1	7.4	0.7	15.8	8.4	1.2	31.2	2.3	
1975	824.7	11.5	7.6	3.9	15.8	8.2	1.2	25.5	1.8	
1976	834.2	6.9	7.0	-0.1	15.3	8.3	1.0	27.0	1.6	
1977	840.0	4.9	6.4	-1.5	14.7	8.3	0.9	25.2	1.2	
1978	844.2	5.8	6.7	-0.9	14.8	8.1	0.8	23.2	0.5	
1979	849.1	4.4	6.5	-2.2	14.6	8.0	0.8	23.8	1.0	
1980	852.8	3.9	6.3	-2.4	14.5	8.2	0.8	24.6	1.4	
1981	856.1	4.1	6.0	-1.9	14.1	8.1	0.8	25.3	1.0	
1982	859.6	8.7	6.2	2.5	14.3	8.0	0.8	20.0	0.9	
1983	867.1	10.8	6.1	4.6	14.2	8.1	0.8	16.6	0.4	
1984	876.5	9.8	6.2	3.6	14.1	7.8	0.7	16.3	0.7	
1985	885.2	5.4	5.8	-0.4	14.0	8.2	0.7	19.1	0.5	
1986	890.0	4.9	5.7	-0.8	13.9	8.1	0.7	20.0	0.7	
1987	894.4	3.5	5.6	-2.1	13.5	7.9	0.7	22.1	0.8	
1988	897.5	6.4	5.3	1.1	13.5	8.2	0.7	21.2	1.0	
1989	903.2	7.2	5.5	1.7	13.8	8.3	0.8	21.9	1.1	
1990	909.8	5.9	6.0	-0.1	14.1	8.1	0.7	20.5	1.0	
1991	915.2	7.0	5.2	1.8	13.1	7.9	0.7	19.5	0.6	
1992 (PD)	921.6	7.8	4.7	3.2	12.8	8.2	0.7	19.1	1.7	
1993 (PR)	928.8	4.7	4.3	0.4	12.4	8.1	0.5	17.7	2.4	
1994 (PR)	921.6	3.9	4.0	-0.1	12.2	8.2	0.6	22.4	2.7	
1995 (PR)	928.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

New Brunswick

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	654.4	8.5	6.3	0.4	0.7	0.1	22.7	19.9	2.8	1.8
1974	663.0	10.1	6.2	0.9	0.6	0.0	22.9	18.7	4.2	1.8
1975	673.1	14.0	6.6	0.9	0.6	0.1	24.2	16.6	7.6	1.8
1976	687.2	8.1	6.6	0.7	0.6	0.0	18.9	17.3	1.6	1.4
1977	695.3	5.0	6.3	0.1	0.5	0.0	15.5	16.4	-0.9	1.1
1978	700.4	3.0	5.6	-0.4	0.5	0.0	14.3	16.0	-1.6	1.1
1979	703.4	3.2	5.7	0.2	0.5	0.1	14.3	16.5	-2.2	1.1
1980	706.6	1.2	5.3	0.5	0.5	0.2	13.2	17.4	-4.2	1.1
1981	707.9	0.1	5.4	-0.1	0.5	0.4	13.8	18.6	-4.8	1.3
1982	708.0	6.0	5.3	-0.3	0.4	-0.2	14.8	12.7	2.2	1.4
1983	714.0	6.3	5.3	-0.2	0.4	0.0	13.2	10.9	2.3	1.4
1984	720.3	4.6	5.1	-0.3	0.4	-0.1	12.0	11.2	0.8	1.4
1985	724.9	2.0	4.9	-0.4	0.5	0.0	11.5	13.1	-1.6	1.4
1986	726.9	1.3	4.3	-0.3	0.4	0.1	11.4	14.3	-2.9	0.4
1987	728.1	3.0	4.2	-0.2	0.4	0.1	13.2	15.0	-1.8	-0.3
1988	731.2	4.1	4.2	-0.2	0.4	0.6	13.7	14.9	-1.2	-0.3
1989	735.2	4.9	4.2	0.0	0.4	0.1	15.0	15.0	0.0	-0.3
1990	740.1	5.9	4.4	0.0	0.4	-0.1	14.2	13.2	1.0	-0.3
1991	746.1	4.5	4.0	-0.2	0.4	0.2	12.8	12.9	-0.1	-0.1
1992 (PD)	750.6	3.6	3.8	-0.2	0.5	0.8	11.9	13.1	-1.2	...
1993 (PR)	754.3	2.8	3.2	-0.2	0.4	-0.3	10.8	11.2	-0.5	...
1994 (PR)	746.1	2.7	3.0	-0.3	0.5	..	13.8	14.1	-0.3	...
1995 (PR)	750.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
	1973	654.4	13.0	9.6	3.3	17.3	7.7	1.0	30.1	0.6
1974	663.0	15.2	9.3	5.8	17.1	7.8	1.0	28.0	1.3	
1975	673.1	20.7	9.8	10.9	17.3	7.6	1.1	24.4	1.3	
1976	687.2	11.8	9.6	2.2	17.1	7.5	0.8	25.0	1.0	
1977	695.3	7.2	9.1	-1.8	16.5	7.4	0.7	23.4	0.2	
1978	700.4	4.3	8.0	-3.7	15.4	7.4	0.6	22.8	-0.6	
1979	703.4	4.6	8.1	-3.4	15.4	7.3	0.6	23.4	0.3	
1980	706.6	1.8	7.5	-5.8	15.0	7.5	0.6	24.6	0.7	
1981	707.9	0.2	7.6	-7.4	14.8	7.3	0.6	26.3	-0.1	
1982	708.0	8.4	7.4	1.0	14.8	7.3	0.6	17.8	-0.4	
1983	714.0	8.8	7.4	1.4	14.7	7.3	0.5	15.2	-0.3	
1984	720.3	6.3	7.0	-0.7	14.3	7.3	0.5	15.5	-0.4	
1985	724.9	2.8	6.7	-4.0	13.9	7.2	0.5	18.0	-0.5	
1986	726.9	1.8	6.0	-4.2	13.5	7.5	0.5	19.6	-0.4	
1987	728.1	4.2	5.7	-1.6	13.1	7.4	0.5	20.5	-0.3	
1988	731.2	5.5	5.7	-0.2	13.1	7.4	0.5	20.3	-0.2	
1989	735.2	6.6	5.7	1.0	13.1	7.5	0.6	20.4	0.0	
1990	740.1	8.0	5.9	2.1	13.2	7.3	0.5	17.7	-0.1	
1991	746.1	6.1	5.4	0.7	12.7	7.3	0.5	17.3	-0.2	
1992 (PD)	750.6	4.8	5.0	-0.2	12.5	7.5	0.4	17.4	-0.3	
1993 (PR)	754.3	3.6	4.3	-0.6	12.0	7.7	0.4	14.8	-0.3	
1994 (PR)	746.1	3.6	3.9	-0.3	11.8	7.8	0.5	18.6	-0.4	
1995 (PR)	750.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Quebec

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	6,210.8	50.7	41.4	13.4	6.7	1.7	39.6	54.4	-14.7	-2.3
1974	6,261.4	59.5	42.9	20.1	6.3	-0.3	39.3	51.2	-11.9	-2.3
1975	6,320.9	64.2	50.2	16.1	6.3	1.7	34.5	46.8	-12.3	-2.3
1976	6,385.1	52.2	53.3	18.4	6.2	-0.5	31.6	52.4	-20.8	4.5
1977	6,437.3	12.0	53.7	9.0	5.5	-0.3	24.4	71.0	-46.5	9.4
1978	6,449.3	17.6	51.8	3.8	5.4	-0.5	24.5	57.9	-33.4	9.4
1979	6,466.9	33.3	55.3	10.5	5.1	1.8	23.6	53.7	-30.0	9.4
1980	6,500.2	43.3	53.9	15.1	4.7	3.3	21.9	46.2	-24.3	9.4
1981	6,543.5	42.6	52.6	13.4	4.2	4.8	23.6	46.1	-22.5	9.8
1982	6,586.1	22.9	47.3	11.8	4.8	-2.8	19.9	48.1	-28.2	10.1
1983	6,609.0	27.6	43.9	7.0	4.3	1.6	22.3	41.4	-19.1	10.1
1984	6,636.6	33.0	43.4	5.8	4.3	0.6	25.2	36.2	-10.9	10.1
1985	6,669.6	40.5	40.6	7.2	4.1	4.6	25.4	31.4	-6.0	10.1
1986	6,710.1	60.0	37.7	12.4	4.0	13.9	26.0	29.0	-3.0	5.0
1987	6,770.1	59.0	36.2	21.1	3.5	7.1	26.0	33.4	-7.4	1.4
1988	6,829.1	77.0	38.8	20.7	3.0	22.9	27.8	34.8	-7.0	1.4
1989	6,906.0	73.0	44.1	28.7	2.9	7.2	29.5	37.8	-8.4	1.4
1990	6,979.0	69.4	49.6	35.5	2.6	-7.4	26.9	36.4	-9.6	1.4
1991	7,048.4	67.8	48.2	45.1	3.1	-15.0	24.5	37.6	-13.0	0.6
1992 (PD)	7,116.2	72.4	47.3	42.3	3.2	-10.9	25.4	34.9	-9.5	...
1993 (PR)	7,188.6	73.5	40.7	38.9	3.1	-2.0	23.5	30.7	-7.2	...
1994 (PR)	7,262.1	40.7	37.8	21.4	3.1	-7.3	26.0	40.4	-14.3	...
1995 (PR)	7,302.8
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	6,210.8	8.1	6.6	1.5	13.5	6.8	2.4	8.7	2.1	
1974	6,261.4	9.5	6.8	2.6	13.6	6.8	2.4	8.1	3.2	
1975	6,320.9	10.1	7.9	2.2	14.7	6.8	2.0	7.4	2.5	
1976	6,385.1	8.1	8.3	-0.2	15.0	6.7	1.8	8.2	2.9	
1977	6,437.3	1.9	8.3	-6.5	15.1	6.7	1.4	11.0	1.4	
1978	6,449.3	2.7	8.0	-5.3	14.8	6.7	1.4	9.0	0.6	
1979	6,466.9	5.1	8.5	-3.4	15.2	6.7	1.3	8.3	1.6	
1980	6,500.2	6.6	8.3	-1.6	14.9	6.7	1.2	7.1	2.3	
1981	6,543.5	6.5	8.0	-1.5	14.5	6.5	1.3	7.0	2.0	
1982	6,586.1	3.5	7.2	-3.7	13.8	6.6	1.1	7.3	1.8	
1983	6,609.0	4.2	6.6	-2.5	13.3	6.7	1.2	6.3	1.1	
1984	6,636.6	5.0	6.5	-1.6	13.2	6.7	1.3	5.4	0.9	
1985	6,669.6	6.0	6.1	0.0	12.9	6.8	1.3	4.7	1.1	
1986	6,710.1	8.9	5.6	3.3	12.6	7.0	1.3	4.3	1.8	
1987	6,770.1	8.7	5.3	3.4	12.3	7.0	1.3	4.9	3.1	
1988	6,829.1	11.2	5.7	5.6	12.6	7.0	1.4	5.1	3.0	
1989	6,906.0	10.5	6.3	4.2	13.3	7.0	1.4	5.4	4.1	
1990	6,979.0	9.9	7.1	2.8	14.0	6.9	1.3	5.2	5.1	
1991	7,048.4	9.6	6.8	2.8	13.7	6.9	1.2	5.3	6.4	
1992 (PD)	7,116.2	10.1	6.6	3.5	13.4	6.8	1.2	4.9	5.9	
1993 (PR)	7,188.6	10.2	5.6	4.5	12.8	7.2	1.1	4.3	5.4	
1994 (PR)	7,262.1	5.6	5.2	0.4	12.5	7.4	1.2	5.5	2.9	
1995 (PR)	7,302.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Ontario

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	8,032.5	126.1	63.9	65.5	18.1	4.1	104.2	109.4	-5.3	20.2
1974	8,158.7	120.1	63.7	82.6	17.3	-1.2	89.5	111.7	-22.2	20.2
1975	8,278.7	106.1	65.2	64.6	17.5	4.1	80.9	106.0	-25.1	20.2
1976	8,384.8	92.2	62.1	41.3	17.3	-1.7	88.7	99.2	-10.5	16.2
1977	8,477.0	98.2	61.3	27.3	15.4	-1.2	98.6	90.0	8.6	13.4
1978	8,575.2	72.6	59.8	12.3	15.2	-1.7	86.6	86.2	0.4	13.4
1979	8,647.8	76.0	60.2	26.1	14.4	4.0	83.5	98.9	-15.3	13.4
1980	8,723.9	74.0	60.6	41.1	13.0	7.6	74.2	109.1	-34.9	13.4
1981	8,797.9	96.3	59.3	32.2	11.9	17.5	80.6	100.2	-19.7	5.0
1982	8,894.1	120.4	61.2	25.4	13.4	-0.1	89.1	69.5	19.6	-1.0
1983	9,014.5	123.6	62.3	13.5	12.3	1.7	88.2	55.4	32.8	-1.0
1984	9,138.1	131.3	66.6	16.7	11.9	-1.6	89.1	52.4	36.7	-1.0
1985	9,269.4	132.2	65.5	16.6	12.4	3.4	88.4	54.9	33.4	-1.0
1986	9,401.7	174.1	66.0	27.9	11.4	24.7	100.1	57.1	42.9	-1.1
1987	9,575.8	206.4	66.5	65.4	10.8	22.2	104.7	64.4	40.3	-1.2
1988	9,782.2	235.2	67.4	72.2	9.5	70.0	91.4	76.5	14.9	-1.2
1989	10,017.4	218.6	74.4	87.3	9.3	47.6	87.3	88.5	-1.2	-1.2
1990	10,236.0	165.4	80.1	96.8	8.4	-6.0	75.2	90.3	-15.1	-1.2
1991	10,401.4	146.9	78.6	98.2	9.9	-30.3	71.2	81.2	-10.0	-0.5
1992 (PD)	10,548.3	178.6	77.4	119.2	9.9	-14.7	67.6	80.8	-13.2	...
1993 (PR)	10,726.9	150.2	72.0	115.5	9.6	-35.2	60.7	72.6	-11.9	...
1994 (PR)	10,877.1	131.3	69.3	93.9	9.7	-40.9	80.9	81.5	-0.6	...
1995 (PR)	11,008.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
	1973	8,032.5	15.6	7.9	7.7	15.3	7.4	7.2	13.5	8.1
1974	8,158.7	14.6	7.7	6.9	15.1	7.4	6.1	13.6	10.1	
1975	8,278.7	12.7	7.8	4.9	15.1	7.3	5.4	12.7	7.8	
1976	8,384.8	10.9	7.4	3.6	14.6	7.2	5.9	11.8	4.9	
1977	8,477.0	11.5	7.2	4.3	14.4	7.2	6.5	10.6	3.2	
1978	8,575.2	8.4	6.9	1.5	14.0	7.1	5.6	10.0	1.4	
1979	8,647.8	8.8	6.9	1.8	14.0	7.1	5.4	11.4	3.0	
1980	8,723.9	8.4	6.9	1.5	14.1	7.2	4.7	12.5	4.7	
1981	8,797.9	10.9	6.7	4.2	13.8	7.1	5.0	11.3	3.6	
1982	8,894.1	13.4	6.8	6.6	13.9	7.1	5.5	7.8	2.8	
1983	9,014.5	13.6	6.9	6.7	14.0	7.1	5.4	6.1	1.5	
1984	9,138.1	14.3	7.2	7.0	14.3	7.0	5.4	5.7	1.8	
1985	9,269.4	14.2	7.0	7.2	14.2	7.1	5.3	5.9	1.8	
1986	9,401.7	18.4	7.0	11.4	14.1	7.2	6.0	6.0	2.9	
1987	9,575.8	21.3	6.9	14.5	13.9	7.0	6.2	6.7	6.8	
1988	9,782.2	23.8	6.8	16.9	13.9	7.1	5.4	7.7	7.3	
1989	10,017.4	21.6	7.3	14.2	14.4	7.0	5.1	8.7	8.6	
1990	10,236.0	16.0	7.8	8.3	14.6	6.9	4.3	8.8	9.4	
1991	10,401.4	14.0	7.5	6.5	14.5	7.0	4.0	7.8	9.4	
1992 (PD)	10,548.3	16.8	7.3	9.5	14.2	6.9	3.8	7.6	11.2	
1993 (PR)	10,726.9	13.9	6.7	7.2	13.7	7.0	3.3	6.7	10.7	
1994 (PR)	10,877.1	12.0	6.3	5.7	13.4	7.1	4.4	7.5	8.6	
1995 (PR)	11,008.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Manitoba

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	1,004.5	9.8	8.8	3.7	1.4	0.2	33.8	36.0	-2.2	2.1
1974	1,014.3	7.2	8.9	4.5	1.4	-0.1	30.2	35.6	-5.4	2.1
1975	1,021.5	8.6	8.8	4.5	1.4	0.2	28.4	32.5	-4.1	2.1
1976	1,030.1	6.4	8.5	3.2	1.3	-0.1	25.1	28.7	-3.7	2.9
1977	1,036.5	5.3	8.5	2.8	1.2	-0.1	21.6	25.3	-3.8	3.4
1978	1,041.8	-2.5	8.1	1.3	1.2	-0.1	18.7	28.2	-9.6	3.4
1979	1,039.3	-4.9	8.0	3.0	1.1	0.2	18.8	32.6	-13.8	3.4
1980	1,034.5	0.3	7.6	6.1	1.0	0.4	19.0	30.4	-11.3	3.4
1981	1,034.8	7.8	7.4	3.4	1.0	0.7	22.7	26.3	-3.6	1.2
1982	1,042.6	13.7	7.6	3.2	0.8	0.2	20.9	19.4	1.5	-0.4
1983	1,056.2	12.7	8.1	1.8	1.0	0.4	18.5	17.5	1.0	-0.4
1984	1,069.0	11.7	8.4	2.3	0.8	-0.2	17.2	17.2	0.0	-0.4
1985	1,080.7	9.4	8.3	1.6	0.9	-0.1	17.2	19.0	-1.8	-0.4
1986	1,090.1	7.0	8.1	1.9	0.9	0.2	17.4	20.5	-3.0	1.0
1987	1,097.0	5.3	8.2	2.8	0.9	0.1	18.1	22.9	-4.8	2.0
1988	1,102.3	1.8	7.9	3.0	0.8	0.7	16.1	24.7	-8.6	2.0
1989	1,104.1	1.4	8.5	3.7	1.0	0.2	17.1	27.1	-10.0	2.0
1990	1,105.6	3.5	8.5	4.6	0.9	0.2	16.9	25.5	-8.6	2.0
1991	1,109.1	5.4	8.3	3.5	1.2	0.8	16.1	23.6	-7.6	0.8
1992 (PD)	1,114.5	6.4	7.6	3.0	1.1	0.9	15.9	22.0	-6.2	...
1993 (PR)	1,120.9	5.9	7.4	2.7	1.0	-0.5	14.5	19.2	-4.7	...
1994 (PR)	1,126.8	6.1	7.2	1.7	1.1	-0.4	19.9	23.4	-3.5	...
1995 (PR)	1,132.9
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	1,004.5	9.7	8.7	1.0	16.8	8.1	1.6	35.6	3.7	
1974	1,014.3	7.0	8.7	-1.7	17.0	8.3	1.4	35.0	4.5	
1975	1,021.5	8.4	8.5	-0.1	16.7	8.2	1.3	31.7	4.4	
1976	1,030.1	6.1	8.2	-2.0	16.2	8.0	1.1	27.8	3.1	
1977	1,036.5	5.1	8.2	-3.1	16.1	7.9	0.9	24.4	2.7	
1978	1,041.8	-2.4	7.8	-10.2	15.8	8.0	0.8	27.1	1.3	
1979	1,039.3	-4.7	7.7	-12.4	15.7	7.9	0.8	31.4	2.9	
1980	1,034.5	0.3	7.3	-7.0	15.5	8.2	0.8	29.4	5.9	
1981	1,034.8	7.5	7.1	0.3	15.5	8.3	1.0	25.3	3.3	
1982	1,042.6	13.0	7.3	5.8	15.4	8.1	0.9	18.5	3.1	
1983	1,056.2	12.0	7.6	4.4	15.6	8.0	0.8	16.5	1.7	
1984	1,069.0	10.9	7.8	3.1	15.5	7.7	0.7	16.0	2.2	
1985	1,080.7	8.7	7.7	1.0	15.8	8.1	0.7	17.5	1.5	
1986	1,090.1	6.4	7.4	-1.0	15.6	8.1	0.7	18.7	1.7	
1987	1,097.0	4.8	7.5	-2.7	15.4	7.9	0.7	20.8	2.5	
1988	1,102.3	1.7	7.2	-5.5	15.4	8.2	0.6	22.4	2.7	
1989	1,104.1	1.3	7.7	-6.4	15.7	8.0	0.6	24.5	3.4	
1990	1,105.6	3.2	7.7	-4.5	15.7	8.0	0.6	23.1	4.1	
1991	1,109.1	4.8	7.5	-2.7	15.5	8.0	0.6	21.3	3.1	
1992 (PD)	1,114.5	5.7	6.8	-1.1	14.8	8.0	0.6	19.7	2.6	
1993 (PR)	1,120.9	5.3	6.6	-1.3	14.9	8.3	0.5	17.1	2.4	
1994 (PR)	1,126.8	5.4	6.3	-1.0	14.7	8.3	0.7	20.7	1.5	
1995 (PR)	1,132.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Saskatchewan

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	915.9	-6.1	7.2	0.4	0.7	0.1	26.2	39.4	-13.3	1.3
1974	909.8	2.7	7.3	0.8	0.7	0.0	28.0	32.8	-4.8	1.3
1975	912.5	15.3	7.6	1.6	0.7	0.1	30.0	23.4	6.6	1.3
1976	927.8	13.0	8.2	1.2	0.7	0.0	26.2	22.4	3.8	0.8
1977	940.7	10.6	9.0	1.1	0.6	0.0	22.2	21.8	0.4	0.4
1978	951.3	5.6	8.8	0.4	0.6	0.0	19.3	23.0	-3.7	0.4
1979	956.9	8.1	9.6	1.8	0.5	0.1	21.1	24.6	-3.5	0.4
1980	965.0	8.1	9.4	2.8	0.5	0.2	20.7	25.0	-4.4	0.4
1981	973.1	11.3	9.7	1.4	0.5	0.3	23.2	23.7	-0.5	0.1
1982	984.4	12.9	9.5	1.0	0.5	0.0	21.0	19.3	1.7	-0.1
1983	997.3	14.0	10.2	0.5	0.5	0.1	19.5	17.0	2.5	-0.1
1984	1,011.3	12.9	10.3	1.1	0.5	0.2	17.3	16.6	0.7	-0.1
1985	1,024.2	6.6	10.1	0.5	0.6	0.3	15.8	20.8	-5.0	-0.1
1986	1,030.8	2.8	9.5	1.0	0.5	0.4	15.9	22.9	-7.0	1.5
1987	1,033.6	-0.4	9.2	1.1	0.5	0.4	15.7	24.7	-9.0	2.6
1988	1,033.2	-8.1	8.7	1.3	0.5	0.4	13.6	30.0	-16.3	2.6
1989	1,025.1	-10.6	8.7	1.2	0.5	0.2	15.3	33.9	-18.6	2.6
1990	1,014.5	-8.4	8.0	1.5	0.5	0.1	16.1	32.0	-15.9	2.6
1991	1,006.1	-0.8	7.2	1.6	0.5	0.6	17.4	26.9	-9.5	1.1
1992 (PD)	1,005.3	3.4	7.2	1.6	0.5	1.1	17.4	24.3	-6.9	...
1993 (PR)	1,008.7	2.8	6.1	1.5	0.5	-0.5	15.8	20.6	-4.8	...
1994 (PR)	1,011.5	3.1	5.7	1.2	0.5	-0.3	21.1	25.1	-4.0	...
1995 (PR)	1,014.6
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	915.9	-6.7	7.8	-14.5	16.2	8.4	1.2	43.2	0.5	
1974	909.8	3.0	8.0	-5.1	16.6	8.6	1.3	36.0	0.9	
1975	912.5	16.6	8.3	8.3	16.6	8.3	1.3	25.5	1.7	
1976	927.8	13.9	8.7	5.2	17.1	8.4	1.2	24.0	1.2	
1977	940.7	11.2	9.5	1.7	17.5	8.0	1.0	23.1	1.2	
1978	951.3	5.9	9.2	-3.3	17.3	8.1	0.8	24.1	0.4	
1979	956.9	8.4	10.0	-1.6	17.6	7.7	0.9	25.6	1.9	
1980	965.0	8.4	9.7	-1.3	17.6	7.9	0.9	25.8	2.9	
1981	973.1	11.5	9.9	1.6	17.6	7.7	1.0	24.2	1.5	
1982	984.4	13.0	9.6	3.4	17.9	8.3	0.9	19.5	1.1	
1983	997.3	14.0	10.2	3.8	17.8	7.6	0.8	16.9	0.5	
1984	1,011.3	12.7	10.1	2.6	17.7	7.6	0.7	16.3	1.1	
1985	1,024.2	6.4	9.9	-3.4	17.7	7.8	0.6	20.2	0.5	
1986	1,030.8	2.7	9.2	-6.4	17.0	7.8	0.6	22.2	1.0	
1987	1,033.6	-0.4	8.9	-9.3	16.5	7.6	0.6	23.9	1.1	
1988	1,033.2	-7.9	8.4	-16.3	16.3	7.9	0.5	29.1	1.3	
1989	1,025.1	-10.4	8.6	-19.0	16.3	7.8	0.6	33.2	1.1	
1990	1,014.5	-8.3	8.0	-16.3	15.9	8.0	0.6	31.7	1.5	
1991	1,006.1	-0.8	7.2	-7.9	15.2	8.1	0.6	26.8	1.6	
1992 (PD)	1,005.3	3.4	7.2	-3.8	14.9	7.7	0.6	24.2	1.6	
1993 (PR)	1,008.7	2.8	6.0	-3.3	14.1	8.1	0.6	20.4	1.4	
1994 (PR)	1,011.5	3.0	5.6	-2.6	13.8	8.2	0.7	24.8	1.2	
1995 (PR)	1,014.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Alberta

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	1,716.6	28.8	18.5	2.2	4.6	0.7	70.5	67.8	2.7	-0.1
1974	1,745.5	42.4	18.6	4.6	4.4	-0.1	75.4	60.6	14.8	-0.1
1975	1,787.9	56.4	20.2	7.4	4.5	0.7	76.7	53.2	23.5	-0.1
1976	1,844.2	74.0	21.5	6.6	4.5	-0.2	83.5	49.3	34.2	-7.4
1977	1,918.2	76.2	22.8	4.6	4.1	-0.1	82.8	50.5	32.3	-12.5
1978	1,994.4	73.1	23.5	1.3	4.1	-0.2	82.6	50.6	32.0	-12.5
1979	2,067.5	86.5	24.9	5.2	4.0	0.7	96.1	56.9	39.2	-12.5
1980	2,154.1	103.9	27.0	12.4	3.7	1.2	106.7	59.8	46.9	-12.5
1981	2,257.9	90.0	29.8	11.6	3.6	2.5	107.6	67.3	40.2	-2.3
1982	2,347.9	43.4	32.1	8.8	4.1	-0.4	72.7	68.8	4.0	5.0
1983	2,391.4	7.2	33.0	1.5	4.0	0.0	45.9	72.1	-26.2	5.0
1984	2,398.6	2.2	31.4	2.3	3.9	0.2	39.3	69.9	-30.6	5.0
1985	2,400.8	22.1	30.6	0.5	4.3	1.2	49.9	59.5	-9.6	5.0
1986	2,422.9	14.5	30.2	2.4	3.7	2.5	49.5	69.8	-20.3	3.9
1987	2,437.4	11.2	28.8	4.6	3.8	4.6	45.3	72.9	-27.6	3.0
1988	2,448.6	35.3	28.2	7.5	3.6	4.7	54.8	60.3	-5.5	3.0
1989	2,483.9	44.8	29.5	9.8	3.3	1.9	64.7	61.3	3.4	3.0
1990	2,528.7	52.0	28.9	12.4	3.1	-0.4	67.4	56.3	11.1	3.0
1991	2,580.7	45.0	28.3	8.4	3.8	0.3	61.2	55.7	5.5	1.3
1992 (PD)	2,625.7	44.9	27.4	10.2	3.8	3.6	55.6	55.7	-0.1	...
1993 (PR)	2,670.6	33.0	25.0	11.1	3.7	-4.1	48.5	51.2	-2.7	...
1994 (PR)	2,703.6	26.0	23.9	9.8	3.8	-5.4	57.7	63.8	-6.1	...
1995 (PR)	2,729.6
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	1,716.6	16.7	10.7	6.0	16.9	6.2	3.4	39.2	1.3	
1974	1,745.5	24.0	10.5	13.5	16.9	6.4	3.6	34.3	2.6	
1975	1,787.9	31.0	11.1	19.9	17.4	6.3	3.6	29.3	4.1	
1976	1,844.2	39.3	11.4	27.9	17.6	6.2	3.9	26.2	3.5	
1977	1,918.2	39.0	11.7	27.3	17.6	5.9	3.8	25.8	2.3	
1978	1,994.4	36.0	11.5	24.5	17.4	5.9	3.8	24.9	0.6	
1979	2,067.5	41.0	11.8	29.2	17.5	5.7	4.3	27.0	2.5	
1980	2,154.1	47.1	12.3	34.8	18.0	5.8	4.8	27.1	5.6	
1981	2,257.9	39.1	12.9	26.1	18.5	5.6	4.8	29.2	5.0	
1982	2,347.9	18.3	13.5	4.8	19.0	5.5	3.2	29.0	3.7	
1983	2,391.4	3.0	13.8	-10.8	19.0	5.3	2.0	30.1	0.6	
1984	2,398.6	0.9	13.1	-12.1	18.4	5.3	1.7	29.1	1.0	
1985	2,400.8	9.1	12.7	-3.5	18.2	5.5	2.1	24.7	0.2	
1986	2,422.9	6.0	12.4	-6.4	18.0	5.6	2.1	28.7	1.0	
1987	2,437.4	4.6	11.8	-7.2	17.2	5.5	1.9	29.8	1.9	
1988	2,448.6	14.3	11.4	2.9	17.1	5.6	2.2	24.5	3.0	
1989	2,483.9	17.9	11.8	6.1	17.3	5.5	2.6	24.5	3.9	
1990	2,528.7	20.3	11.3	9.0	16.8	5.5	2.7	22.1	4.8	
1991	2,580.7	17.3	10.9	6.4	16.4	5.6	2.4	21.4	3.2	
1992 (PD)	2,625.7	16.9	10.3	6.6	15.9	5.5	2.1	21.0	3.9	
1993 (PR)	2,670.6	12.3	9.3	3.0	15.0	5.7	1.8	19.1	4.1	
1994 (PR)	2,703.6	9.6	8.8	0.8	14.7	5.9	2.2	23.5	3.6	
1995 (PR)	2,729.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

British Columbia

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	2,348.3	72.1	16.3	17.6	4.8	0.8	87.1	56.6	30.5	-2.0
1974	2,420.4	69.5	16.3	24.0	4.7	-0.2	84.2	61.5	22.7	-2.0
1975	2,489.9	41.6	17.1	19.7	4.8	0.8	61.1	64.0	-2.9	-2.0
1976	2,531.5	32.1	17.1	11.8	4.8	-0.3	59.3	60.8	-1.5	-0.3
1977	2,563.6	43.8	18.1	7.1	4.3	-0.2	62.8	47.3	15.5	1.0
1978	2,607.5	45.6	18.2	3.8	4.3	-0.3	65.4	44.7	20.7	1.0
1979	2,653.1	65.5	19.2	9.2	4.1	0.8	76.6	43.4	33.2	1.0
1980	2,718.5	83.4	20.7	18.2	3.8	1.5	80.0	39.8	40.2	1.0
1981	2,801.9	65.3	21.6	15.5	3.4	3.3	70.4	48.8	21.6	0.1
1982	2,867.2	34.8	22.0	10.9	3.9	-0.6	45.9	47.9	-2.0	-0.6
1983	2,901.9	38.3	23.1	6.4	3.7	0.5	43.9	39.9	4.0	-0.6
1984	2,940.3	36.0	23.2	4.5	3.8	0.4	42.0	38.5	3.5	-0.6
1985	2,976.2	28.6	21.8	3.6	3.9	1.8	42.6	45.8	-3.2	-0.6
1986	3,004.8	33.9	20.8	4.3	4.0	4.5	49.5	48.6	0.9	0.6
1987	3,038.7	57.7	20.0	12.0	3.7	5.8	60.9	43.3	17.6	1.5
1988	3,096.4	74.0	20.4	17.5	3.2	8.5	67.5	41.6	25.9	1.5
1989	3,170.4	88.2	20.8	19.3	3.2	9.0	79.4	42.0	37.4	1.5
1990	3,258.6	87.7	22.0	22.5	3.1	2.8	78.4	39.7	38.7	1.5
1991	3,346.3	85.1	21.6	25.1	3.3	1.1	74.5	39.9	34.6	0.6
1992 (PD)	3,431.4	100.9	21.5	30.0	3.4	6.5	78.4	39.0	39.5	...
1993 (PR)	3,532.2	94.0	20.3	38.9	3.3	-6.0	74.2	36.7	37.5	...
1994 (PR)	3,626.2	92.7	19.8	41.3	3.4	-10.1	86.3	48.1	38.3	...
1995 (PR)	3,718.9
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	2,348.3	30.2	6.8	23.4	14.4	7.6	4.3	23.7	7.4	
1974	2,420.4	28.3	6.6	21.7	14.4	7.8	4.1	25.1	9.8	
1975	2,489.9	16.6	6.8	9.8	14.5	7.6	3.0	25.5	7.9	
1976	2,531.5	12.6	6.7	5.9	14.1	7.4	2.8	23.9	4.6	
1977	2,563.6	17.0	7.0	10.0	14.2	7.2	3.0	18.3	2.8	
1978	2,607.5	17.3	6.9	10.4	14.2	7.2	3.1	17.0	1.4	
1979	2,653.1	24.4	7.2	17.2	14.3	7.2	3.5	16.2	3.4	
1980	2,718.5	30.2	7.5	22.7	14.5	7.0	3.7	14.4	6.6	
1981	2,801.9	23.0	7.6	15.4	14.6	7.0	3.2	17.2	5.5	
1982	2,867.2	12.1	7.6	4.4	14.8	7.2	2.1	16.6	3.8	
1983	2,901.9	13.1	7.9	5.2	14.7	6.8	1.9	13.7	2.2	
1984	2,940.3	12.2	7.9	4.3	14.8	7.0	1.8	13.0	1.5	
1985	2,976.2	9.6	7.3	2.3	14.4	7.1	1.9	15.3	1.2	
1986	3,004.8	11.2	6.9	4.3	13.9	7.0	2.1	16.1	1.4	
1987	3,038.7	18.8	6.5	12.3	13.6	7.1	2.6	14.1	3.9	
1988	3,096.4	23.6	6.5	17.1	13.7	7.2	2.8	13.3	5.6	
1989	3,170.4	27.4	6.5	21.0	13.6	7.2	3.3	13.1	6.0	
1990	3,258.6	26.6	6.7	19.9	13.8	7.1	3.2	12.0	6.8	
1991	3,346.3	25.1	6.4	18.7	13.5	7.1	3.0	11.8	7.4	
1992 (PD)	3,431.4	29.0	6.2	22.8	13.3	7.1	3.1	11.2	8.6	
1993 (PR)	3,532.2	26.2	5.7	20.6	12.9	7.2	2.9	10.3	10.9	
1994 (PR)	3,626.2	25.2	5.4	19.8	12.8	7.4	3.4	13.1	11.2	
1995 (PR)	3,718.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Yukon

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	20.9	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.6	-0.3	-0.1
1974	21.1	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.7	0.1	-0.1
1975	21.7	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	2.8	2.5	0.2	-0.1
1976	22.4	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	2.9	-0.4	-0.3
1977	22.7	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.7	0.1	-0.4
1978	23.5	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	2.8	-0.2	-0.4
1979	24.1	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	2.8	-0.4	-0.4
1980	24.5	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.7	-0.4	-0.4
1981	24.9	-0.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	4.1	-1.4	-0.3
1982	24.4	-0.5	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.6	2.8	-1.2	-0.3
1983	23.8	-0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.4	-0.8	-0.3
1984	23.8	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.7	-0.1	-0.3
1985	24.4	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.0	-0.4	-0.3
1986	24.6	0.8	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.0	0.2	-0.2
1987	25.4	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.2	0.1	-0.2
1988	26.1	1.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	2.1	0.3	-0.2
1989	27.1	0.6	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.3	0.0	-0.2
1990	27.8	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.2	0.0	-0.2
1991	28.4	1.1	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.1	2.4	1.9	0.5	-0.1
1992 (PD)	29.5	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.1	2.2	2.2	0.0	...
1993 (PR)	30.1	-0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	-0.1	1.6	2.4	-0.8	...
1994 (PR)	29.6	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	-0.1	2.0	2.3	-0.3	...
1995 (PR)	29.7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
	1973	20.9	7.7	14.7	-7.0	20.0	5.3	0.1	121.5	-0.9
1974	21.1	28.4	17.8	10.6	23.1	5.3	0.1	125.3	-0.3	
1975	21.7	30.9	13.4	17.5	18.5	5.1	0.1	113.7	0.0	
1976	22.4	12.7	14.4	-1.7	19.9	5.5	0.1	129.2	-0.7	
1977	22.7	35.2	14.2	21.0	18.8	4.5	0.1	119.1	-1.4	
1978	23.5	25.5	15.0	10.5	18.8	3.7	0.1	119.0	-1.3	
1979	24.1	15.8	15.4	0.5	20.6	5.2	0.1	116.3	-0.3	
1980	24.5	17.1	14.1	3.0	19.3	5.2	0.1	109.9	1.4	
1981	24.9	-21.8	16.0	-37.9	21.8	5.7	0.1	165.7	1.0	
1982	24.4	-21.9	16.9	-38.7	21.8	4.9	0.1	117.4	-1.7	
1983	23.8	-2.4	17.9	-20.4	22.7	4.7	0.1	99.3	0.5	
1984	23.8	25.6	17.1	8.6	21.5	4.5	0.1	70.6	-0.4	
1985	24.4	9.7	13.9	-4.2	18.9	5.0	0.1	82.8	-0.3	
1986	24.6	31.3	14.8	16.5	19.3	4.5	0.1	80.4	-0.2	
1987	25.4	28.1	14.3	13.8	18.5	4.2	0.1	85.7	0.8	
1988	26.1	36.0	14.5	21.6	19.6	5.1	0.1	78.9	1.0	
1989	27.1	23.6	14.0	9.5	17.5	3.5	0.1	85.5	2.1	
1990	27.8	22.9	15.7	7.2	19.8	4.1	0.1	80.1	0.9	
1991	28.4	38.8	15.7	23.2	19.6	3.9	0.1	64.6	0.3	
1992 (PD)	29.5	18.3	13.8	4.5	17.8	3.9	0.1	75.1	1.9	
1993 (PR)	30.1	-14.6	12.9	-27.5	17.0	4.1	0.1	80.1	1.3	
1994 (PR)	29.6	2.1	12.3	-10.2	16.4	4.0	0.1	76.9	1.6	
1995 (PR)	29.7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1995
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Northwest Territories

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	40.3	0.8	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.6	4.0	-0.4	-0.1
1974	41.2	1.3	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	4.3	4.2	0.2	-0.1
1975	42.4	1.7	1.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	4.3	3.9	0.4	-0.1
1976	44.1	0.6	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.1	4.9	-0.8	-0.3
1977	44.7	0.4	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.4	5.4	-1.0	-0.3
1978	45.1	0.5	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.9	4.8	-1.0	-0.3
1979	45.6	0.7	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.7	4.6	-0.8	-0.3
1980	46.3	0.6	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.4	4.3	-0.9	-0.3
1981	46.9	1.8	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.2	4.1	0.2	-0.4
1982	48.6	2.2	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	3.2	0.6	-0.4
1983	50.8	1.7	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	-0.4
1984	52.5	1.7	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	3.5	0.1	-0.4
1985	54.2	1.1	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	4.0	-0.6	-0.4
1986	55.3	-0.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	4.9	-1.8	-0.4
1987	55.2	0.6	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	4.7	-1.2	-0.4
1988	55.8	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	3.5	4.3	-0.8	-0.4
1989	56.9	1.3	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	4.1	-0.4	-0.4
1990	58.3	1.9	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	3.8	3.8	0.0	-0.4
1991	60.1	1.8	1.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.7	3.6	0.1	-0.2
1992 (PD)	61.9	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	3.7	-0.3	...
1993 (PR)	63.0	1.3	1.3	0.1	0.0	-0.1	2.9	3.1	-0.1	...
1994 (PR)	64.3	1.1	1.3	0.1	0.0	-0.2	3.8	4.0	-0.2	...
1995 (PR)	65.4
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	40.3	20.5	23.4	-2.9	29.6	6.1	0.2	98.1	3.4	
1974	41.2	31.1	20.0	11.1	24.9	4.9	0.2	100.4	3.9	
1975	42.4	38.2	22.2	16.0	27.2	5.0	0.2	90.6	3.6	
1976	44.1	13.1	21.9	-8.8	26.6	4.8	0.2	110.5	3.2	
1977	44.7	9.8	22.1	-12.3	26.5	4.5	0.2	119.7	2.0	
1978	45.1	10.3	22.0	-11.7	26.5	4.5	0.2	106.4	1.8	
1979	45.6	15.3	23.5	-8.1	27.9	4.5	0.2	99.1	2.4	
1980	46.3	12.2	22.8	-10.7	28.0	5.1	0.1	92.4	1.5	
1981	46.9	37.5	23.2	14.4	27.3	4.1	0.2	84.9	1.5	
1982	48.6	44.0	22.7	21.3	27.4	4.7	0.2	65.2	0.6	
1983	50.8	31.9	24.2	7.7	28.9	4.7	0.1	66.5	0.4	
1984	52.5	32.1	22.6	9.5	27.1	4.4	0.1	65.5	0.6	
1985	54.2	19.5	22.3	-2.9	26.3	3.9	0.1	73.1	-0.2	
1986	55.3	-1.8	23.0	-24.8	27.3	4.3	0.1	88.9	-0.2	
1987	55.2	11.5	23.9	-12.4	27.4	3.6	0.1	84.5	0.1	
1988	55.8	19.6	23.7	-4.1	27.6	3.9	0.1	76.4	0.4	
1989	56.9	23.4	21.4	2.0	25.7	4.3	0.1	71.2	-0.2	
1990	58.3	31.8	22.9	8.9	26.8	3.8	0.1	63.5	-0.4	
1991	60.1	29.4	22.9	6.5	26.8	3.9	0.1	58.5	1.1	
1992 (PD)	61.9	17.8	20.8	-3.0	24.9	4.1	0.1	59.0	0.8	
1993 (PR)	63.0	19.8	20.4	-0.6	24.5	4.1	0.1	48.2	1.5	
1994 (PR)	64.3	16.6	20.7	-4.0	24.2	3.5	0.1	62.2	1.0	
1995 (PR)	65.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

¹ Immigration: From Employment and Immigration Canada and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Emigration: Estimates based on Family Allowance and Income Tax files. Net: Emigrants subtracted from immigrants.

² The residual is the distribution over five years of the error of closure at the end of the census period. This error is equal to the difference between the number expected in the census by the components method and the enumeration corrected for net under-enumeration. This "error" encompasses errors on the components and on the net under-enumeration of the censuses.

³ Takes into account non-permanent residents, returning Canadians and the residual.

(PD) Final postcensal estimates based on 1991, as of September 18, 1995.

(PR) Updated postcensal estimates based on 1991, as of September 18, 1995.

Note: All other data are based on final intercensal estimates. Calculations made on unrounded numbers.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

Table A2. Nuptiality

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Number of Marriages													
1978	3,841	939	6,560	5,310	45,936	67,491	8,232	7,139	18,277	21,388	194	216	185,523
1979	3,737	893	6,920	5,355	46,341	67,980	7,769	7,272	18,999	22,087	181	277	187,811
1980	3,783	939	6,791	5,321	44,848	68,840	7,869	7,561	20,818	23,830	200	269	191,069
1981	3,758	849	6,632	5,108	41,005	70,281	8,123	7,329	21,781	24,699	235	282	190,082
1982	3,764	855	6,486	4,923	38,354	71,595	8,264	7,491	22,312	23,831	225	260	188,360
1983	3,778	937	6,505	5,260	36,144	70,893	8,261	7,504	21,172	23,692	243	286	184,675
1984	3,567	1,057	6,798	5,294	37,433	71,922	8,393	7,213	20,052	23,397	212	259	185,597
1985	3,220	956	6,807	5,312	37,026	72,891	8,296	7,132	19,750	22,292	185	229	184,096
1986	3,421	970	6,445	4,962	33,083	70,839	7,816	6,820	18,896	21,826	183	257	175,518
1987	3,481	924	6,697	4,924	32,616	76,201	7,994	6,853	18,640	23,395	189	237	182,151
1988	3,686	965	6,894	5,292	33,519	78,533	7,908	6,767	19,272	24,461	209	222	187,728
1989	3,905	1,019	6,828	5,254	33,325	80,377	7,800	6,637	19,888	25,170	214	223	190,640
1990	3,791	996	6,386	5,044	32,060	80,097	7,666	6,229	19,806	25,216	218	228	187,737
1991	3,480	876	5,845	4,521	28,922	72,938	7,032	5,923	18,612	23,691	196	215	172,251
1992	3,254	850	5,623	4,313	25,841	70,079	6,899	5,664	17,871	23,749	221	209	164,573
1993	3,163	885	5,403	4,177	25,021	66,575	6,752	5,638	17,860	23,446	180	216	159,316

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Marriages*, catalogue No. 84-212.

Table A3.1 Age-Specific First Marriage Rates (per 1,000) for Males Cohorts, 1944-1976, Canada

		Year of Birth																																	
		1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946	1945	1944	
		Year of 17th Birthday																																	
		1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	
17	0.3		0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.1	1.6	1.5	2.0	2.4	3.3	3.8	4.4	4.8	4.6	4.2	4.3	4.0	3.8	3.9	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.8	4.0	4.4	
18			1.8	2.3	2.4	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.8	3.3	3.6	3.9	4.4	5.9	6.5	8.2	9.2	10.7	12.6	14.6	17.7	18.9	19.9	21.1	18.3	17.9	17.2	16.9	17.8	18.1	15.9	15.3	17.1	17.1	
19				5.2	5.9	6.5	7.1	7.4	8.0	8.1	8.9	9.9	10.9	12.9	15.9	18.9	21.6	24.1	27.4	31.1	35.0	39.4	42.6	45.6	46.5	42.2	41.7	39.8	41.0	44.2	39.2	37.7	38.1	38.1	
20					10.5	12.4	13.9	15.1	16.4	16.7	16.8	19.2	21.2	23.6	27.8	33.3	38.3	42.2	47.0	50.9	56.0	58.6	67.2	72.9	77.0	79.2	73.3	73.6	73.4	77.4	82.8	73.3	70.6	71.7	
21						18.8	21.1	23.1	26.4	28.8	28.4	29.0	31.8	36.2	39.9	45.2	51.8	57.4	63.5	67.6	71.1	75.0	77.6	90.1	93.8	102.9	109.5	109.5	114.0	120.1	118.1	112.9	114.0	114.0	
22							27.9	30.3	34.6	37.9	40.1	40.8	41.1	44.9	49.8	53.9	58.4	65.1	68.4	75.2	77.8	78.6	81.0	85.1	95.3	103.3	111.2	119.2	117.3	130.3	140.0	128.6	128.2	130.6	
23								37.0	39.2	44.8	50.1	50.2	51.4	52.3	54.5	59.9	63.1	64.0	68.9	72.0	76.3	75.8	77.0	80.8	80.8	89.9	94.8	103.2	111.0	109.2	130.7	121.1	119.6	128.1	
24									44.0	47.5	51.0	56.6	56.7	57.2	56.7	58.5	62.7	63.9	64.7	65.5	67.4	69.2	68.7	70.0	77.3	82.0	86.9	92.0	88.9	92.0	92.1	98.3	98.5	106.0	
25										48.1	50.0	54.0	58.5	59.7	57.7	56.1	56.3	59.0	59.6	57.3	58.4	60.0	60.0	58.7	57.8	58.6	58.1	63.2	65.1	68.6	71.4	72.9	75.2	80.8	
26											47.8	48.0	51.0	54.5	54.6	53.1	48.9	49.3	51.9	49.6	49.5	49.7	48.4	47.5	46.1	47.0	46.0	48.7	50.0	52.7	54.6	53.2	59.7		
27												43.4	44.0	45.4	48.6	47.6	46.0	43.9	42.5	43.8	42.3	40.3	40.5	39.6	38.4	37.1	37.0	36.4	37.9	38.8	39.6	40.0	40.4		
28													37.8	38.6	38.9	41.9	40.5	38.6	36.0	34.3	35.6	34.2	33.6	33.0	32.3	31.4	30.4	30.1	29.9	28.5	29.4	29.2	29.9		
29														33.1	32.5	33.4	34.9	33.8	32.5	30.5	28.6	29.7	28.4	27.8	26.4	26.3	25.3	24.0	22.7	22.7	22.2	22.1	22.8		
30															27.7	27.7	27.1	28.8	27.9	26.4	24.8	23.5	23.3	22.6	22.1	21.0	20.3	19.8	18.8	18.3	17.2	17.6	17.8		
31																22.5	22.4	22.5	23.1	21.9	21.0	19.9	17.5	18.4	17.9	17.4	16.2	15.6	15.1	14.2	13.8	13.5	13.5		
32																	18.5	18.7	18.0	18.2	17.9	17.4	15.7	14.5	14.8	14.7	13.0	12.9	12.0	11.6	10.7	10.7	10.8		
33																		15.3	14.5	15.0	14.9	14.3	13.9	12.8	11.6	11.7	11.2	10.9	10.0	9.5	9.1	8.9	8.3		
34																			12.3	11.9	11.8	12.5	11.8	11.6	10.2	9.3	9.5	8.7	8.5	7.8	7.2	7.0	6.8		
35																				9.8	9.9	9.7	9.9	9.7	9.5	8.5	8.5	7.6	7.4	6.7	6.4	6.1	6.0		
36																					8.2	8.1	8.0	7.9	8.0	7.3	7.1	6.4	6.1	5.7	5.4	5.0	4.4		
37																						6.5	6.3	6.4	6.6	6.6	6.1	5.4	5.0	4.6	4.4	4.4	3.9		
38																								5.5	5.3	5.0	5.3	5.1	5.0	4.6	3.9	3.5	3.6	3.3	
39																									4.5	4.4	4.0	4.2	4.3	3.7	3.3	3.2	3.2	2.8	
40																										3.5	3.3	3.3	3.5	3.4	3.3	3.0	2.4	2.7	
41																											2.8	2.6	2.7	2.4	2.9	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.0
42																												2.3	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.0
43																													1.9	1.8	1.7	1.9	2.0	2.1	1.9
44																														1.7	1.7	1.4	1.9	1.9	
45																															1.2	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.6

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A4. Divorce

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Number of Divorces													
1979	483	144	2,275	1,223	14,379	21,793	2,152	1,528	6,531	8,826	62	78	59,474
1980	555	163	2,314	1,326	13,898	22,441	2,282	1,836	7,580	9,464	82	76	62,017
1981	569	187	2,285	1,334	19,193	21,680	2,399	1,932	8,418	9,533	75	66	67,671
1982	625	205	2,281	1,663	18,579	23,640	2,392	1,815	8,882	10,164	117	67	70,430
1983	711	215	2,340	1,942	17,364	23,073	2,642	2,000	8,758	9,347	88	85	68,565
1984	590	195	2,263	1,427	16,845	21,635	2,611	1,988	8,454	8,988	100	74	65,170
1985	561	213	2,337	1,360	15,814	20,851	2,313	1,927	8,102	8,330	96	72	61,976
1986	687	199	2,609	1,729	19,026	27,549	2,982	2,479	9,556	11,299	94	95	78,304
1987	1,117	275	2,759	1,995	22,098	39,095	3,923	2,968	9,535	12,184	142	109	96,200
1988	906	269	2,494	1,673	20,340	32,524	3,102	2,501	8,744	10,760	82	112	83,507
1989	1,005	248	2,527	1,649	19,829	31,298	2,912	2,460	8,237	10,658	82	93	80,998
1990	1,016	281	2,419	1,699	20,474	28,977	2,798	2,364	8,489	9,773	81	92	78,463
1991	912	269	2,280	1,652	20,274	27,694	2,790	2,240	8,388	10,368	67	86	77,020
1992	867	227	2,304	1,633	19,695	30,463	2,657	2,325	8,217	10,431	117	98	79,034
1993	930	227	2,376	1,606	19,662	28,903	2,586	2,239	8,612	10,889	94	103	78,227
Mean Duration of Marriage for Persons Divorced in the Year ¹													
1979	12.7	12.0	12.1	12.6	12.9	12.3	11.9	12.4	10.4	11.8	10.8	10.2	12.1
1980	12.1	12.8	11.1	11.7	11.8	11.8	10.8	11.1	10.5	11.8	11.8	12.6	11.5
1981	11.8	12.4	11.3	11.8	11.8	11.9	11.0	10.5	10.5	11.7	11.2	9.0	11.5
1982	11.7	12.3	11.0	11.8	11.6	11.9	11.2	10.7	10.5	11.8	11.8	11.1	11.5
1983	11.1	12.6	11.0	11.8	11.4	11.9	10.9	10.4	10.6	11.8	11.5	11.2	11.4
1984	11.9	13.2	11.5	12.3	11.5	11.9	10.9	10.9	10.8	12.4	12.3	10.4	11.6
1985	11.4	12.8	11.4	11.9	11.7	12.0	10.7	10.7	11.0	12.3	11.5	10.3	11.6
1986	11.7	12.5	11.3	11.8	11.5	11.7	11.1	10.7	10.9	12.1	11.8	10.9	11.5
1987	11.3	11.7	11.1	11.7	11.3	11.6	10.5	10.4	10.9	11.8	11.7	11.0	11.4
1988	11.7	12.4	11.0	11.7	11.1	11.5	10.6	10.6	11.0	11.7	11.4	10.4	11.3
1989	11.7	11.5	11.3	11.5	11.0	11.3	10.3	10.8	11.0	11.5	11.5	10.5	11.2
1990	11.3	11.9	11.3	11.1	10.8	11.2	10.5	10.6	11.0	11.5	11.4	10.1	11.1
1991	11.5	13.0	11.0	11.5	11.0	10.9	10.3	10.9	10.8	11.3	11.2	9.0	11.0
1992	11.0	12.1	11.2	11.0	10.8	10.9	10.5	10.7	10.8	11.2	10.8	9.7	10.9
1993	11.7	11.8	10.9	11.5	10.5	10.8	10.4	10.6	10.6	11.0	10.6	10.1	10.8

¹ Excludes divorces for marriages of a duration greater than 25 years.

Note: Divorces by duration of marriage from 1980 are revised.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Divorces*, Catalogue No. 84-213 and calculations by the author.

Table A5. Births and Fertility

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Live Births													
1979	10,170	1,934	12,406	10,848	98,646	121,655	16,242	16,944	37,003	38,432	501	1,283	366,064
1980	10,332	1,958	12,369	10,636	97,421	123,316	15,989	17,057	39,749	40,104	476	1,302	370,709
1981	10,130	1,897	12,079	10,503	95,322	122,183	16,073	17,209	42,638	41,474	536	1,302	371,346
1982	9,173	1,924	12,325	10,489	90,800	124,856	16,123	17,722	45,036	42,747	525	1,362	373,082
1983	8,929	1,907	12,401	10,518	88,154	126,826	16,602	17,847	45,555	42,919	540	1,491	373,689
1984	8,560	1,954	12,378	10,360	87,839	131,296	16,651	18,014	44,105	43,911	519	1,444	377,031
1985	8,500	2,008	12,450	10,121	86,340	132,208	17,097	18,162	43,813	43,127	464	1,437	375,727
1986	8,100	1,928	12,358	9,788	84,634	133,882	17,009	17,513	43,744	41,967	483	1,507	372,913
1987	7,769	1,955	12,110	9,588	83,791	134,617	16,953	17,034	42,110	41,814	478	1,523	369,742
1988	7,487	1,977	12,182	9,617	86,612	138,066	17,030	16,763	42,055	42,930	521	1,555	376,795
1989	7,762	1,937	12,533	9,667	92,373	145,338	17,321	16,651	43,351	43,769	480	1,479	392,661
1990	7,604	2,014	12,870	9,824	98,048	150,923	17,352	16,090	43,004	45,617	556	1,584	405,486
1991	7,166	1,885	12,016	9,497	97,310	151,478	17,282	15,304	42,776	45,612	568	1,634	402,528
1992	6,918	1,850	11,874	9,389	96,146	150,593	16,590	15,004	42,039	46,156	529	1,554	398,642
1993	6,421	1,754	11,568	9,049	92,391	147,848	16,709	14,269	40,292	46,026	508	1,559	388,394
1994 (P)	6,330	1,685	11,380	8,920	91,295	147,155	16,580	14,025	39,810	47,115	485	1,570	386,350
Age-Specific Fertility Rates (per 1,000)													
1991: 15-19	30.8	33.3	31.0	30.8	17.2	22.0	43.9	46.1	38.4	24.9	42.6	110.4	25.7
20-24	80.1	85.3	79.5	89.8	79.9	65.7	96.6	111.1	92.7	76.4	119.7	173.3	77.5
25-29	100.8	136.5	111.3	110.7	128.7	115.8	132.6	140.2	123.7	112.2	130.2	136.5	120.3
30-34	57.7	80.5	69.3	59.8	77.9	90.5	87.9	80.0	86.5	84.7	89.1	101.1	83.6
35-39	16.2	30.6	22.1	15.2	23.0	32.8	27.8	24.8	31.2	30.7	35.0	43.3	28.3
40-44	2.4	3.5	2.9	1.7	3.0	4.5	4.3	3.1	4.2	4.5	7.9	6.2	3.9
45-49	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.2	1.3	0.0	0.2
1992: 15-19	30.0	30.1	30.7	33.7	17.7	22.2	42.4	44.5	36.3	24.0	36.1	94.4	25.4
20-24	74.7	81.3	78.8	82.5	76.6	64.4	92.0	109.3	89.7	73.7	106.9	161.7	75.0
25-29	99.1	135.1	109.5	109.9	128.4	116.0	127.0	138.9	120.9	110.0	115.3	138.0	119.3
30-34	58.0	88.5	70.5	61.3	80.3	92.1	86.4	83.3	88.3	85.3	79.5	94.8	85.3
35-39	15.0	24.2	23.1	16.9	23.9	33.6	29.3	24.6	30.4	31.4	37.4	39.9	28.9
40-44	2.0	4.0	3.1	2.5	3.3	4.9	4.6	3.7	4.4	4.8	8.4	7.8	4.2
45-49	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
1993: 15-19	26.5	30.7	30.4	31.0	17.2	22.3	43.3	44.0	33.1	22.5	41.3	99.6	24.7
20-24	66.8	83.4	74.6	80.0	75.4	62.7	92.1	104.4	87.4	70.8	99.7	167.8	73.0
25-29	96.4	121.4	108.6	107.4	122.2	110.6	128.6	133.9	118.1	106.7	116.0	138.7	114.7
30-34	54.6	79.5	71.0	60.8	80.2	92.6	90.3	78.9	84.6	84.2	76.1	91.6	84.9
35-39	15.0	26.3	23.7	17.5	24.2	34.5	29.4	25.8	29.9	32.7	41.0	28.1	29.5
40-44	1.9	3.4	2.9	2.5	3.6	5.2	4.0	3.8	4.4	5.3	3.0	6.5	4.4
45-49	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	1.5	0.1

Table A5. Birth and Fertility - concluded

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Fertility Rates by Birth Order (per 1,000 women)													
1991: 1	22.2	24.3	24.4	23.9	26.8	25.9	28.3	25.0	26.4	24.8	30.9	34.3	25.9
2	17.5	22.0	18.8	18.6	20.2	20.5	21.2	22.9	22.9	20.0	23.8	31.1	20.6
3	6.5	10.7	8.0	7.1	7.6	8.6	10.9	12.9	11.0	8.7	10.8	18.8	8.8
4	2.0	3.7	2.3	1.9	2.0	2.5	4.3	5.3	3.8	2.5	3.8	11.0	2.7
5 +	0.9	2.0	1.0	0.7	0.8	1.2	3.0	3.3	2.2	1.2	2.2	9.5	1.3
1992: 1	21.3	23.1	24.1	23.5	25.6	25.6	26.9	24.4	25.7	24.5	26.5	32.0	25.3
2	17.4	21.3	19.3	18.5	20.4	21.1	20.4	22.9	22.4	19.9	21.3	25.8	20.7
3	6.4	11.4	7.5	7.1	7.8	8.6	10.6	12.6	10.4	8.4	12.4	17.6	8.7
4	1.7	3.9	2.1	1.8	2.0	2.5	4.2	5.1	3.8	2.5	2.7	11.7	2.6
5 +	0.6	1.7	1.0	0.7	0.8	1.2	3.1	3.4	2.3	1.1	1.6	11.0	1.3
1993: 1	20.3	22.1	23.5	22.7	24.1	25.1	26.8	23.7	24.6	24.7	28.2	34.1	24.6
2	15.9	20.0	18.6	18.2	19.8	20.5	20.7	21.4	21.3	19.0	17.6	24.5	20.0
3	5.9	10.8	7.5	6.5	7.5	8.3	10.4	11.6	10.0	7.8	9.9	17.5	8.3
4	1.3	3.5	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.5	4.5	4.9	3.5	2.3	4.6	10.5	2.6
5 +	0.4	1.3	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.7	1.8	1.9	1.2	0.7	2.1	4.9	0.8
Total Fertility Rate (Women Aged 15-49) ¹													
1979	••	1.94	1.70	1.75	1.67	1.61	1.86	2.18	1.85	1.63	1.95	3.02	1.70
1980	••	1.94	1.67	1.69	1.62	1.61	1.82	2.13	1.85	1.63	1.79	3.02	1.67
1981	••	1.87	1.62	1.67	1.57	1.57	1.82	2.11	1.86	1.63	2.06	2.83	1.65
1982	••	1.89	1.64	1.66	1.48	1.59	1.80	2.14	1.89	1.65	1.96	2.81	1.64
1983	••	1.83	1.63	1.65	1.43	1.59	1.83	2.10	1.90	1.65	2.16	3.00	1.62
1984	••	1.84	1.60	1.61	1.43	1.62	1.82	2.08	1.86	1.68	2.07	2.80	1.63
1985	••	1.86	1.60	1.57	1.40	1.60	1.85	2.08	1.86	1.65	1.83	2.66	1.61
1986	••	1.78	1.58	1.53	1.37	1.60	1.83	2.02	1.85	1.61	1.92	2.81	1.60
1987	1.53	1.82	1.55	1.51	1.37	1.58	1.83	1.98	1.82	1.60	1.88	2.82	1.58
1988	1.47	1.85	1.57	1.53	1.43	1.59	1.85	1.99	1.84	1.64	1.98	2.90	1.60
1989	1.53	1.83	1.62	1.55	1.53	1.63	1.92	2.05	1.90	1.65	1.85	2.70	1.66
1990	1.52	1.93	1.68	1.58	1.64	1.67	1.95	2.07	1.88	1.68	2.16	2.79	1.71
1991	1.44	1.85	1.58	1.54	1.65	1.66	1.97	2.03	1.88	1.67	2.13	2.85	1.70
1992	1.39	1.82	1.58	1.53	1.65	1.67	1.91	2.02	1.85	1.65	1.92	2.68	1.69
1993	1.31	1.72	1.56	1.50	1.61	1.64	1.94	1.95	1.79	1.61	1.89	2.67	1.66

(P) Preliminary.

¹ Number of children per woman.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A6. Mortality

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Deaths													
1979	3,136	1,022	6,843	5,172	43,311	61,468	8,217	7,369	12,109	19,204	127	205	168,183
1980	3,345	1,035	7,004	5,297	43,512	62,746	8,436	7,651	12,710	19,371	128	238	171,473
1981	3,230	992	6,958	5,139	42,684	62,838	8,648	7,523	12,823	19,857	141	196	171,029
1982	3,385	980	6,941	5,197	43,497	63,696	8,490	8,202	12,968	20,707	118	232	174,413
1983	3,498	1,050	7,047	5,206	44,275	64,507	8,521	7,611	12,588	19,827	113	241	174,484
1984	3,520	1,109	6,913	5,272	44,449	64,703	8,290	7,710	12,730	20,686	108	237	175,727
1985	3,557	1,110	7,315	5,230	45,707	66,747	8,756	8,031	13,231	21,302	123	214	181,323
1986	3,540	1,121	7,255	5,458	46,892	67,865	8,911	8,061	13,560	21,213	113	235	184,224
1987	3,629	1,116	7,112	5,408	47,616	68,119	8,710	7,808	13,316	21,814	108	197	184,953
1988	3,591	1,112	7,412	5,450	47,771	70,679	9,100	8,100	13,894	22,546	136	220	190,011
1989	3,718	1,089	7,516	5,496	48,305	70,907	8,819	7,920	13,854	22,997	95	249	190,965
1990	3,884	1,143	7,388	5,426	48,420	70,818	8,863	8,044	14,068	23,577	115	227	191,973
1991	3,798	1,188	7,255	5,469	49,121	72,917	8,943	8,098	14,451	23,977	114	237	195,568
1992	3,798	1,114	7,544	5,609	48,824	73,206	8,980	7,793	14,679	24,615	117	256	196,535
1993	3,890	1,145	7,559	5,806	51,711	75,853	9,299	8,164	15,338	25,764	123	260	204,912
1994 (P)	4,035	1,200	7,650	5,940	53,545	77,865	9,425	8,305	15,895	27,325	120	230	211,535
Infant Deaths (age less than 1 year)													
1979	109	21	148	124	1,040	1,247	211	194	423	434	8	35	3,994
1980	110	22	135	116	953	1,175	184	193	500	442	9	29	3,868
1981	98	25	139	114	807	1,073	191	203	452	424	8	28	3,562
1982	99	15	106	110	800	1,041	146	186	442	423	11	22	3,401
1983	95	16	116	112	676	1,013	173	180	383	377	10	31	3,182
1984	79	16	97	81	645	992	144	169	425	378	7	25	3,058
1985	92	8	98	97	626	961	170	200	352	349	5	24	2,982
1986	65	13	104	81	604	969	157	157	393	355	12	28	2,938
1987	59	13	90	67	594	888	142	155	315	359	5	19	2,706
1988	70	14	79	69	563	910	132	140	347	362	3	16	2,705
1989	64	12	73	69	632	985	115	134	325	360	2	24	2,795
1990	70	12	81	71	612	946	138	123	346	344	4	19	2,766
1991	56	13	69	58	578	953	111	126	285	298	6	20	2,573
1992	49	3	71	59	522	886	113	110	304	286	2	26	2,431
1993	50	16	82	65	529	922	118	115	268	264	4	15	2,448

(P) Preliminary.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211.

Table A7. Life Expectancy at Different Ages, Canada, 1992 and 1993

Age	1992 Table (triennial) ¹		1993 Table (preliminary) ²	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0	74.78	81.02	74.96	81.16
1	74.29	80.48	74.47	80.62
5	70.40	76.56	70.58	76.70
10	65.46	71.62	65.64	71.76
15	60.54	66.68	60.71	66.81
20	55.79	61.79	55.96	61.92
25	51.08	56.90	51.23	57.04
30	46.36	52.01	46.52	52.15
35	41.65	47.14	41.81	47.28
40	36.98	42.32	37.15	42.46
45	32.36	37.56	32.54	37.70
50	27.85	32.91	28.02	33.04
55	23.54	28.40	23.70	28.52
60	19.53	24.08	19.68	24.18
65	15.86	19.98	15.99	20.09
70	12.60	16.14	12.71	16.24
75	9.73	12.60	9.83	12.69
80	7.36	9.52	7.47	9.62
85	5.51	6.96	5.61	7.06
90	4.32	5.06	4.46	5.18

¹ Calculated by using the average of deaths in 1991, 1992 and 1993.

² Calculated by using, to set an average, the deaths in 1992 and twice the deaths in 1993.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A8. Landed Immigrants in Canada by Country of Birth, 1980-1994

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994 ²
EUROPE	40,210	44,784	44,356	23,664	20,581	18,530	22,518	36,486	39,187	50,844	50,561	46,651	43,338	45,487	36,734
British Isles ¹	16,445	18,912	14,525	4,945	4,657	3,998	4,612	7,650	7,906	7,358	6,897	6,383	5,831	5,928	4,622
Portugal	4,222	3,292	2,308	1,373	869	917	1,981	5,904	6,294	7,952	7,740	5,837	2,700	1,563	754
France	1,461	1,681	1,821	1,237	970	994	1,124	1,486	1,819	2,128	1,996	2,619	3,105	3,347	2,483
Greece	1,044	924	884	617	578	579	555	750	595	798	604	618	593	537	331
Italy	1,873	2,057	1,496	879	892	733	785	1,123	961	1,204	1,066	775	663	690	512
Poland	1,395	4,093	9,259	5,374	4,640	3,642	5,283	7,132	9,360	16,042	16,536	15,737	11,918	6,924	3,483
Other	13,770	13,825	14,063	9,239	7,975	7,667	8,178	12,441	12,252	15,362	15,722	14,682	18,528	26,498	24,549
AFRICA	5,383	5,901	5,196	3,913	3,851	3,912	5,189	9,047	9,604	12,482	13,845	16,530	20,113	17,515	13,658
ASIA	73,026	50,759	43,863	38,183	42,730	39,438	42,417	69,081	83,283	95,292	113,978	122,228	141,816	149,343	138,968
Philippines	6,147	5,978	5,295	4,597	3,858	3,183	4,203	7,420	8,651	11,907	12,590	12,626	13,737	20,488	18,636
India	9,531	9,415	8,858	7,810	6,082	4,517	7,481	10,635	11,942	10,738	12,572	14,248	14,228	21,668	17,928
Hong Kong (B.C.C.)	3,874	4,039	4,452	4,238	5,013	5,121	4,318	12,618	18,355	15,694	23,134	16,425	27,927	27,242	33,107
China	8,965	9,798	6,295	5,321	5,769	5,166	4,178	6,611	7,903	9,001	14,193	20,621	22,160	19,689	22,852
Middle East ²	4,665	5,409	5,321	3,964	4,951	5,239	6,947	10,904	12,325	17,697	23,826	25,561	21,816	18,798	13,333
Other	39,844	16,120	13,642	12,253	17,057	16,212	15,290	20,893	24,107	30,255	27,663	32,747	41,948	41,458	33,112
NORTH AMERICA and CENTRAL AMERICA	9,442	10,183	10,030	10,200	10,223	10,898	12,412	13,691	11,495	11,899	13,042	18,899	18,676	14,371	8,402
United States	8,098	8,695	7,841	6,136	5,727	5,614	6,094	6,547	5,571	5,814	5,067	5,270	5,891	6,446	4,931
CARIBBEAN, BERMUDA	7,515	8,797	8,717	7,258	5,696	6,240	8,948	11,210	9,481	10,967	11,784	13,046	15,142	16,699	9,738
AUSTRALASIA	1,215	1,020	758	394	430	399	449	539	528	634	725	735	918	1,013	705
SOUTH AMERICA	5,381	6,114	6,892	4,825	4,046	4,273	6,546	10,833	7,210	8,595	8,602	10,468	10,240	9,511	7,703
OCEANIA	944	1,024	1,183	720	599	612	740	1,144	1,140	1,186	1,692	2,213	2,479	1,808	1,239
Other	1	36	152	-	83	-	-	67	1	102	1	11	120	-	-
Total	143,117	128,618	121,147	89,157	88,239	84,302	99,219	152,098	161,929	192,001	214,230	230,781	252,842	255,747	217,147

¹ Includes England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Channel Islands.

² Includes Turkey, Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Arab Emirates, Yemen Arab Republic and the Democratic Republic of Yemen.

³ Preliminary data as of September 12, 1995.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

**Table A9. Canadian Population as of July 1st, 1993 and 1994, by Age and Sex
(in thousands)**

Age	1993		1994	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0	200.9	190.3	198.8	189.1
1	206.7	197.0	201.8	191.3
2	208.2	197.2	207.8	198.1
3	209.0	198.9	209.5	198.5
4	201.6	192.5	210.4	200.2
5	196.7	188.3	203.1	193.7
6	197.4	190.0	197.8	189.4
7	203.6	195.5	198.5	191.0
8	203.8	195.4	204.6	196.5
9	201.9	193.7	205.1	196.5
10	200.7	192.2	203.1	194.7
11	200.9	192.2	201.9	193.3
12	202.5	193.3	202.3	193.4
13	202.5	191.7	204.2	194.9
14	199.1	188.5	204.3	193.4
15	197.1	186.7	200.8	190.1
16	198.2	189.1	198.5	188.2
17	201.2	191.5	199.6	190.6
18	202.2	193.0	202.5	193.3
19	197.0	189.3	203.7	195.2
20	200.4	192.6	198.2	191.5
21	206.2	199.1	201.8	194.7
22	215.8	211.0	207.3	201.1
23	219.0	213.8	216.8	212.6
24	217.7	213.2	219.8	215.1
25	219.3	214.9	218.2	214.3
26	225.8	221.0	219.7	215.7
27	240.0	233.7	226.1	221.4
28	259.2	251.9	240.3	234.1
29	268.5	259.8	259.4	252.4
30	273.3	265.1	268.7	260.3
31	271.5	263.6	273.6	265.6
32	274.6	267.3	271.7	264.0
33	270.7	264.7	274.5	267.6
34	265.4	260.0	270.7	265.0
35	263.8	258.3	265.2	260.3
36	257.8	254.8	263.6	258.6
37	248.4	246.0	257.6	255.2
38	246.5	245.9	248.2	246.5
39	237.9	239.1	246.3	246.4
40	228.6	230.2	237.8	239.6
41	223.7	222.6	228.5	230.5
42	220.9	219.2	223.6	223.0
43	217.9	214.7	220.9	219.5
44	214.2	212.3	217.9	215.1
45	214.3	210.7	214.3	212.7
46	214.4	211.5	214.3	211.0

**Table A9. Canadian Population as of July 1st 1993 and 1994, by Age and Sex
(in thousands) - Concluded**

Age	1993		1994	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
47	186.3	183.3	214.4	211.8
48	173.8	170.9	186.0	183.5
49	168.2	166.3	173.3	171.0
50	163.2	161.3	167.8	166.4
51	152.3	150.6	162.8	161.3
52	146.1	145.5	151.9	150.6
53	137.6	136.9	145.7	145.8
54	133.6	133.4	137.2	137.1
55	128.6	128.4	133.2	133.6
56	124.2	125.3	128.1	128.7
57	124.9	126.1	123.6	125.5
58	122.5	124.0	124.4	126.2
59	120.2	121.2	121.8	124.0
60	122.2	124.4	119.4	121.1
61	122.7	125.1	121.2	124.2
62	120.5	125.6	121.4	124.8
63	117.5	123.7	119.2	125.2
64	111.5	119.7	116.1	123.2
65	109.7	120.0	109.8	119.0
66	105.9	118.2	107.8	119.1
67	103.2	119.5	103.7	117.2
68	99.3	117.2	100.9	118.2
69	94.8	114.9	96.9	115.8
70	90.1	111.7	92.2	113.3
71	87.9	111.0	87.2	109.8
72	82.2	106.0	85.0	109.2
73	76.1	99.8	79.2	103.9
74	63.7	86.4	73.3	97.9
75	59.0	80.9	60.8	84.3
76	55.3	78.0	55.9	78.5
77	52.5	75.6	52.1	75.4
78	50.5	74.6	49.1	72.9
79	45.4	69.5	47.2	71.7
80	40.4	62.9	42.1	66.4
81	35.1	57.2	37.1	59.9
82	30.9	52.5	32.0	54.0
83	26.7	46.8	27.8	49.3
84	22.6	41.7	23.9	43.7
85	19.1	37.0	19.9	38.5
86	15.8	32.4	16.8	33.9
87	12.9	28.1	13.6	29.4
88	10.6	24.2	10.8	25.1
89	8.7	20.4	8.8	21.3
90 +	28.0	76.4	29.4	80.1
Total	14,349.0	14,598.0	14,494.3	14,757.0

1993: Updated postcensal estimates.

1994: Updated postcensal estimates.

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Table A10. Prevalence of Residence in a Health-Related Facility by Five-Year Age Group and Sex, Canada, 1971, 1981 and 1991 (in percent)

Age Group	Male			Female			Total		
	1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991
0-4	0.07	0.02	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.01
5-9	0.13	0.06	0.02	0.10	0.05	0.01	0.12	0.06	0.02
10-14	0.24	0.14	0.05	0.15	0.09	0.03	0.20	0.11	0.04
15-19	0.33	0.21	0.10	0.43	0.16	0.06	0.38	0.19	0.08
20-24	0.33	0.28	0.18	0.57	0.20	0.12	0.45	0.24	0.15
25-29	0.30	0.32	0.26	0.29	0.20	0.16	0.29	0.26	0.21
30-34	0.30	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.20	0.17	0.30	0.25	0.23
35-39	0.35	0.30	0.31	0.32	0.21	0.20	0.33	0.26	0.26
40-44	0.41	0.32	0.30	0.37	0.26	0.23	0.39	0.29	0.27
45-49	0.51	0.42	0.35	0.47	0.30	0.27	0.49	0.37	0.31
50-54	0.63	0.54	0.42	0.64	0.42	0.36	0.63	0.48	0.39
55-59	0.79	0.75	0.60	0.84	0.58	0.49	0.82	0.66	0.55
60-64	1.14	1.07	0.89	1.24	0.89	0.79	1.19	0.98	0.84
65-69	1.70	1.70	1.46	1.84	1.58	1.37	1.77	1.63	1.41
70-74	2.89	3.05	2.54	3.55	3.45	2.90	3.26	3.27	2.74
75-79	5.03	6.08	5.03	7.18	7.97	6.84	6.25	7.18	6.10
80-84	9.48	12.13	10.59	14.38	17.86	15.89	12.32	15.74	13.92
85-89	16.25	22.51	21.10	23.81	32.33	31.32	20.74	29.03	28.01
90+	23.53	36.87	36.29	34.77	50.21	52.37	30.58	46.04	48.07
15-64	0.45	0.39	0.33	0.50	0.30	0.25	0.48	0.34	0.29
0-79	0.50	0.51	0.45	0.62	0.55	0.52	0.56	0.53	0.49
80+	12.84	18.07	16.28	19.54	26.96	26.24	16.78	23.83	22.82
Total	0.66	0.74	0.72	0.97	1.17	1.32	0.82	0.96	1.03

Note: Excludes resident staff.

Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of 1971, 1981 and 1991, unpublished data.

Table A11. Prevalence of Residence in a Health-Related Facility by Age Group, Marital Status and Sex, Canada, 1971, 1981 and 1991 (in percent)

Age	Marital Status and Sex											
	Married			Separated, Widowed, Divorced			Never Married			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1971												
0-14	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.15	0.11	0.13	0.15	0.11	0.13
15-34	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.25	0.19	0.21	0.53	0.86	0.67	0.32	0.41	0.36
35-64	0.11	0.13	0.12	1.09	0.78	0.88	4.60	5.00	4.79	0.59	0.60	0.60
65-79	0.97	1.43	1.16	5.49	4.41	4.66	11.29	9.73	10.45	2.81	3.71	3.30
80+	5.85	10.96	7.39	17.53	19.83	19.20	28.17	29.16	28.76	12.84	19.54	16.78
Total	0.25	0.25	0.25	4.21	4.62	4.50	0.73	0.87	0.80	0.66	0.97	0.82
1981												
0-14	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.08	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.07
15-34	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.18	0.09	0.13	0.47	0.41	0.44	0.27	0.19	0.23
35-64	0.08	0.09	0.08	1.14	0.67	0.83	4.58	3.83	4.24	0.53	0.42	0.47
65-79	1.16	1.39	1.25	7.42	5.04	5.53	12.97	8.61	10.44	3.07	3.72	3.43
80+	9.30	14.79	11.05	27.25	28.70	28.39	32.25	30.24	30.86	18.07	26.96	23.83
Total	0.31	0.27	0.29	4.78	6.08	5.71	0.73	0.73	0.73	0.74	1.17	0.96
1991												
0-14	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02
15-34	0.01	-	0.01	0.18	0.10	0.13	0.35	0.27	0.31	0.21	0.13	0.17
35-64	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.77	0.55	0.63	3.35	2.83	3.12	0.43	0.35	0.39
65-79	1.08	1.21	1.14	6.49	4.65	5.03	12.24	9.14	10.48	2.63	3.28	2.99
80+	8.89	13.54	10.47	26.10	28.35	27.93	30.77	30.70	30.71	16.28	26.24	22.82
Total	0.36	0.30	0.33	4.19	6.39	5.75	0.66	0.72	0.69	0.72	1.32	1.03

Notes: Excludes resident staff. Married includes consensual unions.

Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of 1971, 1981 and 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Part II

Demographic Similarities and Differences between Ontario and Quebec

INTRODUCTION

The 1990 report compared the situation of the Canadian population with that of the United States, Canada's historical partner in the settlement of North America, showing their similarities and differences and how each has developed over time. Continuing in the same vein, the 1993 report described the Mexican situation in comparison with the population of Canada. It seemed worthwhile to consider why and how Canada's two most densely populated provinces, Quebec and Ontario, are alike and differ. These are the provinces with the greatest economic weight, each of which contains one of the country's largest metropolitan areas; they are both literally and figuratively the central provinces and prior to Confederation in fact made up Canada. Like Canada and the United States, these provinces are next-door neighbours and thus have close relations commercially and economically, as well as demographically. Nature has endowed them with similar riches, but their respective histories before and after Confederation have not been the same. Industrial development treated them differently. The 19th century saw the manufacturing sector in Ontario expand, while Quebec remained much longer in the traditional farming mode. Most significantly, however, the two provinces were not settled in the same way. The British in Ontario and the French in Quebec differed in both extraction and wealth; however, being united in Confederation increased contacts and trade between them, strengthened osmosis, facilitated the mixing of cultures and allowed closer relations to develop. Immigration further blended the various peoples, encouraged borrowing and brought new ways of life to their common heritage. It must now be determined whether there are differences in the most intimate aspect of the populations of each of these units, that is, in their demographic behaviour. Or, to put it better, despite the equalizing effects of progress, do any traces of their former behaviour persist?

Each of the provinces has kept its own particular social structures. They differ in the laws and regulations that govern many aspects of the lives of their citizens, from the practice of medicine and construction standards to the highway code and a thousand and one details of everyday life.

Despite the limits imposed on interpretation of information by the administrative and political framework in which it is collected, comparison remains one of the best ways to determine what progress is still possible by measuring levels of the same phenomenon in both units. In the area of demography, not all components of the two provinces will be examined. Among the classical elements, only those which seem most pertinent are briefly studied: population composition, rate of growth and the components of growth, i.e. fertility, mortality and migration. Also analyzed are linguistic behaviour, the domestic arrangements of individuals and a few characteristics

Table 1. Distribution of the Canadian Population by Region, 1901-1991

Year	Region					
	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec and Ontario	West	Canada
Distribution of the Canadian Population						
1901	16.6	30.7	40.6	71.3	12.1	100.0
1911	13.0	27.8	35.1	62.9	24.1	100.0
1921	11.4	26.9	34.1	61.0	27.6	100.0
1931	9.7	27.7	33.1	60.8	29.5	100.0
1941	11.6	28.9	32.8	61.7	26.7	100.0
1951	11.0	28.8	33.6	62.4	26.6	100.0
1961	10.4	28.8	34.2	63.0	26.6	100.0
1971	9.5	27.9	35.7	63.6	26.9	100.0
1981	9.2	26.4	35.4	61.8	29.0	100.0
1991	8.5	25.3	36.9	62.2	29.3	100.0
Distribution of the Population of Quebec and Ontario						
	Quebec		Ontario		Total	
1901	43.0		57.0		100.0	
1911	44.6		55.4		100.0	
1921	45.6		54.4		100.0	
1931	46.8		53.2		100.0	
1941	46.9		53.1		100.0	
1951	46.1		53.9		100.0	
1961	45.8		54.2		100.0	
1971	43.9		56.1		100.0	
1981	42.7		57.3		100.0	
1991	40.6		59.4		100.0	

Note: Before 1951, Newfoundland was not included. The West includes the country west of Ontario.

Source: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada.

of the labour force. Often a given situation is meaningless unless one knows how it came to be, and this made it necessary at times to go back and examine some historical details.

COMPARISON OF GROWTH IN ONTARIO AND QUEBEC

General View

When population change in Canada is examined, it can be seen that, in close to 100 years in a geographical framework that has remained almost unchanged, the population distribution has changed much less than might have been expected, apart from the event of Prairie settlement. In particular, *Quebec and Ontario, which in 1911 contained 63% of Canada's population, still have 62% in 1991* (Table 1), and throughout the entire period there have been no noteworthy fluctuations.

A comparison of the situation *at the turn of the century to that in 1991*, specifically to include the opening up of the Prairies, shows that *the eastern and western parts of the country have exchanged their respective weights*. The Maritime provinces, indeed the Atlantic region, now has about the same share (9%) as the West as a whole then had (12%). The change in population share between Quebec and Ontario themselves has been slight. While in 1901 Quebec accounted for 43% of the two, in 1991 it had 41%, despite marked differences in fertility, and migratory movements involving large population volumes.

Comparison of Natural Increase

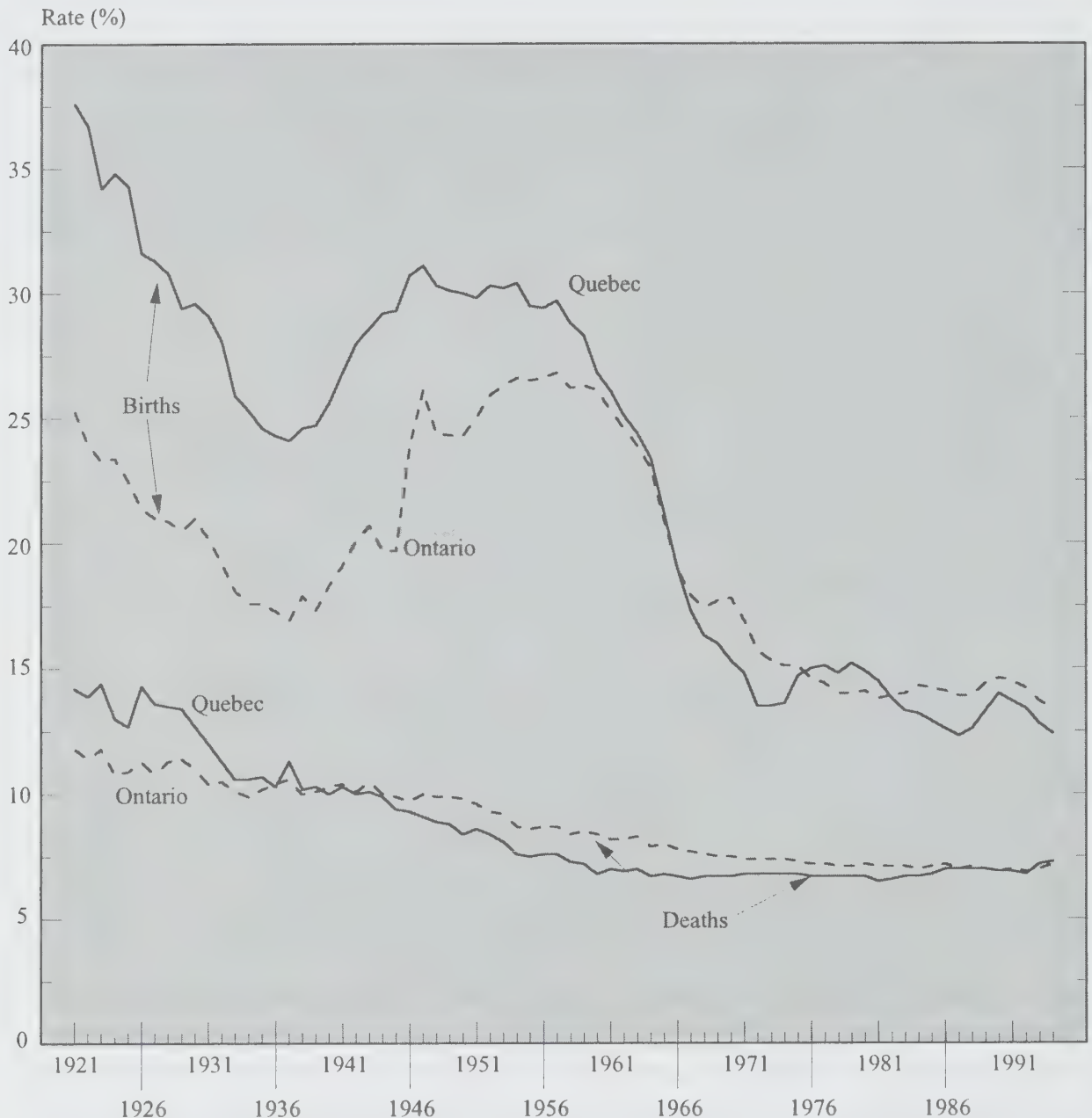
Natural increase is the difference between births and deaths and its rate is the difference between the crude birth rate and the crude death rate. It is not easy to explain the fluctuations over time in each of the provinces, since each year the number of births depends on the number of women, their age structure and their fertility, to mention only the essentials, since a higher or lower, earlier or later, marriage rate could be added.

Looking at births, it would be no exaggeration to say that, between the beginning and the end of the period, the position of the two provinces has been reversed. Quebec's crude birth rate at the beginning of the period was 50% higher than that of Ontario (Figure 1). Even during the significant decline in both provinces at the time of the Great Depression, Quebec's rate remained 40% higher. The baby-boom episode completely changed the trend in the two provinces, and during the 1945-1964 period, the difference fell to almost nil. This means that the baby boom, a passing anomaly in the birth rate, was more strongly marked in Ontario than in Quebec, due to the fact that Ontario's birth rate was much lower than that of Quebec around 1946, permitting a strong increase. Furthermore, by comparing the fertility levels in each province in the period running from the beginning of the 1960s to the middle of the 1970s to those existing before the Second World War, a better understanding of the long-term trend is obtained. In both provinces, the annual rates after the peak of the baby boom oscillate around a line whose slope in each case is close to that represented by the rates from the turn of the century to the Depression. It may be observed that the birth rate continued to drop in a more pronounced fashion in Quebec than in Ontario after the baby boom.

The drop in the Quebec birth rate of the last 20 years is due to low female fertility in a still-growing population. On the other hand, in Ontario female population growth has harmonized with the level of fertility so that there has been much less of a decline in the birth rate.

Taking a slightly different point of view, the drop from the 1946 peak in Quebec of 30.7 per 1,000 to lower but somewhat more stable levels around

Figure 1. Birth and Death Rates, Quebec and Ontario, 1921-1994

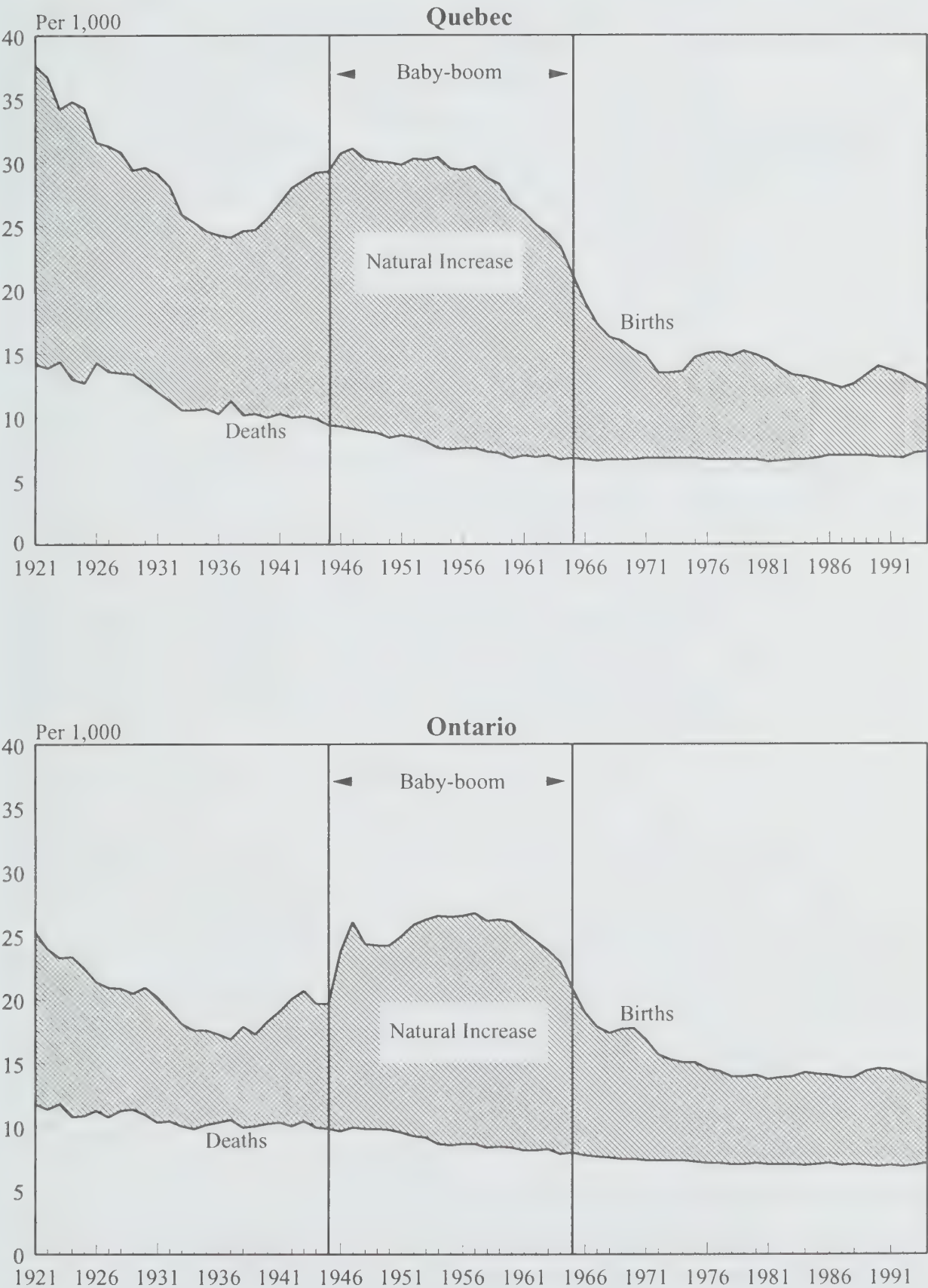


Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

1971 of 14.8 per 1,000 produces a difference between the birth rates of 15.9 per 1,000 in 25 years, while in Ontario the difference was only 6.9 per 1,000 in as many years.

At this level of analysis, the mortality trend is fairly simple, because it moves in one direction, only population variations influence the rate slightly. The death rate was higher in Quebec than in Ontario until 1941 (Figure 1), despite a younger population. However, annual changes have been recorded in both provinces. Later, although Quebec's

Figure 2. Rate of Natural Increase, Quebec and Ontario, 1921-1994



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 2. Comparison of Different Population Ratios for Quebec and Ontario, 1921-1991

	1901	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2016
Ratio of Ages 0-14 to Total Population (%) Ratio of Ages 65 and Over to Total Population (%) Number of Children Aged 0-14 per 1,000 Women Aged 15-49 Ratio of Ages 0-14 to Total Population (%) Ratio of Ages 65 and Over to Total Population (%) Number of Children Aged 0-14 per 1,000 Women Aged 15-49	Quebec									
	38.9	38.1	35.6	31.9	33.7	35.4	29.3	21.5	19.8	15.5
	4.8	4.6	4.8	5.3	5.7	5.8	6.8	8.7	11.0	17.7
	602	554	490	505	525	531	308	263	236	233
	Ontario									
	31.4	30.2	27.9	24.4	27.0	32.2	28.3	21.6	20.2	16.8
	5.5	5.9	6.8	8.0	8.7	8.1	8.3	9.9	11.5	15.7
	387	399	349	363	447	508	330	254	257	240
	Numeric Superiority of Ontario (%)									
	32.2	24.3	19.4	13.6	13.4	18.6	27.8	34.6	47.9	75.9

Sources: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada, Demography Division, Population Projections Section and calculations by the author.

rate was lower than Ontario's, this was not due to lower mortality than in the neighbouring province, but rather to a younger population, the result of higher past fertility. As proof, since 1966, the curves of the Quebec and Ontario rates move closer together, mainly because of the aging of the Quebec population, resulting in stagnation or even a slight increase in the rate, while mortality as such has steadily declined. This latter observation is borne out by the trend in the most important indicator, life expectancy at birth. Whereas in Ontario, the average life span for both sexes in 1931 was 62.5 years, it was only 57.0 years in Quebec. In 1993, male life expectancy is 75.3 years in Ontario and 74.2 in Quebec, while for women the values are identical at 81.2 years (Table A2.6).

The result is that *natural increase in Quebec, which was much higher than that in Ontario at the beginning of the period* (23.4 per 1,000 compared to 13.5 per 1,000), *shrank during the baby boom* (21.8 compared to 17.9 per 1,000) *to become even lower since 1971* (7.5 versus 9.5 per 1,000), with the exception of a short period from 1976 to 1981. In 1994, the rate is 5.1 per 1,000 in Quebec and 6.2 in Ontario (Figure 2).

Changes in the Size and Structure of the Ontario and Quebec Age Pyramids

A comparison of changes in the size and structure of the Ontario and Quebec populations from the turn of the century to the present gives a broad outline of the demographic history of each province.

Apart from the fact that Ontario has always been more populous than Quebec, most of the changes in demographic behaviour that have arisen between the populations of these provinces between 1901 and 1991 are reflected in the forms of their age pyramids and in their rates of growth.

As far as size goes, the most favourable comparison of the Quebec population to the Ontario population was in 1951, when Ontario's population was only 13.4% larger. From the turn of the century to that date, Ontario's numerical superiority had been declining regularly; it has since increased regularly to the point where, in 1991, it is nearly 50% larger than that of Quebec (Table 2). But changes in population size are almost inevitably linked to changes in age structure and, because of its socioeconomic consequences, this is the most interesting aspect.

Even at the turn of the century, Ontario's population was older than that of Quebec. Its proportion of young people was less and of older people greater, due to higher fertility and mortality in Quebec. The higher fertility is demonstrated, for lack of classical measurements of the phenomenon that would require vital-statistics data which are not available before 1921, by the infant-woman ratio, which Henripin used frequently in his 1961 Census monograph. This ratio is calculated by dividing the census figure for children under 5 by the number of women 15 to 49, and is expressed as infants per 1,000 women.¹ In 1901, the ratio was 602 for Quebec and only 387 for Ontario.

Apart from stronger numerical growth in Quebec than in Ontario, the first 30 years of this century brought few changes. The proportion of young people declined about the same amount in both provinces, with Quebec losing 3.3 percentage points and Ontario 3.5. But the fraction of people over 65 remained stable in Quebec while it increased from 5.5% to 6.8% in Ontario. The fertility indicator, which decreased in both provinces, was nevertheless still higher in Quebec, despite falling much more than in Ontario.

Ten years later, in **1941**, the proportion of young people can be seen to continue to decline in both provinces and the proportion of older people can be seen to begin to increase in Quebec, where it reached 5.3%, but remained much higher in Ontario at 8.0%. The fertility indicator again turned upward, showing that the Depression was a thing of the past, since the previous year

¹ The total fertility rate for 1922 to 1993 by calendar year is presented in Table 3 as supplemental information.

Table 3. Total Fertility Rates, Quebec and Ontario, 1911 to 1993

Year	Quebec	Ontario	Year	Quebec	Ontario
1911	5.445	3.670	1957	4.001	3.714
1921	5.295	3.215	1958	3.938	3.680
1922	..	3.055	1959	3.928	3.773
1923	..	2.963	1960	3.764	3.793
1924	..	2.983	1961	3.700	3.742
1925	..	2.877	1962	3.578	3.689
1926	4.307	2.730	1963	3.473	3.618
1927	4.266	2.702	1964	3.333	3.475
1928	4.195	2.704	1965	2.996	3.125
1929	4.010	2.667	1966	2.646	2.790
1930	4.059	2.748	1967	2.367	2.586
1931	4.001	2.648	1968	2.180	2.461
1932	3.804	2.530	1969	2.100	2.447
1933	3.502	2.369	1970	1.974	2.401
1934	3.441	2.286	1971	1.878	2.221
1935	3.369	2.276	1972	1.669	1.987
1936	3.364	2.219	1973	1.628	1.901
1937	3.268	2.161	1974	1.606	1.839
1938	3.261	2.273	1975	1.658	1.799
1939	3.211	2.202	1976	1.665	1.712
1940	3.287	2.316	1977	1.678	1.681
1941	3.389	2.403	1978	1.630	1.628
1942	3.529	2.505	1979	1.670	1.615
1943	3.571	2.591	1980	1.615	1.605
1944	3.643	2.474	1981	1.568	1.573
1945	3.666	2.469	1982	1.482	1.585
1946	3.832	2.970	1983	1.434	1.586
1947	3.896	3.277	1984	1.427	1.615
1948	3.805	3.097	1985	1.399	1.602
1949	3.797	3.110	1986	1.375	1.596
1950	3.812	3.111	1987	1.366	1.577
1951	3.775	3.222	1988	1.427	1.590
1952	3.861	3.406	1989	1.527	1.626
1953	3.877	3.539	1990	1.637	1.668
1954	3.944	3.667	1991	1.649	1.657
1955	3.904	3.732	1992	1.652	1.667
1956	3.904	3.657	1993	1.614	1.641

Note: 1911 and 1921: Jacques Henripin, *Trends and Factors of Fertility in Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, 1968.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210. After 1971, calculations made by the Demography Division, Research and Analysis Section.

for Quebec and the previous three years for Ontario had been better for the birth rate. However, Quebec's ratio at 505 was much higher than that of Ontario, at only 363.

Before **1951**, both age pyramids had grown larger without any significant change in shape, but they then began to be distorted by the baby boom, and in Ontario to a certain degree by the upswing in immigration after the War.²

² From 1946 to 1951, Ontario received 211,000 immigrants and Quebec only 54,000.

For the first time, the number of children under a year old in the census was higher in Ontario than in Quebec. The proportion of young people in Quebec grew somewhat, but the increase of 1.8 percentage points was less than that of its Ontario counterpart, which grew by 2.6 percentage points. On the other hand, the increase in the proportion of elderly persons was greater in Ontario than in Quebec. The infant-woman ratio increased by 20 points in Quebec; Ontario's increased more strongly, by 84 points, but was still much lower.

In **1961**, the baby boom had already begun to decline in Quebec. In fact, the number of births began falling from 1957, with the exception of 1959. By contrast, in Ontario, partly because the number of women of child-bearing age increased following strong immigration, it had scarcely begun. Women aged 19 to 39 in 1951 (1,032,900) had become the 29-49 age group and their numbers, far from being reduced by mortality, were increased by 210,000 by internal and international migration, to 1,242,235.

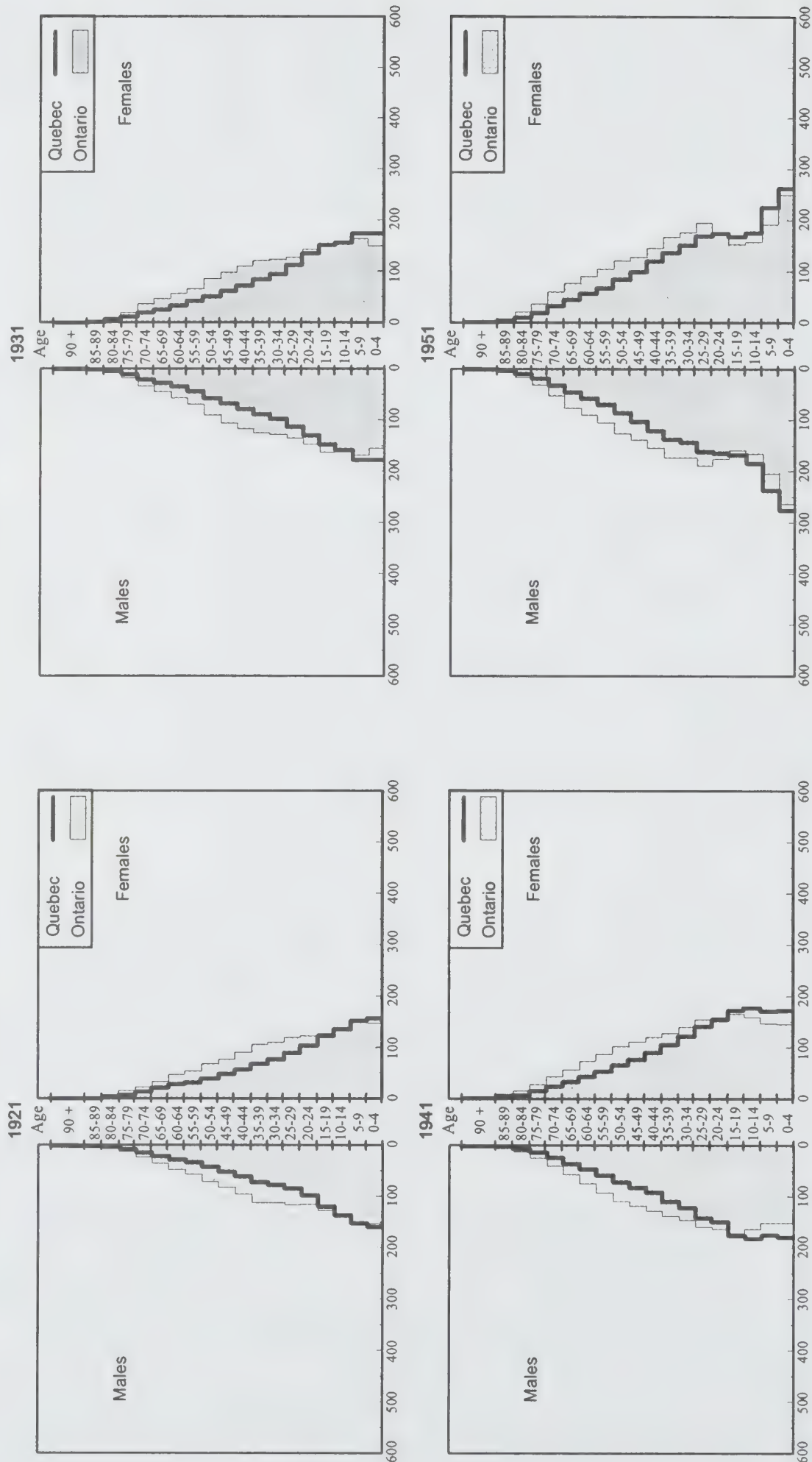
Overall, the 15-49 age group in Ontario went from 873,000 to 1,456,000. The group of young people in Quebec had again grown (35.4%), but the corresponding group in Ontario grew even more: with 32.2% of the total population, the proportion of young people increased by 5.2 percentage points, while in Quebec the increase was only 1.7 percentage points. The difference between the proportion of young people in the two provinces was no more than 3.2 percentage points. Looking at the elderly, in Ontario the rejuvenation of the population from the bottom resulted in a reduction in the percentage of older people, although they still represented 8.1% while in Quebec they stood at only 5.8%. The infant-woman ratio in Ontario (508) was catching up with Quebec's (531).

The year **1971** was an important one in the demographic evolution of the populations of the two provinces since, *for the first time, the Quebec pyramid could be fitted entirely within that of Ontario* (Figure 3): this means that at all ages the Quebec population was smaller than that of Ontario. The proportion of young people dropped 6.1 percentage points so that, at 29.3%, it was almost the same as that of Ontario (28.3%). The percentage of the elderly in Quebec increased by 1 percentage point, while in Ontario the increase was only 0.2. For the first time, the infant-woman ratio, which had declined in both provinces, was higher in Ontario (330 compared to 308).

In **1981**, the proportion of young people in Quebec and Ontario declined, and their near equality of 10 years earlier was now complete at 21.5% and 21.6%. The elderly in Ontario still formed a greater share of the population than their Quebec counterparts. Their percentage was 9.9%, while in Quebec it rose only to 8.7%. The infant-woman ratio in Quebec, at 263, was not much higher than that in Ontario at 254.

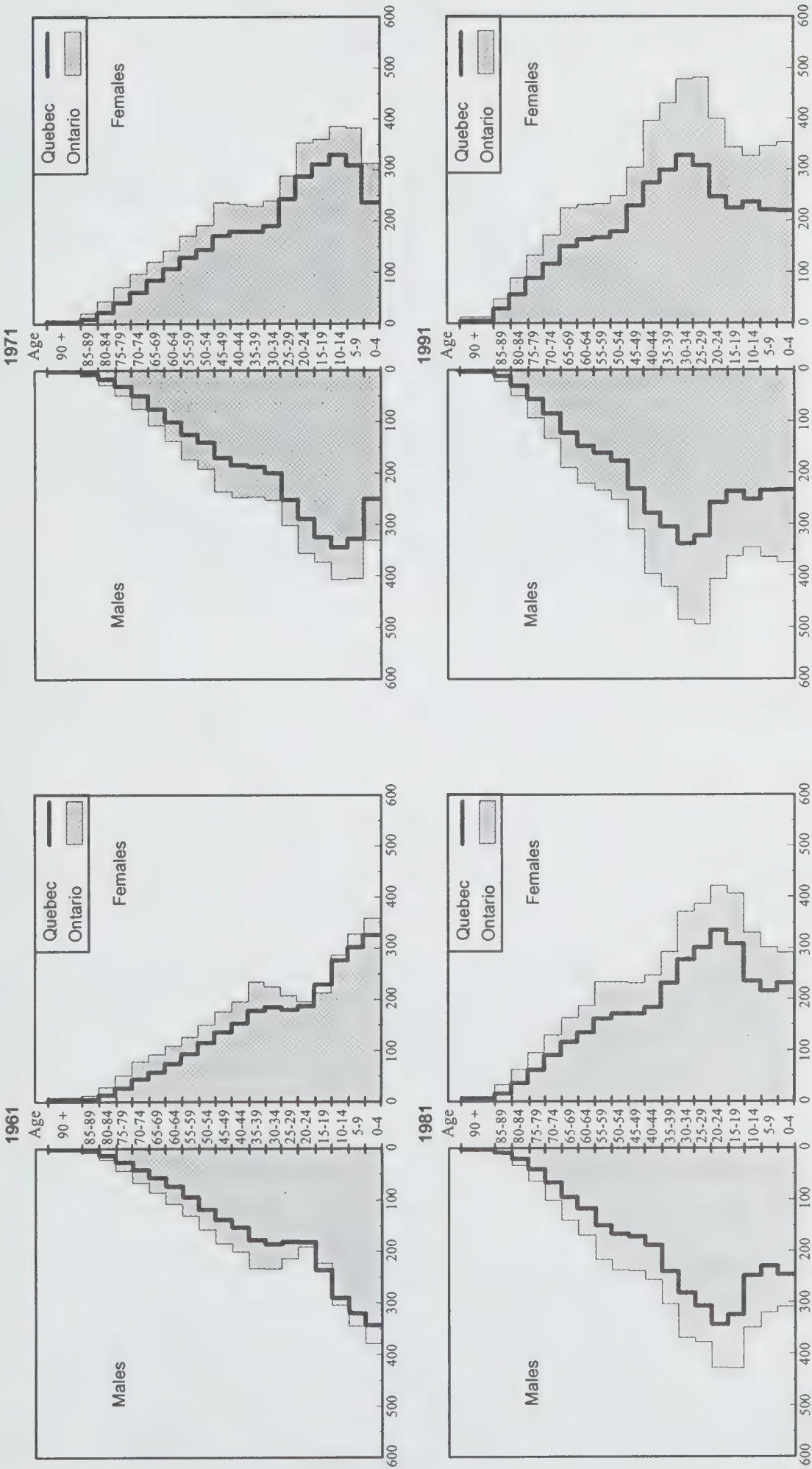
Finally, in **1991**, the momentum of growth attained in past decades is keeping both populations on their path. The proportion of young people is

Figure 3. Age Pyramids of the Population of Quebec and Ontario, 1921 to 2016 (in thousands)



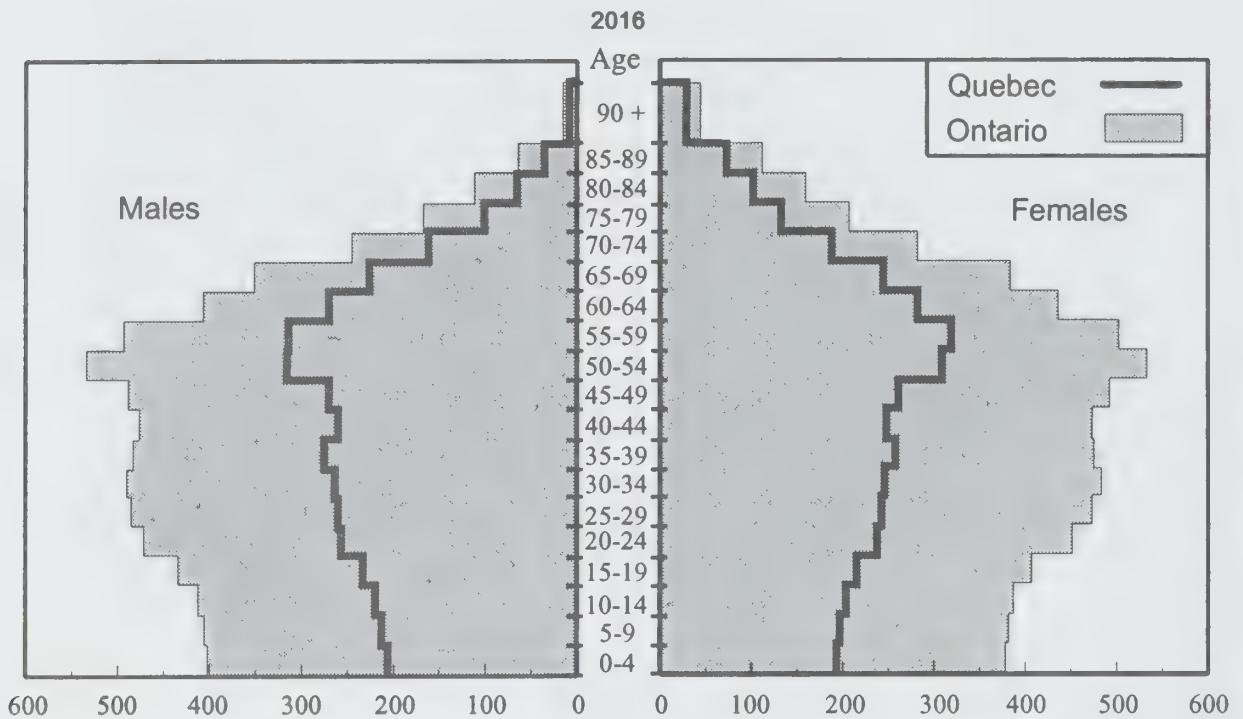
Source: See the end of figure.

Figure 3. Age Pyramids of the Population of Quebec and Ontario, 1921 to 2016 (in thousands) - Continued



Source: See the end of figure.

Figure 3. Age Pyramids of the Population of Quebec and Ontario, 1921 to 2016
(in thousands) - Concluded



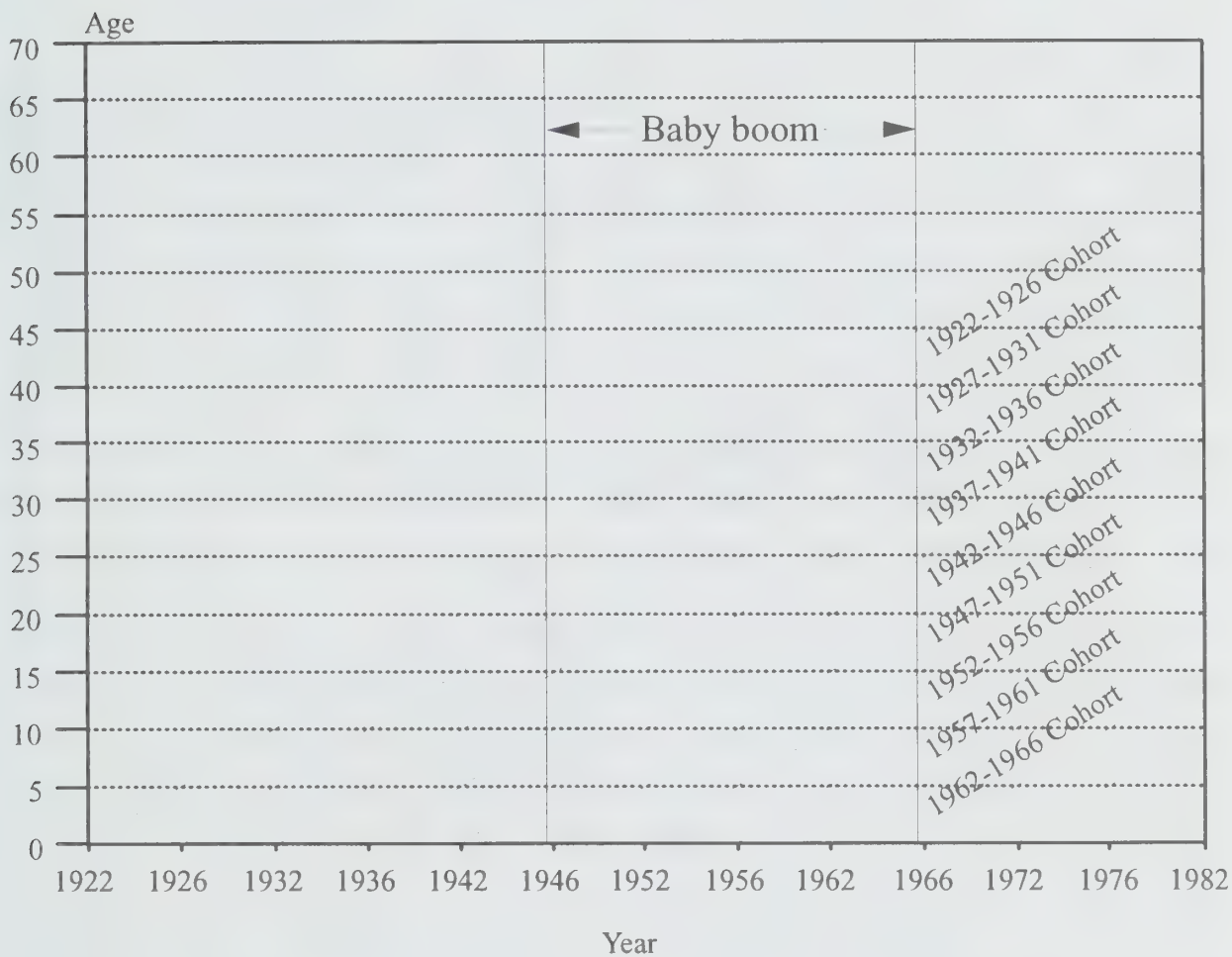
Sources: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and Population Projections Section.

now a little smaller in Quebec than Ontario, 19.8% compared to 20.2%, and the proportion of elderly people is 11.0% in Quebec and 11.5% in Ontario. The infant-woman ratio in Quebec, at 236, is lower than that of the other province.

The differences in population development in the two provinces have had two major consequences. First, Quebec's share in the national total declines, and this is all the more pronounced since there is at the same time a significant increase in the population west of Ontario. Quebec which, at the turn of the century, had 30.7% of the country's population, has only 24.9% in 1994, and this is not the consequence of Newfoundland's joining Confederation in 1949. The second consequence is the faster aging of the Quebec population, as the population over 65 rises from 8.7% in 1981 to 11% in 1991, an increase of 2.3 percentage points, while the increase in Ontario is only 1.6. The proportion of young people declined more in Quebec than in Ontario as well (1.7 percentage points compared to 1.4).

The outline presented by population projections for 2016 shows that, if the scenarios on which they are based come to pass, Quebec's population 20 years from now will be only 57% of Ontario's, and its share in the Canadian total will be only 22%. Twenty years is generally considered the short run

Figure 4. Graphic Representation of the Passing of the Cohorts during the Baby Boom



as far as population change is concerned, although, as noted, the unexpected baby boom, through changes in fertility, caused rapid and significant changes in population size and structure. For the moment, nothing in this area indicates that there will be any recovery in Quebec specifically, and to maintain its share of the national total it would have to attract annual immigration well above recent levels.

COHORT FERTILITY

Different Progressions

The change in age structure of the populations of Ontario and Quebec is mainly due to each province’s fertility. Fertility may be satisfactorily, although rather imprecisely, measured by women’s answers to the census question on the number of children born to them.

When these figures, as reported in the 1991 census by respondents divided into cohort groups, are examined, the first observation, clearly and

Table 4. Completed Fertility per 1,000 Ever-Married Women According to the 1991 Census of Canada

Age Group	Cohort	Quebec	Ontario	By Mother Tongue (single answers only)					
				English		French		Other	
				Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
30-34	1957-1961	1,560	1,653	1,549	1,647	1,540	1,625	1,771	1,678
35-39	1952-1956	1,811	1,958	1,811	1,928	1,776	1,913	2,170	2,065
40-44	1947-1951	1,969	2,090	1,947	2,039	1,935	2,071	2,320	2,245
45-49	1942-1946	2,210	2,316	2,212	2,282	2,179	2,366	2,538	2,402
50-54	1937-1941	2,678	2,734	2,655	2,726	2,680	3,069	2,691	2,678
55-59	1932-1936	3,214	3,065	2,944	3,068	3,290	3,677	2,853	2,912
60-64	1927-1931	3,596	3,124	3,070	3,100	3,744	3,939	2,885	3,015
65-69	1922-1926	3,840	3,025	2,938	2,965	4,079	4,101	2,960	2,950
70 +	1921 and -	3,887	2,750	...	...	...	...	...	...

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, *Fertility*, Catalogue No. 93-321.

unsurprisingly, is a decline in the reproductive behaviour of women from one cohort group to the next in both Ontario and Quebec. Even taking into consideration the selective effect of differential mortality due to the past fertility of aging women, and lapses of memory, in both provinces the completed fertility of cohorts prior to 1921 was clearly higher than that of women completing their fertile period in 1991. What is interesting about the difference between the two provinces is the extent of these changes and the cohorts responsible for them. Two phenomena are responsible for the changes in behaviour: the underlying downward trend in fertility inherent in the second part of the demographic transition, and the baby-boom episode.

The completed fertility of pre-1921 cohorts can be taken as typical of the difference in fertility behaviour between women in Ontario and Quebec, each cohort group developing over time in different sociocultural environments. At the height of the baby boom in 1955 (Figure 4), the youngest women were over 30 and thus past their maximum fertility, so this episode had little effect on their completed fertility. There is a significant difference between the two provinces: with 3.9 children per woman, in comparison to their counterparts in Ontario, who had only 2.8 (Table 4), Quebec women in these cohorts still retained much of the legendary high fertility of their forebears.

The women of the following two groups of five cohorts (1922-1926 and 1927-1931) were respectively 19 to 24 and 14 to 19 in 1945 (and thus 39 to 44 and 34 to 39 in 1965). The women of these cohorts were in fact the mothers of the majority of baby-boomers. But Table 4 shows that, while the completed fertility of Ontario women in the 1927-1931 cohorts was slightly higher than that of their immediate elders (3.1 children instead of 3.0), that

of Quebec women was lower (3.6 instead of 3.8). This means that *the circumstances that reinforced the fertility of Ontario women after the War* did not produce the same effect on Quebec women, quite the opposite.

This observation is confirmed by the behaviour of subsequent cohorts. Completed fertility decreased gradually in both provinces, but in Quebec the decline was more regular than in Ontario. In the latter, the 1927-1931 cohorts, at 3.12 children, and the 1932-1936 cohorts, at 3.07, virtually plateaued. The women in the latter of these two groups were about 15 to 19 in 1950 and 30 to 35 in 1965. They also, like their predecessors, had higher fertility rates at the peak child-bearing ages since they would not have had access to oral contraceptives, only recently introduced, until they were 25 to 35. The 1937-1941 cohorts were the last to participate in the baby boom, but they had access to the pill and, in both provinces, there was a clear decrease in completed fertility, although this was more pronounced in Quebec.

Fertility thus declined from one cohort to the next, but differently in each province:

- Between the 1922-1926 cohorts and the 1947-1951 cohorts, the completed fertility of Quebec women dropped from 3.84 children per woman to 1.97, while that of Ontario women decreased from 3.03 to 2.09;
- For the Quebec women who participated in the baby boom, there was no abrupt rise in fertility, and completed fertility showed the underlying downward trend in successive cohorts which still continues, while for Ontario women there was an increase in the propensity to have children. The result, *for cohorts that have completed their fertility, is that all the Ontario cohorts replaced themselves, while the Quebec cohorts who were 40 to 44 in 1991 failed on average to do so*;
- For cohorts with incomplete fertility, it may be observed that Quebec women are less fertile than Ontario women. Quebec women who were 35 to 39 in 1991 have had 1.81 children and Ontario women 1.96, while in the 30-34 age group, Ontario women have had 1.65 children and Quebec women only 1.56.

Influence of Mother Tongue

It is worth examining whether cultural background, which can be estimated by mother tongue, has an influence on fertility. Table 4 shows no significant difference between Quebec and Ontario Anglophones in the same cohorts, except that Quebec women with English mother tongue were slightly less fertile than their Ontario counterparts. For women whose mother tongue was French, the difference between the two provinces was greater: Franco-Ontarian women, whatever their cohort group, had higher completed fertility than Quebec Francophone women. Allophones, those with a mother tongue

Table 5. Proportion of Ever-Married Women by Number of Children Ever Born, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

Age Group	0 Children		1 Child		2 Children		3 Children		4 Children		5 Children		6 Children	
70 + 65-69 60-64 55-59 50-54 45-49 40-44 35-39	Province													
	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.
	14.7	13.6	11.1	16.0	15.7	24.7	13.6	18.1	11.3	11.0	8.4	6.3	25.2	10.4
	11.6	10.0	9.4	12.0	16.4	24.4	16.1	20.8	13.5	13.6	9.7	7.7	23.2	11.5
	10.0	8.7	9.6	10.2	18.0	24.0	17.9	22.1	15.4	14.9	10.2	8.4	18.8	11.7
	9.4	7.5	9.6	9.3	22.0	24.8	21.4	24.3	15.5	16.1	9.3	8.4	12.9	9.6
	9.2	7.9	11.9	10.2	29.8	30.3	24.2	26.2	12.8	13.8	6.2	6.2	5.9	5.4
	10.5	9.3	15.4	12.3	38.4	39.4	22.3	24.5	8.6	9.4	2.9	3.1	2.0	2.1
	11.8	10.5	17.4	14.4	43.3	44.1	20.2	21.9	5.3	6.7	1.3	1.7	0.7	0.9
14.1	13.0	19.8	16.0	43.9	43.3	17.4	20.5	3.8	5.4	0.7	1.2	0.4	0.6	

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, *Fertility*, Catalogue No. 93-321.

other than English or French, form a third, heterogeneous group, and here the behaviour of Ontario allophones was neither systematically nor significantly different from that of Quebec allophones. For the last group, however, changes occurring in country of origin may have had an influence on fertility levels, new-immigrant women having slightly higher fertility. In summary, considering changes in childbearing, the downward trend in fertility seems to depend more on province than mother tongue.

Infertility

The average number of children per woman is a very summary indication of reproductive behaviour; the level of childlessness of married women is even more so. According to the 1991 census (Table 5), in all cohorts whose representatives were questioned, *more women are found to be childless at the end of their fertile period in Quebec than in Ontario*. The number of childless Quebec women remained high even in the cohorts most involved in the baby boom, although the level decreased in both provinces during this episode.

The greater childlessness in Quebec could be explained by the fact that Quebec women have always married later and that physiological infertility increases with age. The phenomenon may have been aggravated by the large number of mature women leaving religious orders between 1960 and 1980, many of whom subsequently married. These women were thus no longer never married on census day and, since they were more likely to be childless than women their age in general, they would have pushed the fertility level of their cohorts downward. This is only a tenuous hypothesis, because in Quebec an increase in childlessness has been noted for the last few years, as it has been in Ontario, although to a lesser extent.

Size of Completed Fertility

Infertility is not the only significant cultural element in reproductive behaviour. Family size is also one. Comparisons between Quebec and Ontario in this area are obscured by the fact that immigrant women are included in the statistical universe, and they may have had some or all of their children before coming to Canada.

It can be seen that very large completed fertilities (6 or more children) were more common in the older Quebec cohorts than in comparable Ontario cohorts (Table 5). The point of reversal in the distribution between Quebec and Ontario is around fourth-order children. There were more Ontario women with low completed fertility and fewer with high completed fertility. Differences in family size become minimal beginning with the 1932-1936 cohorts, that is, those who, in round figures, were between 15 and 20 around 1950, making them 25 to 30 in 1960 when the use of the contraceptive pill began to spread. Observation confirms that the phenomenon is not geographical but cultural since it was Francophones who, in former times, had very large families both in Ontario and Quebec (Table 4). Examination of Table 5 once again shows, by the trend in completed fertilities of four or more children, the difference in the way the baby boom was experienced in Quebec and Ontario.

In contrast, two-child families are an exact mirror image: among the younger cohorts there are large proportions of these families both in Ontario and Quebec.

In short, although even recently there were more childless Quebec women than Ontario women, those who were fertile had much larger completed fertilities. These characteristics have practically disappeared with the increasingly generalized adoption of the two-child family both in Ontario and in Quebec.

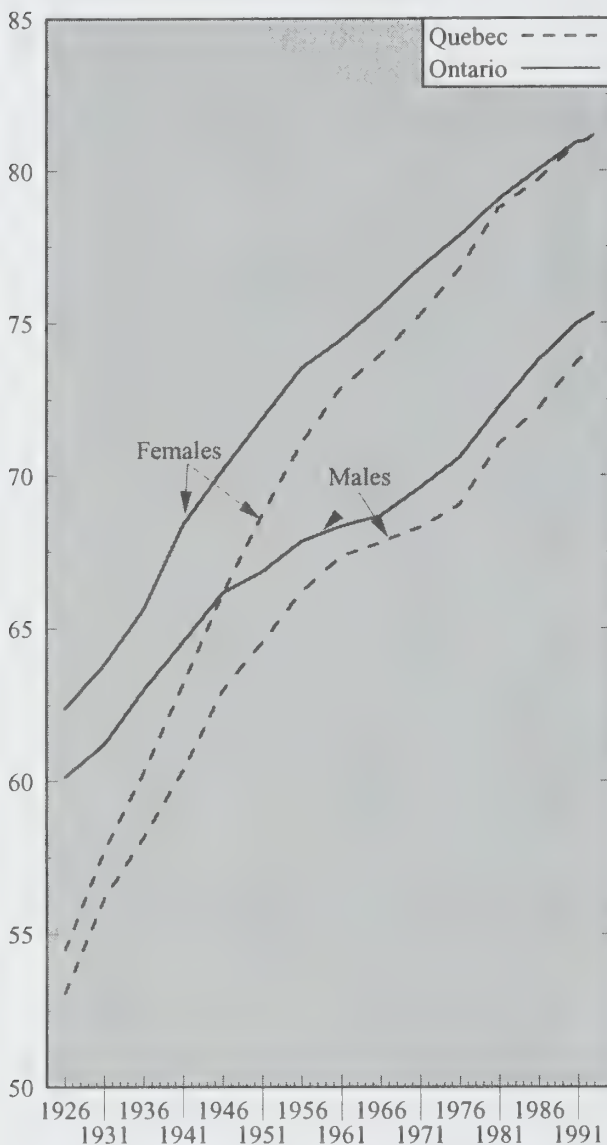
MORTALITY

General Progress

It is not easy to summarize the fight against death in these two provinces without resorting to minute analyses leading to long explanations. But since the two provinces belong to the same world and living conditions have developed in each of them basically in parallel, despite certain differences which will be discussed, an examination of overall indicators seems sufficient.

The best of these is certainly life expectancy at birth, which is available for Quebec and Ontario back to 1926. Figure 5, which shows the values of this indicator at 5-year intervals, demonstrates their convergence; as time

Figure 5. Life Expectancy at Birth, by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1926-1993



Source: Table A2.6.

passes, the difference between the two provinces diminishes. In the past, it is probable that the relative economic underdevelopment of Quebec caused the persistence of lower living standards. Due to more difficult communications in every sense of the term, the population of Quebec continued to have less healthy eating habits and less scientific means of personal care. Moreover, greater endogamy encouraged the transmission of certain genetic weaknesses or diseases, which had an effect on the level of mortality. *In 1926, the difference with Ontario in life expectancy at birth was 7.1 years for men and 7.9 years for women.* Technological progress has allowed the communication of knowledge, with the result that, not only in Canada but in the entire western world, people live and are being cared for and protected both better and more equally. Life expectancies have consequently increased and the differences have considerably decreased. This convergence has led to *a difference between Quebec and Ontario in 1993 of 1.1 years for men and practically no difference for women* (Figure 5).

Since slight differences nevertheless persist and standardized death rates by cause and province are available for the early 1990s, it is possible to observe whether there are any causes specifically responsible. Table 6 shows only the most devastating causes and those where marked differences are seen. It indicates that, for men, a few causes, such as lung cancer, are still under less control in Quebec than in Ontario. Suicide is also more common among Quebec men. For women, there is no particularly remarkable cause, nor any less important causes whose effects cancel out those of more important ones.

At the same time, what is mainly responsible for Quebec's catching up with Ontario in terms of life expectancy at birth is changes in infant mortality.

Table 6. Standardized Death Rates (per 100,000) for Specific Causes of Death, Quebec and Ontario, 1992

Causes	Quebec	Ontario
	Males	
All Malignant Tumors	284.03	236.75
Malignant Neoplasm of the Lung	102.75	71.25
Diseases of the Circulatory System	357.30	345.20
Malignant Neoplasm of Respiratory System	95.90	77.95
Pneumonia	23.60	32.90
Chronical Obstructions	43.90	33.70
Traumatism, Poisoning	54.00	33.20
Traffic Accidents	19.60	14.50
Suicides	27.10	14.70
	Females	
All Malignant Tumors	160.70	152.60
Diseases of the Endocrine Gland	21.80	17.80
Cerebro-Vascular Diseases	42.80	48.20

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

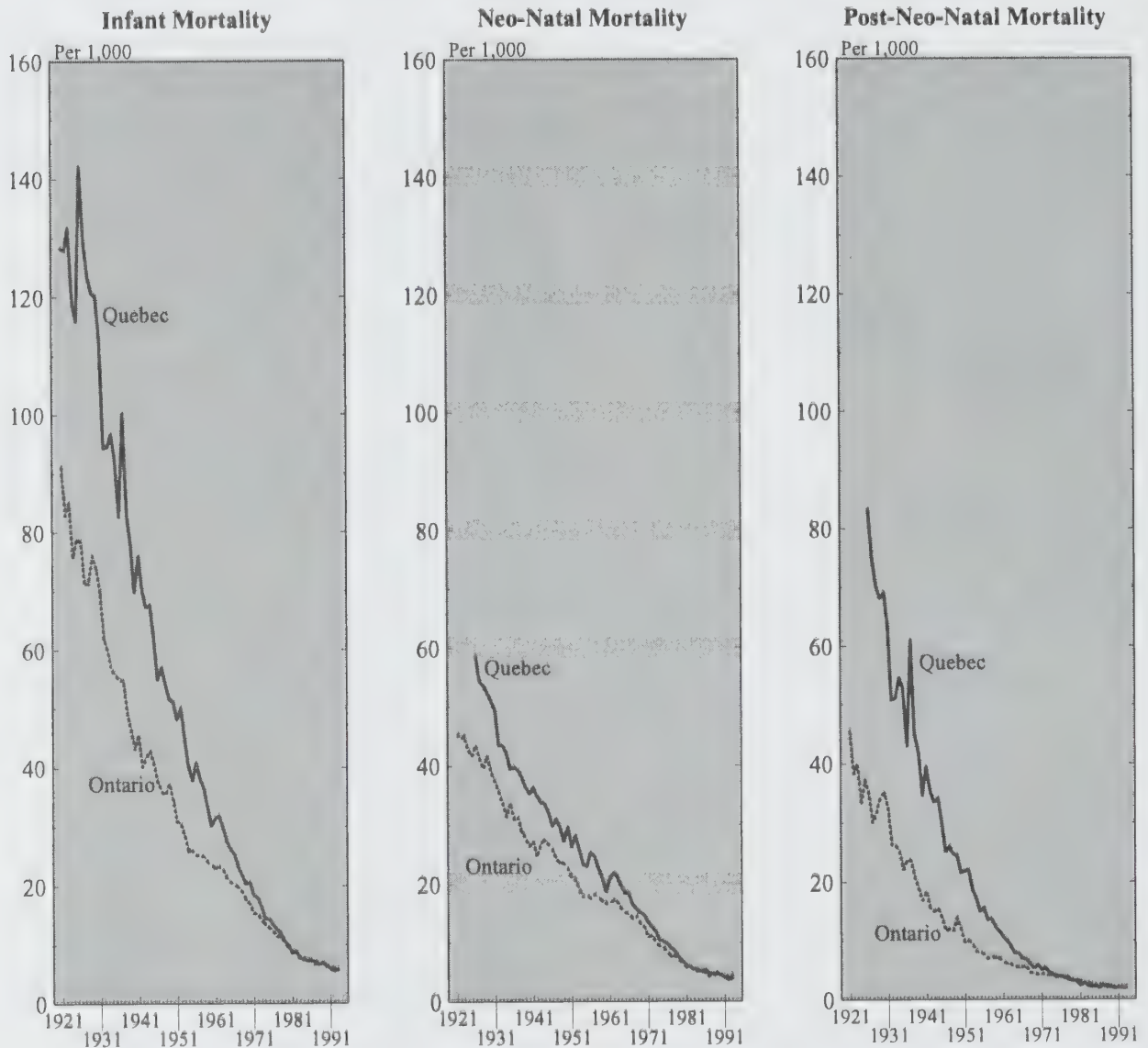
Infant Mortality Trends in Quebec and Ontario

As in all industrialized countries, infant mortality has decreased considerably over the period under study (1921 to the present), the rate losing 94% of its value in about 70 years. Obviously the law of diminishing returns has come into play here as elsewhere. As proof, *half of the gains were made during the first 20 years, with only 2.5% of the total gains in the past 10 years.*

The two components of infant mortality (neonatal and post-neonatal) have not developed in the same way, as neonatal mortality, i.e., that occurring in the first month of life, has tended to decrease much less rapidly than post-neonatal mortality, that occurring in the first year of life but after the first month (see Figure 6). The main difference has been in the rate of reduction. While most of the gains in post-neonatal mortality were recorded in the first part of the period and much more modest gains during the second, it was almost the reverse for neonatal mortality, which has declined relatively slowly but has continued to decline at basically the same rate until the present.

In this national picture, the provinces of Quebec and Ontario have their own profiles, and at the outset Quebec's impressive narrowing of the gap with its neighbour in the two components of infant mortality may be noted. While in the early 1920s the Quebec rate was around 130 per 1,000 and that of Ontario close to 86 per 1,000, the two rates are now at about the same level of around 6 per 1,000, and in some years the Quebec rate has been even lower than that of Ontario.

Figure 6. Infant Mortality Rates, Quebec and Ontario, 1921 to 1993



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

Without belittling progress in such field as gynaecology and obstetrics, an important cause of the reduction in infant mortality has historically been the reduction in fertility. In effect, with the reduction in fertility, higher-order children became fewer, and it was they who were most at risk of early death because of the older age of their mothers. Since completed fertility in Quebec was much larger than in Ontario, as was shown in the section on fertility, it is not surprising that its decline had a more pronounced effect on the level of infant mortality there than in Ontario. To this first general reason, and at the risk of a slight inaccuracy, it may be added that post-neonatal mortality is a reflection of the quality of the infant's living conditions and diet, and the care to which it has access. This is the type of mortality where it is easiest to make gains without deploying substantial means. Quebec, which was behind

Ontario in socioeconomic terms, has made great progress during the period, particularly in the areas of education, hygiene and diet. The post-neonatal death rate fell from 76 per 1,000 around 1926, when Ontario's rate was about 32, to 14 per 1,000 in 1956.

As for the victories over neonatal mortality, they are mainly due to the ability to prevent the death of newborns, who may be severely handicapped even before birth. These gains call for much more impressive measures and greater skill on the part of the medical services. It is remarkable that Quebec has achieved such a significant reduction in neonatal mortality (Figure 6 shows that the rate of decrease was more rapid in Quebec than in Ontario) while the number of low-birth-weight babies remained high. Low birth weight is recognized as the main risk factor for perinatal mortality.

It may be concluded that the Quebec environment was less healthy than that of Ontario for a great many years, in the sense of carrying a greater risk of death for newborns. *The conclusion can also be drawn that the efforts made in Quebec in the area of perinatal mortality have been particularly remarkable.*

MIGRATION

An Old Situation

At no census since the beginning of this century has 10% of the Quebec population been born outside Canada. Ontario, on the other hand, has practically never had less than 15%. At almost every census, the latter province's proportion has been around 18% to 20%, and since 1961 it has risen from 22% to 24% (Table 7). This is no doubt because the American midwest, of which southern Ontario is a neighbour, continued to be an industrial and commercial centre exerting a strong attraction even after its heyday in the mid-19th century. From this perspective, Quebec, and in particular Montreal, has historically been mainly a transit point for European immigrants, a gateway to the centres of employment. Ontario was early one of these centres and began at the end of the last century to attract the part of the Quebec population emigrating because they could not find work in traditional agriculture.

Table 7. Percentage of the Population Born Outside Canada, Quebec and Ontario, 1901-1991

Year	Quebec	Ontario
1901	5.4	14.8
1911	7.3	20.1
1921	8.0	21.9
1931	8.8	23.4
1941	6.7	19.4
1951	5.6	18.5
1961	7.4	21.7
1971	7.8	22.2
1981	8.3	23.7
1991	8.6	23.5

Sources: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada, tables of places of birth and calculations by the author.

Table 8. Percentage of the Population of Quebec and Ontario Born in Canada but Outside the Province, Various Census Years

Year	Ontario	Quebec
1901	4.0	1.5
1921	5.1	2.4
1941	7.2	3.6
1961	11.8	4.6
1991	13.3	4.1

Sources: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada, tables of places of birth and calculations by the author.

Obviously for much the same reasons, to which must be added the language barrier, Quebec, as discussed above, has never had more than a small share of its Canadian-born population born in another province. Probably because of the English minority, particularly in Montreal, and the intensification of communications, this fraction has nevertheless increased. In 1961 it peaked for the recent period at 4.6%. It then declined, standing at 4.1% in 1991. Conversely, in Ontario, internal migration has constantly increased

the proportion of its population made up of the Canadian-born who were born in another province, who now amount to 13.3% of Ontarians born in Canada (Table 8).

Immigration to Quebec: a Matter both of Attraction and Retention

Census figures allow a description of the situation which results from the constant movement of people in unequal flows and opposing directions across provincial borders. The fact remains that Quebec does not appear to attract many foreigners or Canadians from other provinces, and retains few of those who do settle there. This phenomenon is well known but is still worth a quantitative, even if succinct, assessment.

Of the 231,065 international immigrants who entered Quebec between 1971 and 1980, only 141,220, or 61%, remained in 1991. Some of course have died, and others had returned home, but this is true for Ontario as well, and the same calculations give this province a figure of 75%. *For the more recent immigration period, from 1981 to 1987, the same dissimilarity appears between the two provinces. Of 134,629 immigrants to Quebec, the 1991 census indicates that 101,475, or 75%, remained, while Ontario retained 94%.*

Certainly Quebec has always, at first vaguely and now explicitly, had the goal of maintaining its share of the Canadian population. For many years, however, it has seen that share decline slowly through a combination of a low rate of natural increase and weak immigration. Since fertility had long been higher than in Ontario, there was always the hope that the decline would be followed by a recovery; the population situation was not a cause for concern. But the experience of the sharp fall in the level of the birth rate of the 1960s brought with it the realization that the fall in fertility in Quebec represented a return to a long-term downward trend, and that it was this that

was leading to a reduction in the province's share of the national total. It became clear that, in these circumstances, measures had to be implemented to encourage population growth. From a modest start, natality incentives became more substantial in the late 1980s. Long-term success is not yet assured, but for the moment Quebec is the only province with any sort of population policy.

During this period, Ontario, whose women had lower fertility than those of Quebec, attracted a large share of immigration. But since the reform of the Act, it happens that this immigration has consisted of populations whose fertility is somewhat higher than that of Canadian-born women. These complementary phenomena have resulted in above-average population growth.

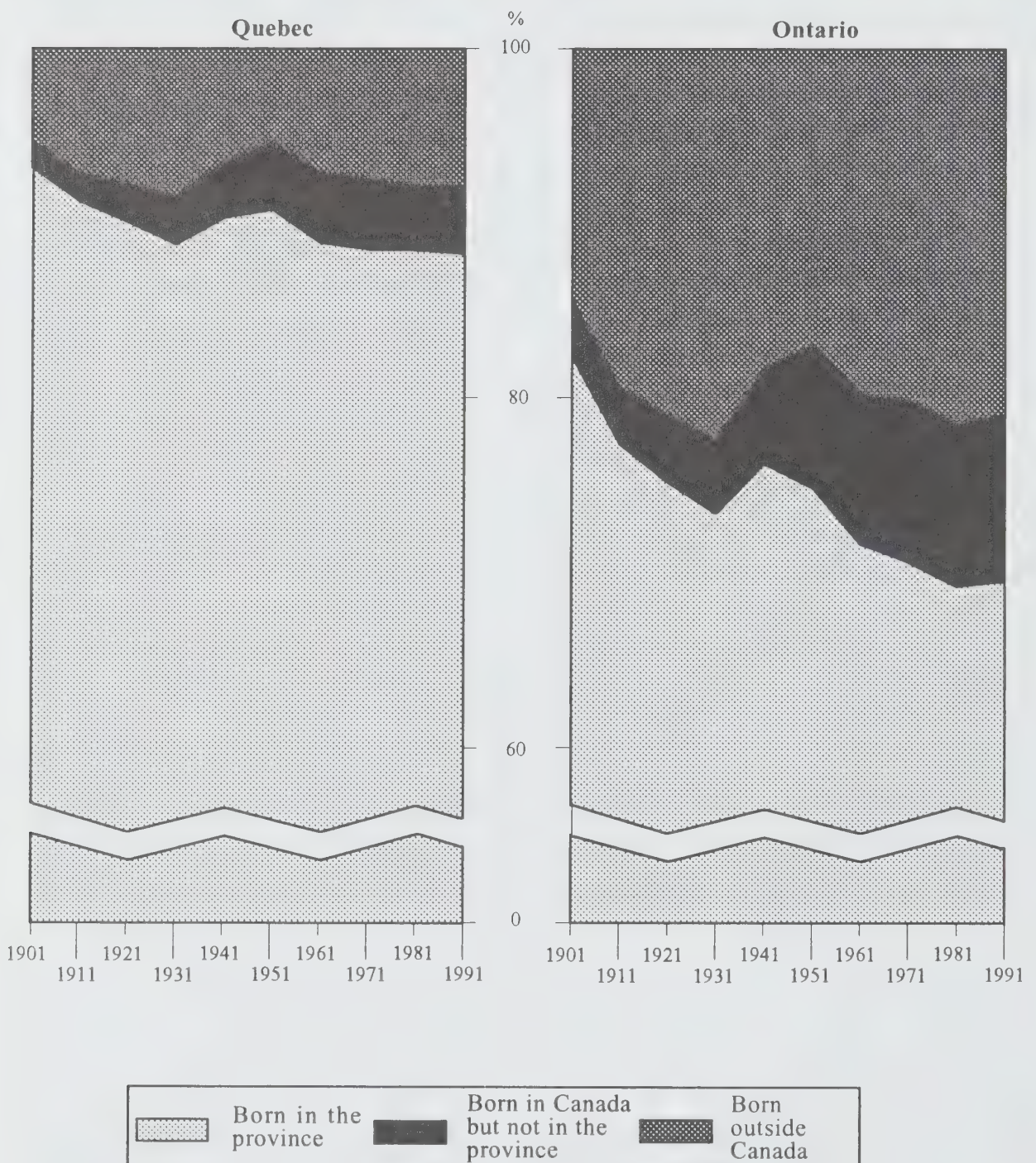
Quebec, which historically was not very interested in immigration, has recently changed its attitude and sought to attract immigrants in an attempt to offset the low birth rate. A series of agreements with the federal government, including the Cullen-Couture Accord, resulted on February 5, 1991, in the Canada-Quebec Accord on Immigration, which expressly states that Quebec undertakes to implement an immigration policy with a view to preserving its share in the Canadian population by receiving a proportion of Canada's total landed immigrants equal to its percentage of the total Canadian population, with the right to exceed this figure by 5%. Straightforward calculations based on population projections drawn up by the Demography Division of Statistics Canada³ show, however, that, taking into account anticipated levels of fertility, mortality and internal migration, and the 50,000 immigrants already foreseen, Quebec would need 35,000 more immigrants a year than already forecast –an unlikely scenario– to prevent a decline to 23% of the population of Canada in 2015.

It seems that managing the growth of the Quebec population is neither simple nor straightforward. On the one hand, the province has demonstrated a desire to increase fertility, as shown by the measures aimed at encouraging families to have a third child. On the other hand, it seeks to attract people who are French-speaking, skilled, educated and prepared to contribute to its economic development. But this type of immigrant is rare in today's world, and the result is a difficult choice whereby, to obtain skilled immigrants, the province must allow those who do not know French time to adapt themselves and integrate into society, enabling them to learn the language and adjust to Quebec culture.

It is a well-known fact that migration, whether internal or international, is increasingly toward large cities, whether flowing from rural areas or smaller cities. Canada's rural regions and small towns have little attraction for those who decide to settle in this country. Under these circumstances, Ontario has an advantage over Quebec, since it has a number of large cities with substantial

³ See the 1994 Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada.

Figure 7. Percentage Distribution of the Population of Quebec and Ontario by Place of Birth, 1901-1991



Sources: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada and calculations by the author.

commercial or industrial sectors, while Quebec has only Montreal. Apart from it, Quebec has no metropolitan area with a profile like that of Oshawa, Windsor, London, Hamilton or St. Catharine's. This is why *immigrants in Quebec are much more concentrated in Montreal than immigrants in Ontario are in Toronto (88% in the former and 62% in the latter)*. For immigrants who arrived between 1981 and 1991, however, the concentration is even higher, and especially in Toronto.

COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION BY PLACE OF BIRTH

The initial reaction to Figure 7 is one of surprise to see relatively little change over the past century in the composition of the population of each province in terms of people's place of birth, despite constant, large-scale migration. This is in fact quite normal, since censuses count what are commonly known as population stocks. The impression of a paradox comes from the fact that ethnic origin and place of birth are unconsciously associated. Canadian-born children of immigrants are Canadians by birth, while their foreign-born parents eventually die off. The differences in composition due to past migrations and their effects would be more clearly seen in terms of ethnic origin.

If for each province three sub-populations are examined, those born in the province, those born in Canada in another province, and those not born in Canada, very different levels and changes are observed.

The Unusually Homogeneous Population of Quebec

The stronger growth in Ontario since the beginning of the century of the number of people not born in the province compared to Quebec has had the effect of decreasing the proportion of those born in Ontario more quickly than those born in Quebec. *In 1901 in Quebec, those born in the province represented 93.1% of the population, and in 1991 they still represent 87.7%.* The decrease of 5.4 percentage points in 90 years in people born in the province is minimal compared to the decrease in Ontario of 15.4 percentage points. Since Ontario had already at the beginning of the century attracted more people born outside the province than Quebec had, the difference between the two provinces has become considerable and the phenomenon shows no signs of decreasing. *At present, a third of Ontario residents were not born in the province.*

Between 1931 and 1961, a change may be noted in both provinces, reflected in the shape of the curves in the figure by an increase in the proportion of those born in the province. The situation is due to two very significant events in demographic terms: the Great Depression and the baby boom. The Depression slowed down both immigrant arrivals and interprovincial migration, and the baby boom strengthened natural increase. But the two provinces did not experience these phenomena in the same way. Ontario reacted more extremely to the Depression than Quebec, since Ontario had already become the foremost immigrant destination once the great movement to settle the Prairies was past. The proportion of persons born in the province did increase, but the rise in immigration after the War gave the curve a downward trend between 1941 and 1951, whereas the phenomenon did not appear in Quebec until the 1951-1961 decade. Those not born in the province are either international immigrants or Canadians born in another

province. While the proportion of immigrants increases in both provinces over time, this happens more rapidly in Ontario. During the 1901-1991 period, international immigrants to Quebec rise from 5.4% to 8.6%, an increase of about 3 percentage points (3.2). The increase in Ontario is 8.7 percentage points, so that *in 1991 in Ontario close to one person out of four was not born in Canada, while the figure for Quebec is about one out of twelve.*

But Ontario also attracts more Canadians from other provinces than Quebec. The proportion of Canadians born from other provinces in Quebec rises from 1.5% to 4.1%, while during the same period the proportion of Ontario residents in this category increases from 4.0% to 13.3%. In the first case the difference is 2.6 percentage points and in the second 9.3.

The result of these differences is that Quebec, which was already more homogeneous in terms of the place of birth of its residents at the turn of the century, has basically changed little. *Nine out of ten residents of Quebec are still born in the province, while Ontario has a remarkable attraction for other Canadians and international immigrants.*

These observations on population balances calculated at census time are confirmed by studies of annual or period population movements. Although these studies are not complete and, in the case of international migrants, take into account only people entering the country and their intended destination on arrival, the figures are nevertheless eloquent and corroborate the above conclusions.

Moreover, annual internal movements offer a clearer view, since the people who change province may disappear due to death or emigration before the next census. Using the components of annual population estimates by province⁴, available since the early 1950s, it is possible to confirm that the two provinces have very different behaviour.

Net migration for Quebec shows that it has always lost in its exchanges with the other provinces. The total of 40 consecutive years saw one of net losses amounts to some 600,000 people, while Ontario, which came out ahead in most years, gained a total of over 450,000 internal migrants. The close proximity of the two provinces favoured movements back and forth, but in a 40-year period, Quebec lost approximately 470,000 people to Ontario, close to 80% of its total deficit.

Moreover, from 1960 to 1993, Quebec received only 850,000 international immigrants while Ontario received 2.5 million. In the 1994 Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada, a study of movements from 1990 to 1991 showed that people in Quebec are generally reluctant to leave their province if they were born there and that many of them return after having left. If

⁴ Interprovincial movements are estimated each year using various administrative files and income-tax returns.

Table 9. Nuptiality Rates for Quebec and Ontario, 1926-1991

	1926	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991
Crude Rates (per 1,000)	Quebec							
	6.8	5.8	9.8	8.8	6.8	8.2	6.4	4.2
	32.9	21.8	34.4	39.4	34.2	37.1	26.5	18.2
	Ontario							
Global Rates (per 1,000) ¹	7.5	6.9	11.4	9.8	7.1	9.0	8.1	7.4
	35.0	27.8	45.8	54.5	47.5	49.2	37.9	31.3

¹ Calculated using the never-married population aged 15 to 54.
Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Marriages*, Catalogue No. 84-212, various censuses of Canada and calculations by the author.

the 12 months leading up to the 1991 census are representative of normal behaviour, they provide an even better understanding of the uniformity of Quebec’s population. During this 12-month period, 21,700 people entered Quebec, but 13,200 of them were simply returning to their province of birth. During the same 12 months, 25,000 left Quebec, but only 14,600 of them were born there.

DOMESTIC LIFE IN QUEBEC AND ONTARIO

Domestic life, among other things, expresses personal positions on the importance of values and religious beliefs, the role of tradition, and sensitivity to public opinion. It is thus instructive to compare how individuals behave in the two provinces, in so far as each is home to a particular society, in terms of marriage, divorce, common-law unions and living alone.

Nuptiality

Marital behaviour has always been different in Quebec and Ontario, and continues to be so. For the past, the crude rate will be used (the number of marriages per 1,000 population), or a slightly more refined indicator, the ratio of the number of marriages to the population aged 15-54 available for marriage, that is, never-married persons, widows and divorcees, to reduce to some extent the differences in population composition (Table 9). Both measurements indicate that *people have always married less in Quebec than in Ontario*, perhaps one reason being the celibacy of the members of the clergy, who are more numerous in Quebec.

The recent period, however, is particularly interesting because it has seen major changes in marital values as reflected in statistics on marriages, divorces

Table 10. Main Characteristics of the Primonuptiality Table, Quebec and Ontario, 1976 and 1993

	Quebec		Ontario	
	1976	1993	1976	1993
Average Age Difference (in years) Single Survivors (number) Increase (in percent)	Males			
	26.52	30.18	26.03	29.72
	3.66		3.69	
	16,693	58,220	9,326	29,028
	249		211	
	Females			
	24.39	28.32	23.74	27.69
	3.93		3.95	
	14,846	52,187	8,040	22,888
	252		185	

Source: Primonuptiality tables done with data from the Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data.

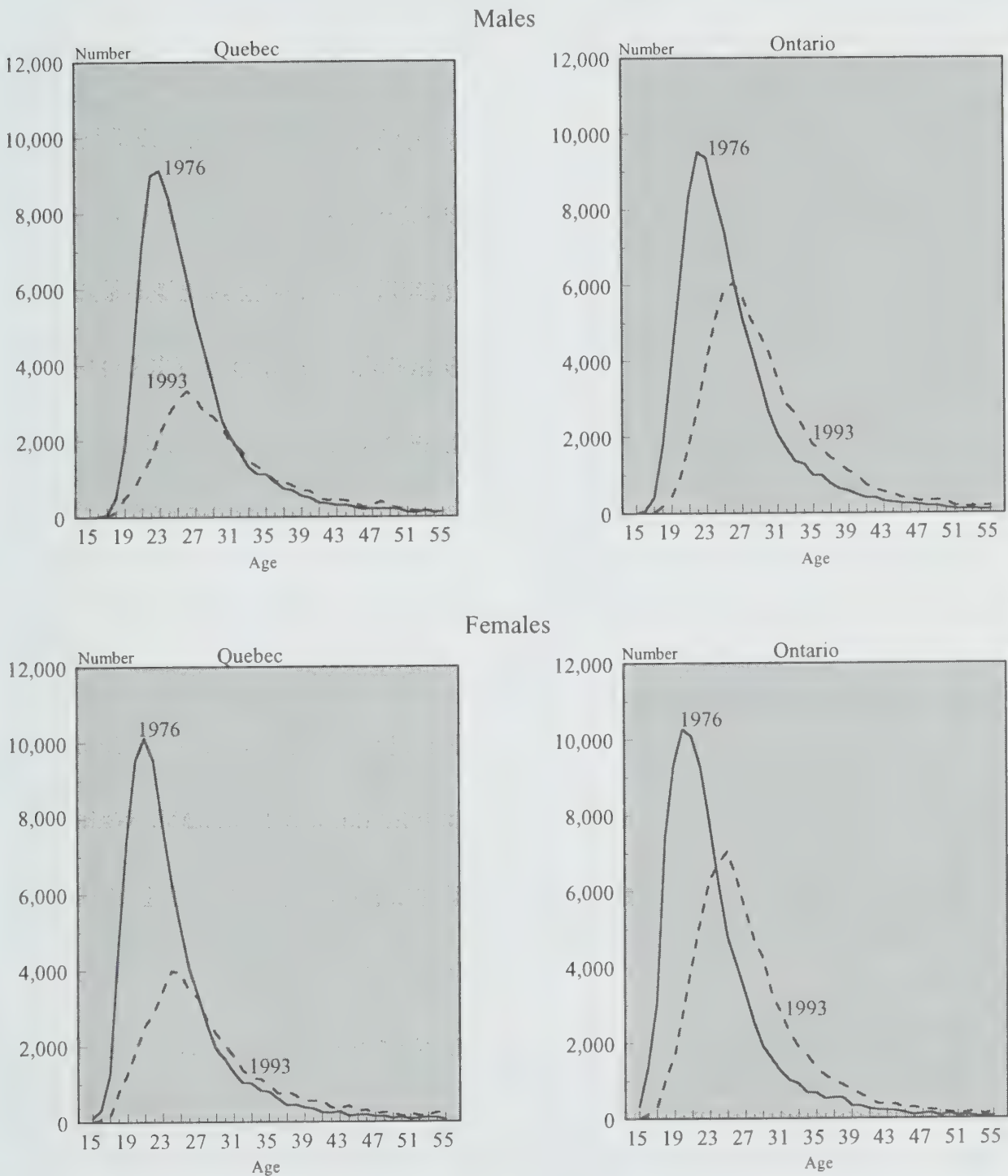
and common-law unions. *In 1971, the crude marriage rate in Ontario was 9.0 per 1,000, and in 1991 it had fallen to 7.4 per 1,000, a reduction of 18%.* Although noteworthy, this decline is modest in comparison to that observed *in Quebec, where the rate for the same period fell from 8.2 per 1,000 to 4.2, a reduction of 49%.*

The differences shown by these general indicators are borne out by the more refined rates found in the nuptiality table. In 1976, common-law unions were not numerous enough to create any major distortions in the age-specific marriage rates of never-married persons. It is thus possible to draw up a table for each province, the main parameters of which are shown in the table above (Table 10).

This table and Figure 8 show that men and women in Quebec have always married a little later than men and women in Ontario, and even more that they marry less often. Whether at the beginning or the end of the period, never-married men and women are more numerous in Quebec than in Ontario, and the median and mean ages at marriage are slightly higher in Quebec than Ontario. While moving in the same direction, the two provinces have increased the gap that has always separated them.

It is clear that both provinces are affected by the great swing away from the institution of marriage that has swept the western world, but it is noteworthy that in recent years it has been more rapid in Quebec than in Ontario. The number of never-married persons (Table 10) increases more in Quebec than in Ontario (249% compared to 211% for men and 252% compared to 185% for women). The increase in the mean age,

Figure 8. Marriages of the Primonuptiality Table, by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1976 and 1993



Source: Primonuptiality tables done with data from the Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data.

although starting from different levels, is the same for women (3.7 years) and men (3.9 years). The result of these changes is that, in 1993, the table leaves almost twice as many never-married men in Quebec at age 50 as in Ontario and far more than twice as many never-married women.

Remarriage

Compared to 1976, remarriages in both provinces have become more numerous by 1993 due to the increased access to divorce made possible by changes in the law between these two dates (Table 11). The proportion of marriages in which at least one spouse has already been married rises from 24.8% to 32.8% in Ontario, an increase of 7.6 percentage points. In Quebec the increase is 16.2 percentage points. This considerable difference may be linked to old habits dating back before 1969, when very different conditions prevailed in the two provinces regarding divorce. While divorce has been possible in Ontario since 1930, it only became possible in Quebec in 1968. Formerly, Quebec residents either had to change province or submit a request for divorce to the federal parliament, measures that significantly reduced the number. For basically similar populations, the divorce rate per 100,000 was 5.9 in Quebec and 50.1 in Ontario in 1950. In 1960 it was 4.0 in Quebec and 60.2 in Ontario. Given the major decline in mortality, it is divorces that are responsible for remarriages, and no longer widowhood. In 1966, 544 divorced men and 367 divorced women remarried in Quebec, while the figures in Ontario were 3,025 for men and 2,832 for women.⁵ Out of 1,000 marriages in Quebec, there were 12 in which one partner was divorced, while the proportion in Ontario was 55. At current levels of numbers and proportions, the situation of remarriage might stabilize in Quebec, particularly if common-law unions continue to replace marriage.

During the period, changes in the proportion of remarriages involving two previously married persons (Table 11) yield the same remarks for Quebec. It is noteworthy, however, that the proportion of remarriages of this type stabilizes in Ontario but at a higher level. This observation should be seen in the light of the more frequent choice in Quebec of a common-law union rather than remarriage following the failure of a previous marriage.

Common-Law Unions

While there has been no doubt for some time about the decline in nuptiality and the interpretation to be given to it, it is not life as a couple that is at issue but the legal basis of the union. It is remarkable that society has accepted these changes so rapidly. When the 1981 census was being prepared, no consideration was given to the idea of counting the number of people who had already opted for this form of union. The extent of this phenomenon at that time can only be estimated using a person's relationship to the reference person and their sex and marital status. The 1986 census yielded more accurate estimates, but it is only in 1991 that counts based on a direct question become available.

⁵ Figures courtesy of the Health Status and Vital Statistics Section of Statistics Canada's Health Statistics Division.

Table 11. Marriages, First Marriages and Remarriages, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1993

Year	Number of Marriages	Number of First Marriages		Number and Proportion of Marriages in which at least one Spouse has been Previously Married		Number and Proportion or Remarriages in which both Spouses had been Previously Married	
		Males	Females	Number	%	Number	%
Quebec							
1976	50,790	39,911	39,047	7,219	14.2	2,405	33.3
1977	48,171	43,392	42,459	7,828	16.3	2,663	34.0
1978	45,936	40,909	39,872	8,133	17.7	2,958	36.4
1979	46,341	41,294	40,098	8,278	17.9	3,012	36.4
1980	44,848	39,821	38,660	8,246	18.4	2,969	36.0
1981	41,005	36,018	34,844	8,177	19.9	2,971	36.3
1982	38,354	33,356	32,389	7,912	20.6	2,904	36.7
1983	36,144	31,419	30,416	7,629	21.1	2,824	37.0
1984	37,433	31,847	30,777	8,623	23.0	3,619	42.0
1985	37,026	31,643	30,647	8,394	22.7	3,368	40.1
1986	33,083	27,084	27,881	7,880	23.8	3,321	42.1
1987	32,616	26,496	27,208	8,068	24.7	3,462	42.9
1988	33,519	26,984	27,690	8,698	25.9	3,666	42.1
1989	33,325	26,741	27,462	8,837	26.5	3,610	40.9
1990	32,060	26,454	25,887	8,370	26.1	3,409	40.7
1991	28,922	23,788	23,166	7,749	26.8	3,141	40.5
1992	25,841	20,763	20,197	7,599	29.4	3,123	41.1
1993	25,021	19,900	19,361	7,596	30.4	3,185	41.9
Ontario							
1976	69,364	57,401	56,808	17,236	24.8	7,283	42.3
1977	67,730	55,481	54,746	17,738	26.2	7,495	42.3
1978	67,491	54,627	53,944	18,581	27.5	7,830	42.1
1979	67,980	54,679	53,912	19,309	28.4	8,060	41.7
1980	68,840	55,182	54,150	19,998	29.0	8,350	41.8
1981	70,281	56,055	55,027	20,737	29.5	8,743	42.2
1982	71,595	57,095	55,616	21,472	30.0	9,007	41.9
1983	70,893	55,838	54,509	22,232	31.4	9,207	41.4
1984	71,922	56,525	55,183	22,576	31.4	9,560	42.3
1985	72,891	57,370	56,166	22,639	31.1	9,607	42.4
1986	70,839	55,975	54,972	21,637	30.5	9,094	42.0
1987	76,201	57,689	56,441	26,513	34.8	11,779	44.4
1988	78,533	59,795	58,463	26,914	34.3	11,894	44.2
1989	80,377	61,604	60,623	26,831	33.4	11,702	43.6
1990	80,097	61,800	61,066	26,024	32.5	11,304	43.4
1991	72,938	56,622	55,998	23,438	32.1	9,818	41.9
1992	70,079	54,354	53,512	22,648	32.3	9,644	42.6
1993	66,575	51,600	50,849	21,581	32.4	9,120	42.3

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Table 12. Standardized Prevalence Rate for Common-Law Unions, Quebec and Ontario, 1981 to 1991

Province	Rate			Index		
	1981	1986	1991	1981	1986	1991
Quebec	9.0	14.4	19.0	170	272	358
Ontario	5.3	6.3	7.6	100	119	143

Sources: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Given the observations above on nuptiality, it should be no surprise that common-law unions are more common in Quebec than Ontario, but some figures will allow a few refinements.

As a preliminary and global observation, it may be noted that, in the 1991 census, 11% of the Quebec population over 15 were in common-law unions, while the percentage for Ontario was only 5%.

But the prevalence rate, by its conciseness, is a better indicator of the propensity to live in a common-law union. It gives the number of couples not in legally sanctioned unions per 100 couples (Table 12). The extent of the difference between the populations of the two provinces is evident. This propensity was less developed in Ontario than in Quebec in 1981, and since then has progressed little in the former, whereas it has increased considerably in the latter. *The 1981 Ontario prevalence rate was 5.3%, while the Quebec rate in the same year was 9%. But 10 years later, the Ontario rate had risen to 7.6% and Quebec's to 19.0%.*

Retrospective studies such as the General Social Survey are very useful to round out the information provided by the census, since they permit an account of the situations experienced by individuals which no longer exist. The 1990 survey shows that *approximately 30% of persons 15 and over living in Quebec have been in a common-law union at some time in their life, while the percentage in Ontario is only about 18%* (Table 13). The choice of people in Quebec of common-law unions compared to that of Ontarians is even more evident when the proportions by age group are examined. For both sexes, it may be seen in the same survey that the proportion in Quebec is much higher in all groups than it is in Ontario.

Age of Partners in Common-Law Unions

While the numbers and rates are lower in Ontario than in Quebec, the age-specific distribution of people in common-law unions is somewhat different (Table 14). In Ontario, the proportion of men and women over 35 in common-law unions is greater than in Quebec. In other words, life in common-law unions is less restricted to young people. Of women living in

Table 13. Those Who Have Ever Lived in a Common-Law Union, by Sex and Age Group, Quebec and Ontario, 1990

Age Group	Males		Females		Total	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
	In Thousands					
15-19	-- ²	-- ²	-- ²	-- ²	-- ²	-- ²
20-24	-- ²	53 ³	110	101	184	154
25-29	184	117	209	168	394	285
30-34	192	132	152	153	343	286
35-39	116	121	122	114	238	235
40-44	91	75 ³	75 ³	49 ³	166	123
45-49	-- ²	62 ³	-- ²	42 ³	109	105
50-59	-- ²	62 ³	-- ²	54 ³	94	116
60+	-- ²	39 ³	-- ²	-- ²	-- ²	65 ³
Total	803	665	774	725	1,577	1,390
	As a Percent of the Age-Sex Group ¹					
15-19	-- ²	-- ²	-- ²	-- ²	-- ²	-- ²
20-24	-- ²	14.1 ³	45.4	27.8	37.2	20.9
25-29	60.6	26.9	68.5	38.1	64.5	32.6
30-34	62.8	31.8	48.6	35.9	55.6	33.9
35-39	41.5	32.1	42.8	29.3	42.2	30.7
40-44	35.9	21.2	28.9	13.5 ³	32.4	17.3
45-49	-- ²	22.9 ³	-- ²	15.1 ³	26.4	18.9
50-59	-- ²	13.4 ³	-- ²	11.7 ³	14.4	12.5
60+	-- ²	6.0 ³	-- ²	-- ²	-- ²	4.5 ³
Total	31.4	18.1	28.5	18.8	29.9	18.4

¹ Excluding non-response to the question on common-law relationships.

² Not shown because of high sampling variability.

³ Because of high sampling variability, this estimate should be interpreted with caution.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1990.

this type of union, 40% in Ontario and only 34% in Quebec are over 35. For men, the imbalance is 48% to 43%. Since this is the distribution of a distribution, part of the percentage difference may be due to the fact that the Ontario population is slightly older than Quebec's. The propensity may not be the only thing explaining the differences.

Immigrants and Common-Law Unions

The two provinces are far from having the same proportion of immigrants, but in both cases the fraction of immigrants living in common-law unions is lower than that of the immigrant population itself (Table 15). In 1991 in

Table 14. Population in Common-Law Unions by Age and Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

Age Group	Number			Percentage		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Quebec						
15-19	1,905	8,810	10,715	0.6	2.9	1.7
20-24	33,175	55,660	88,835	10.8	18.1	14.5
25-29	72,095	77,015	149,110	23.5	25.1	24.3
30-34	65,360	61,150	126,510	21.3	19.9	20.6
35-39	45,425	39,780	85,205	14.8	13.0	13.9
40-44	31,320	25,275	56,595	10.2	8.2	9.2
45-49	22,155	16,700	38,855	7.2	5.4	6.3
50-54	13,380	9,220	22,600	4.4	3.0	3.7
55-59	9,125	5,445	14,570	3.0	1.8	2.4
60-64	6,090	3,625	9,715	2.0	1.2	1.6
65 +	6,870	4,235	11,105	2.2	1.4	1.8
Total	306,900	306,915	613,815	100.0	100.0	100.0
Ontario						
15-19	1,575	5,585	7,160	0.9	3.1	2.0
20-24	20,860	31,130	51,990	11.5	17.1	14.3
25-29	38,595	39,915	78,510	21.2	21.9	21.6
30-34	32,125	30,895	63,020	17.6	17.0	17.3
35-39	24,645	24,010	48,655	13.5	13.2	13.4
40-44	21,250	19,250	40,500	11.7	10.6	11.1
45-49	15,110	12,425	27,535	8.3	6.8	7.6
50-54	9,900	7,355	17,255	5.4	4.0	4.7
55-59	7,160	4,595	11,755	3.9	2.5	3.2
60-64	5,015	2,945	7,960	2.8	1.6	2.2
65 +	5,925	4,050	9,975	3.3	2.2	2.7
Total	182,160	182,155	364,315	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, *Age, Sex and Marital Status*, Catalogue No. 93-310

Quebec, 9.8% of the population aged 15 and over was born outside Canada, but only 3.9% of the population in common-law unions are immigrants. In Ontario, where 29% of the population are immigrants, 15.8% of the population in common-law unions were born outside Canada. Differences in age structure between the two populations, immigrant and Canadian-born, cannot explain this difference. This observation may be refined by calculating the ratio of persons who reported at the last census living in common-law unions to the number of immigrants aged 15 to 64, the ages at which the great majority of people opting for this form of union are found. The proportions are small among immigrants in both provinces (5.2% in Quebec and 3.1% in Ontario). For the Canadian-born, the difference between the two provinces is

Table 15. Population Aged 15 and Over in Common-Law Unions by Place of Birth, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

Place of Birth	Population in Common-Law Unions	Percentage	Population	Percentage
Born in the Province of Residence Born in Another Province Born Outside Canada Total	Quebec			
	567,125	92.7	4,843,070	86.2
	20,910	3.4	222,040	4.0
	23,800	3.9	552,415	9.8
	611,835	100.0	5,617,525	100.0
	Ontario			
	242,535	67.6	4,645,070	59.6
	59,615	16.6	897,060	11.5
	56,595	15.8	2,245,830	28.8
	358,745	100.0	7,787,960	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, *Immigration and Citizenship*, Catalogue No. 93-316, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

considerable: observation shows 12.4% in Quebec and 4.4% in Ontario (Table 16). The fact that the percentage for immigrants is higher in Quebec suggests a “province effect” probably linked to the fact that the calculations had to do with persons, and a union may be made up of a person born in Canada and an immigrant. Since men and women in Quebec are more likely than Ontarians to choose a common-law union, they probably involve more immigrants, but the phenomenon may also stem from the different composition of the immigrant population in the two provinces.

Fertility of Women in Common-Law Unions

Since common-law unions have become a little more widespread, their fertility has been observed. In the beginning, when this type of union was often a trial marriage, they did not last long since, barring a break-up, pregnancy in most cases put an end to them by transforming them into a marriage. Acceptance of the common-law union as a form of conjugal life has been rapidly followed by the acceptance of childbearing in these unions, and the number of births outside marriage has been seen to rise. This general observation nevertheless masks a considerable diversity between societies. Since the number of births

Table 16. Population Aged 15 to 64 in Common-Law Unions by Place of Origin, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

	Quebec	Ontario
Immigrant Population	460,650	1,850,160
In Common-Law Unions	23,800	56,595
Percentage	5.2	3.1
Born in Canada	4,748,880	6,846,170
In Common-Law Unions	588,035	302,150
Percentage	12.4	4.4

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Table 17. Proportion of Women in Common-Law Unions Who had Children, by Age Group, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

	Quebec		Ontario	
Percentage of those Aged 15 and Over in Common-Law Unions	10.7		4.3	
Age	Percentage of Women in Common-Law Unions	Percentage with Children	Percentage of Women in Common-Law Unions	Percentage with Children
15-19	4.0	17.8	1.6	29.6
20-24	24.1	26.4	8.5	25.3
25-29	25.8	42.7	8.7	35.0
30-34	18.8	60.4	6.7	54.6
35-39	13.1	66.1	5.6	67.2
40-44	9.2	69.5	4.7	76.2

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, *Fertility*, Catalogue No. 93-321 and calculations by the author.

during a year to women living in common-law unions is not known, an estimate of their fertility must be attempted based on available data, in this case, births by legal marital status as determined by the Vital Statistics section of Statistics Canada. By breaking births down into two categories, those to unmarried mothers and others, the majority of births to women in common-law unions can be assumed to fall in the category of births to unmarried women, and it must be recognized that they are more likely to be fertile than unmarried women without a partner. A comparison between the percentages for Quebec and Ontario based on this summary classification leaves no doubt as to the difference in behaviour between the two provinces. Already *in 1986, births to unmarried mothers made up 25% of total births in Quebec, but only 12% in Ontario. In 1992, the proportions were 41% and 16% respectively, and in 1993 they are 44% for Quebec and still only 16% for Ontario.*⁶ In Quebec, where the item of information is recorded, the father is unknown in fewer than 5% of births to unmarried mothers, according to the province's statistical bureau. This would suggest that the majority of births are to women living in common-law unions, and it seems likely that the same is true for Ontario.

Turning to the situation as presented in the census, the 1991 census provides information on the number of children to women living in common-law unions, but this information still does not permit a measurement of the fertility of these unions. The marital status of the respondent is that in which she found herself at the time of the census and not necessarily that in which she was living at the birth of her children. This no doubt explains why the percentage of women who have children increases with age, since women living in common-law unions include divorced women

⁶ Based on unpublished figures from the Vital Statistics section of Statistics Canada's Health division.

Table 18. Distribution of Population Living in Common-Law Unions, by Age Group and Marital Status, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

Age Group	Males			Females		
	Single	Separated / Divorced	Widowed	Single	Separated / Divorced	Widowed
Quebec						
15-19	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
20-24	99.0	1.0	0.0	98.0	1.0	1.0
25-29	96.0	4.0	0.0	93.0	7.0	0.0
30-34	85.0	15.0	0.0	77.0	22.0	1.0
35-39	62.0	37.0	1.0	57.0	42.0	1.0
40-44	38.0	61.0	1.0	35.0	60.0	5.0
45-49	22.0	75.0	3.0	24.0	66.0	10.0
50-54	18.0	77.0	5.0	20.0	61.0	19.0
55-59	16.0	73.0	11.0	18.0	49.0	33.0
60-64	16.0	65.0	19.0	17.0	38.0	45.0
65 +	17.0	44.0	39.0	17.0	20.0	63.0
Ontario						
15-19	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
20-24	98.0	2.0	0.0	95.0	5.0	0.0
25-29	89.0	11.0	0.0	80.0	20.0	0.0
30-34	67.0	33.0	0.0	54.0	45.0	1.0
35-39	42.0	57.0	1.0	33.0	64.0	3.0
40-44	25.0	74.0	1.0	20.0	75.0	5.0
45-49	16.0	82.0	2.0	15.0	76.0	9.0
50-54	14.0	82.0	4.0	12.0	71.0	17.0
55-59	14.0	76.0	10.0	11.0	61.0	28.0
60-64	14.0	69.0	17.0	12.0	48.0	40.0
65 +	16.0	51.0	33.0	13.0	28.0	59.0

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, *Age, Sex and Marital Status*, Catalogue No. 93-310 and calculations by the author.

and some widows who had children during their marriage (Table 17). This being said, there are not many relatively young widowed, separated or divorced women in common-law unions, as shown in Tables 18 and 19, and examination of Table 17 shows that common-law unions in both provinces are fertile and, in many age groups, a little more so in Quebec than in Ontario.

Marital Status of Persons in Common-Law Unions

This last observation suggests examining the marital status of those living in a common-law union. Clearly, anyone can choose this type of arrangement. Since this form of conjugal life does not have all the legal consequences of marriage, the partners cannot be called bigamists, if they are married to someone else. There are some in the census, although only a few, who are classified in the married category.

Table 19. Percentage of Population in Common-Law Unions by Marital Status and Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

Age Group	Single			Separated			Widowed			Divorced		
	Total	In Common-Law Unions	Proportion	Total	In Common-Law Unions	Proportion	Total	In Common-Law Unions	Proportion	Total	In Common-Law Unions	Proportion
Quebec												
Males												
15-19	229,950	1,895	0.8	95	5	5.3	70	0	0.0	110	10	9.1
20-24	224,755	32,965	14.7	600	70	11.7	95	5	5.3	570	135	23.7
25-29	205,065	69,400	33.8	3,170	620	19.6	165	35	21.2	4,970	2,035	40.9
30-34	139,060	55,295	39.8	6,825	1,675	24.5	450	140	31.1	16,975	8,255	48.6
35-39	78,840	28,280	35.9	8,975	2,480	27.6	840	310	36.9	29,380	14,355	48.9
40-44	43,845	11,795	26.9	9,915	2,775	28.0	1,450	470	32.4	34,930	16,275	46.6
45-49	25,930	4,960	19.1	8,780	2,555	29.1	2,155	675	31.3	31,400	13,965	44.5
Females												
15-19	217,820	8,780	4.0	145	5	3.4	150	5	3.3	130	15	11.5
20-24	199,100	54,810	27.5	1,555	290	18.6	215	15	7.0	1,540	535	34.7
25-29	159,810	71,255	44.6	5,545	1,105	19.9	570	140	24.6	10,300	4,510	43.8
30-34	106,705	46,895	43.9	9,505	2,030	21.4	1,635	505	30.9	27,440	11,720	42.7
35-39	61,980	21,975	35.5	11,095	2,120	19.1	3,200	915	28.6	39,670	14,765	37.2
40-44	37,145	8,895	23.9	11,215	1,805	16.1	5,510	1,270	23.0	42,710	13,310	31.2
45-49	24,050	3,965	16.5	9,305	1,290	13.9	8,690	1,700	19.6	35,895	9,750	27.2
Ontario												
Males												
15-19	346,725	1,550	0.4	210	5	2.4	110	0	0.0	160	20	12.5
20-24	333,375	20,355	6.1	2,045	225	11.0	140	10	7.1	985	270	27.4
25-29	247,640	34,240	13.8	9,295	1,475	15.9	285	45	15.8	8,805	2,835	32.2
30-34	130,095	21,440	16.5	15,620	3,165	20.3	585	115	19.7	21,160	7,400	35.0
35-39	66,495	10,385	15.6	16,555	3,800	23.0	925	180	19.5	28,285	10,275	36.3
40-44	39,165	5,325	13.6	16,630	4,140	24.9	1,580	300	19.0	31,230	11,480	36.8
45-49	22,190	2,400	10.8	12,935	3,275	25.3	2,120	365	17.2	25,400	9,070	35.7
Females												
15-19	324,550	5,515	1.7	425	20	4.7	230	5	2.2	200	40	20.0
20-24	286,630	29,615	10.3	5,740	665	11.6	375	45	12.0	2,910	805	27.7
25-29	175,185	31,745	18.1	17,230	2,540	14.7	855	155	18.1	16,590	5,475	33.0
30-34	92,670	16,650	18.0	22,400	3,695	16.5	1,980	360	18.2	31,190	10,190	32.7
35-39	51,425	8,035	15.6	21,550	3,535	16.4	3,590	580	16.2	39,470	11,855	30.0
40-44	32,485	3,940	12.1	19,775	3,000	15.2	6,045	910	15.1	42,985	11,405	26.5
45-49	19,345	1,860	9.6	13,905	1,845	13.3	9,110	1,060	11.6	33,670	7,660	22.8

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, *Age, Sex and Marital Status*, Catalogue No. 93-310 and calculations by the author.

Table 20. Distribution of Families According to Certain Characteristics, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

	Quebec		Ontario	
	Number	%	Number	%
Total with and without Children	1,883,230	100.0	2,726,735	100.0
Spouses	1,307,445	69.4	2,201,775	80.7
Common-Law	306,910	16.3	182,155	6.7
Single Parent Families:				
In which the head is not widowed	201,865	10.7	264,920	9.7
In which the head is widowed	67,015	3.6	77,875	2.9

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, *Families: Number, Type and Structure*, Catalogue No. 93-312, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

In both provinces, in all age groups and for both sexes, divorced persons have the greatest propensity to form common-law unions (Table 19). The proportion is, however, higher in Quebec than in Ontario. As in the case of marriage, the proportion of women decreases with age while that of men increases because of a “market” that works against women who are no longer young. In second position are the never-married, and curiously it is Quebec women aged 25 to 34 who have the highest percentage in all female categories and age groups. Compared to Ontario, at all ages, the proportions are significantly higher in Quebec. There are much higher proportions of widows and widowers, as well as separated persons, in Quebec than in Ontario, and in both categories their position most of the time falls midway between divorcees and never-married persons.

Single-Parent Families

The distribution of families by type corroborates what has been observed in terms of the differential behaviour of individuals in the other aspects of their domestic life.

Considered as a whole, the families in each province are not distributed among the categories in the same way (Table 20). In 1991, husband-wife families represented 81% of all families in Ontario, while single-parent families accounted for only 13%. In Quebec, husband-wife families represented barely 70% and single-parent families over 14%. The major difference between the two provinces remains the proportion of families where the partners are in a common-law union, as was shown in the preceding paragraphs: 6.7% for Ontario and 16.3% for Quebec.

Single-parent families have attracted attention particularly since common-law unions have spread and divorces have become more frequent. In the not-too-distant past, single-parent families were not rare, due to the early death of one of the parents before the last child had left home, and since childbearing

Table 21. Lone-Parent Families with a Non-Widowed Female Head Aged 15 to 54 and at Least One Child Aged Less than 18, Quebec and Ontario, 1991

Age Group	Total Number of Families		Lone-Parent Families		Percentage	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
15-24	41,255	61,455	9,610	19,030	23.3	31.0
25-34	353,365	504,155	46,250	67,810	13.1	13.5
35-44	401,670	580,755	59,110	68,765	14.7	11.8
45-54	125,580	167,685	16,965	18,565	13.5	11.1
15-54	921,870	1,314,050	131,935	174,170	14.3	13.3

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, *Families: Number, Type and Structure*, Catalogue No. 93-312, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

then took place throughout the fertile life of spouses, families where one of the two parents had died were numerous. Just when gains in life expectancy allowed couples to remain together longer and declining fertility reduced family size, the separation of couples by divorce suddenly became easier and the first common-law unions appeared, although so far these are more fragile than marriages. But in this area societies are characterized by their readiness to adopt non-traditional behaviour. This can be clearly seen in the comparison between Ontario and Quebec.

The common image of the contemporary single-parent family is, for most people, that of a young single, separated or divorced woman raising one or more children under 18 on her own. These families represent 14% of all Quebec families and 13% of all Ontario families with children under 18 where the mother is between 15 and 54. There is thus no dissimilarity between the two societies, and it is in the distribution of single-parent status by age of the mother of these families that Ontario differs from Quebec. In Ontario, 31% of mothers of families in the 15-24 age group are single parents but only 23% in Quebec. In the older groups, the difference is less pronounced, but proportionally they are slightly more numerous in Quebec (Table 21).

Life Alone

Although there have always been people who live alone, in recent years their numbers have tended to increase. Certainly, material progress in such areas as diet, housing, and household appliances facilitates this type of domestic arrangement and has definitely contributed to the increase in households made up of only one person. But these new possibilities may merely permit the realization of a desire that perhaps people have always had but couldn't put into practice. The family and even the couple are less and less seen as the basic social unit; the choice of a form of conjugal life is no longer exclusively a question of material resources. One's philosophy of life plays a role, together with traditions and social constraints.

Table 22. Proportion of One-Person Households by Population of the Age Group (in percent), Quebec and Ontario, 1981 to 1991

Age Group	Quebec			Ontario		
	1981	1986	1991	1981	1986	1991
15-19	1.1	0.9	0.1	0.8	0.5	0.1
20-24	6.9	6.3	7.3	7.2	5.2	4.7
25-29	9.0	9.2	10.8	9.7	8.9	8.5
30-34	7.4	8.9	10.2	7.4	7.9	8.1
35-39	6.1	7.8	9.6	5.6	6.4	7.3
40-44	5.8	7.3	9.3	4.8	5.8	6.8
45-49	6.5	7.9	10.1	5.2	5.9	7.1
50-54	7.9	9.1	11.4	6.7	7.1	7.9
55-59	10.0	11.4	13.5	9.2	9.2	9.9
60-64	13.4	14.5	16.5	13.5	13.3	13.2
65-69	12.3	19.3	20.7	19.4	19.1	18.3
70-74	22.2	24.4	25.8	26.0	25.8	24.9
75-79	24.4	27.4	29.8	31.6	32.3	31.6
80-84	22.2	26.7	30.1	33.6	35.3	35.7
85-89	16.1	20.1	24.7	28.8	31.2	33.4
90 +	9.3	11.9	13.8	18.1	20.0	20.6

Sources: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

In this area, people in Quebec and Ontario do not appear to behave in the same way. Since age offers different possibilities, it seems reasonable to break the age scale into three to make observations more relevant: young adults, mature adults, and the elderly. The measurement used to assess the phenomenon is the ratio of the number of one-person households in a given age group to the number of persons in that age group.

A person who reports living alone is, by definition, neither a member of a couple nor of a family, whatever that person's marital status may be (Table 22). Up until age 45, with the exception of the 25-29 age group in Ontario, the fraction in all age groups increases with time, and Quebec is no exception. Living alone is more common in Quebec and is growing more rapidly. From age 25 on, close to one person out of 10 in Quebec lives alone, while in Ontario on average only one out of 12 does so. These figures are consistent with nuptiality indicators, but also show that common-law unions do not replace marriage. More and more never-married, widowed or divorced persons are living alone, without a spouse, relative or child.

From age 45, it is less surprising that this ratio increases, since as age increases the number of people who are no longer tempted by conjugal life or cannot form a couple increases. In these intermediate ages, the gap between

the two provinces is just as noteworthy as among young people. It should be added that the Ontario population contains a large proportion of new immigrants who come from countries where marriage is considered the norm and where family ties are in general very strong.

At older ages, for the obvious reason of being able to maintain one's material independence longer, the ratios in both provinces are increasingly high and the differences between the provinces are minimal.

LANGUAGES

The question of language inevitably arises in comparing the populations of Ontario and Quebec; however, everything significant appears to have been said already on this topic, and it is difficult to avoid commonplaces. The objective here, then, will only be to recall some facts that are generally ignored and which sometimes go against current thinking.

Mother Tongue

Despite obvious weaknesses, mother tongue is still the best indicator of the cultural identity of a people. In Canada, whose most numerous non-aboriginal settlers were the French and the British, the French and English languages have existed side by side for centuries. After the original settlement, new French and British colonists contributed unequally and were so located as to result in the simplified picture of Quebec as French-speaking and the rest of Canada as English-speaking. This was never exactly the case, since major English settlements existed in Quebec, mainly in Montreal, the Eastern Townships and the Ottawa Valley, while French-speaking communities grew up in neighbouring parts of Ontario and on the frontier of settlement of the rest of the country. The need to communicate for various purposes, particularly economic, initially within the American continent, but increasingly with the rest of the world, has resulted in increasing numbers of French speakers having to use English. The result is that there has long had to be a distinction between mother tongue, and language of communication, which may be home language or working language, depending on the circumstances. But this distinction includes various types of bilingualism, which have become even more numerous as the origin of immigrants becomes more diversified and these immigrants learn one or both of the country's two official languages. The result is a long list of terms for classifying individuals. The statistics used come exclusively from censuses, which did not all ask the same questions or always require the same level of precision in answers, and thus the numbers retained include multiple responses after distribution.⁷

⁷ Francophones and Anglophones are those whose mother tongue is French and English respectively.

Table 23. Population of Quebec and Ontario by Mother Tongue, 1951-1991

Year	Total	English		French		Other		
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
Quebec	1951	4,055,681	558,256	13.8	3,347,030	82.5	150,395	3.7
	1961	5,259,211	697,402	13.3	4,269,689	81.2	292,120	5.6
	1971	6,027,765	789,185	13.1	4,867,250	80.7	371,330	6.2
	1981	6,369,055	693,600	10.9	5,254,195	82.5	421,265	6.6
	1991	6,810,305	626,200	9.2	5,585,650	82.0	598,455	8.8
	Increase 1951-1991	2,754,624	67,944	12.2	2,238,620	66.9	448,060	297.9
	Ontario							
	1951	4,597,542	3,755,442	81.7	341,502	7.4	500,598	10.9
	1961	6,236,092	4,834,623	77.5	425,302	6.8	976,167	15.7
	1971	7,703,105	5,971,570	77.5	482,045	6.3	1,249,490	16.2
	1981	8,534,260	6,611,990	77.5	465,335	5.5	1,456,940	17.1
	1991	9,977,055	7,443,540	74.6	503,345	5.0	2,030,170	20.3
Increase 1951-1991	5,379,513	3,688,098	98.2	161,843	47.4	1,529,572	305.5	

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1991, *Languages in Canada*, Catalogue No. 96-313 and calculations by the author.

Before describing the various situations and how they have developed in the two provinces under study, it is necessary to call to mind the main demographic phenomena that are responsible for the strengthening or weakening of language groups. These are mainly migration, differential fertility (and eventually mortality), language transfers and language transmission.

It should also be noted that collecting and processing the information is not an easy task, given that anything related to the language or culture of an individual gives rise to a certain amount of emotion and may lead the person, perhaps unwittingly, to give inaccurate answers, influenced by the current economic, social or political situation. There may also be a memory bias, particularly in the case of mother tongue. The opinion individuals may have of their knowledge of a language is extremely variable; moreover, the answers often differ depending on how the question is phrased.

Changes in Mother Tongue⁸

As a result of the various processes mentioned above, but particularly because of migratory phenomena, the population by mother tongue of the two provinces has changed over time, particularly in recent years, due to large changes in the volume and country of origin of flows of immigrants.

⁸ In census terms, mother tongue is the first language the individual learned as an infant and still understands.

Table 24. Migration Exchange Between Quebec and Ontario, by Five-Year Period and Mother Tongue, 1976-1991

	From Ontario to Quebec	From Quebec to Ontario	Quebec Net	
	English			
	1971-1976	25,655	55,825	-30,170
	1976-1981	15,675	83,380	-67,705
	1981-1986	14,975	49,850	-34,875
	1986-1991	20,050	35,475	-15,425
	1971-1991	76,355	224,530	-148,175
	French			
	1971-1976	24,940	24,380	-560
	1976-1981	20,735	26,245	5,510
	1981-1986	17,385	27,150	9,765
	1986-1991	26,115	23,135	-2,980
1971-1991	89,175	100,910	11,735	

Source: Statistics Canada, various censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

In Quebec between 1951 and 1991, the number of persons whose mother tongue was French increased by 67%, those whose mother tongue was English by 12% and those with another mother tongue by 300%. Since the Anglophone group grew more slowly than the Francophone or allophone groups, their share of the population decreased. It was 13.8% in 1951 and only 9.2% in 1991 (Table 23). By increasing their numbers by 67%, Francophones maintained their relative weight at 82%. Those whose mother tongue was neither French nor English increased fourfold, and their share of the population rose from 3.7% to 8.8%.

It would have taken 940,000 people of English mother tongue to maintain their proportion at 13.8%. The difference between this and the actual number of Anglophones is 314,000. This variance cannot be explained either by differential natural increase between the groups or by language transfers. The cause must lie in differences in international and internal migratory balances. It seems clear that internal migration plays the leading role. It would have taken only 232,000 people of other mother tongue to maintain their share of the population; however, they number almost 350,000 more and this time the responsibility lies in international migration. Although complete figures are lacking, the balances of intercensal migratory exchanges of Anglophones between Ontario and Quebec between 1971 and 1991 support the hypothesis that internal migration has worked to the detriment of English Quebecers (Table 24). The total of the balances for the last four 5-year periods of 148,175 includes only those people who were more than 5 years old in each period.

Table 25. Evolution of the Population by Mother Tongue and Home Language, Quebec, 1971 and 1991

	1971	1991	Difference	Difference (in percent)
Mother Tongue Home Language	French			
	4,867,250	5,585,650	718,400	14.8
	4,870,100	5,651,795	781,695	16.1
Mother Tongue Home Language	English			
	789,185	626,200	-162,985	-20.7
	887,875	761,815	-126,060	-14.2

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, *Population: Statistics on Language Retention and Transfer*, Catalogue No. 92-776, 1991, Census of Canada, *Languages in Canada*, Catalogue No. 96-313 and calculations by the author.

The Quebec balances of Francophones are quite different. They were sufficiently positive in two five-year periods out of four that the total for the last two decades is also positive. It stands at 11,735 (Table 24).

During the same 1951-1991 period in Ontario, although Anglophones increased their numbers more than Quebec Francophones, their share decreased. Their numbers doubled, but *they represented only 75% of the population instead of 82%.* Francophones increased more in Ontario than Anglophones in Quebec (47% compared to 12%); however, their share of the population dropped from 7.4% to 5%. *People of other mother tongue, as in Quebec, increased by a factor of four; they numbered a million more than the total required to maintain their 11% proportion of the Ontario population, and represented 20% in 1991.*

Home Language

In 1971, there were 4,867,250 Francophones in Quebec, and 4,870,100 persons who spoke French at home (Table 25). It is not legitimate to conclude that the same individuals are involved, since people with one mother tongue may speak another language at home. In 1991, the number of Francophones stood at 5,585,650, which constitutes an increase between the two dates of 14.8%. The group of persons speaking French at home numbered 5,651,795, an increase for the same period of 16.1%. It is thus necessary to conclude that *French as the language of home communication made more progress in Quebec than the Francophone population.* While the Anglophone population in Quebec decreased by 20.6% between 1971 and 1991, the population speaking English at home declined by 126,060, or 14.2%.

In Ontario, the number of Anglophones increased by 24.6%, or 1,471,970 individuals, during the same period (Table 26). But the group with English as home language grew by 1,941,455, for an increase of 29.5%. The changes for those speaking French at home and those of French mother tongue are

Table 26. Evolution of the Population by Mother Tongue and Home Language, Ontario, 1971 and 1991

	1971	1991	Difference	Difference (in percent)
Mother Tongue Home Language	English			
	5,971,570	7,443,540	1,471,970	24.6
	6,558,060	8,499,515	1,941,455	29.6
	French			
Mother Tongue	482,045	503,345	21,300	4.4
Home Language	352,465	318,705	-33,760	-9.6

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, *Population: Statistics on Language Retention and Transfer*, Catalogue No. 92-776, 1991, Census of Canada, *Languages in Canada*, Catalogue No. 96-313 and calculations by the author.

not as great, and are mainly in the other direction. While *the Francophone group increased by 21,300, or 4.4%, the group with French as home language lost 33,760 people (9.6%)*.

In both provinces, the majority language is gaining users. Between 1971 and 1991, the percentage of the Ontario population using English at home increased only slightly (from 85.1% to 85.2%) while the proportion using French at home declined, from 4.6% to 3.2%. Over the same period, the percentage of people speaking French at home rose from 80.8% to 83.0% in Quebec, while that of people speaking English fell from 14.7% to 11.2%.

Analyzing the changes that have taken place in home language in the various language groups and, for a first approximation, ignoring the question of data comparability, it may be observed that:

- 1) *In Quebec, more Anglophones speak French and fewer Francophones speak English as their home language.* In 1971, Anglophones speaking French at home represented 6.2% of their group, while in 1991 they represented 9.1% (Table 27). The change for those of French mother tongue is smaller, and even barely perceptible, since the proportion of them speaking English at home fell from 1.5% to 1.0%;
- 2) *In Ontario, it is people of French mother tongue who speak more English, while Anglophones speak less French.* The proportion of Francophones speaking English at home stood at 29.9% in 1971 and rose to 36.9% in 1991. Conversely, but dealing with very small figures, the percentage of Anglophones speaking French fell by half (from 0.2% to 0.1%).

The third group is made up of persons whose mother tongue is neither French nor English. In Quebec, where these people numbered 371,330 in

Table 27. Evolution of Home Language and Mother Tongue in Quebec and Ontario, 1971 and 1991

	French		English	
	1971	1991	1971	1991
Speaking English at Home Speaking French at Home Total Percentage	Quebec			
	73,515	58,040	...	...
	...	...	49,060	54,305
	4,866,410	5,556,105	788,830	599,145
	1.5	1.0	6.2	9.1
	Ontario			
	144,235	178,985	...	...
	...	...	12,165	6,860
Total Percentage	482,350	485,395	5,967,725	7,380,370
	29.9	36.9	0.2	0.1

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, *Population: Statistics on Language Retention and Transfer*, Catalogue No. 92-776, 1991, Census of Canada, *Languages in Canada*, Catalogue No. 96-313 and calculations by the author.

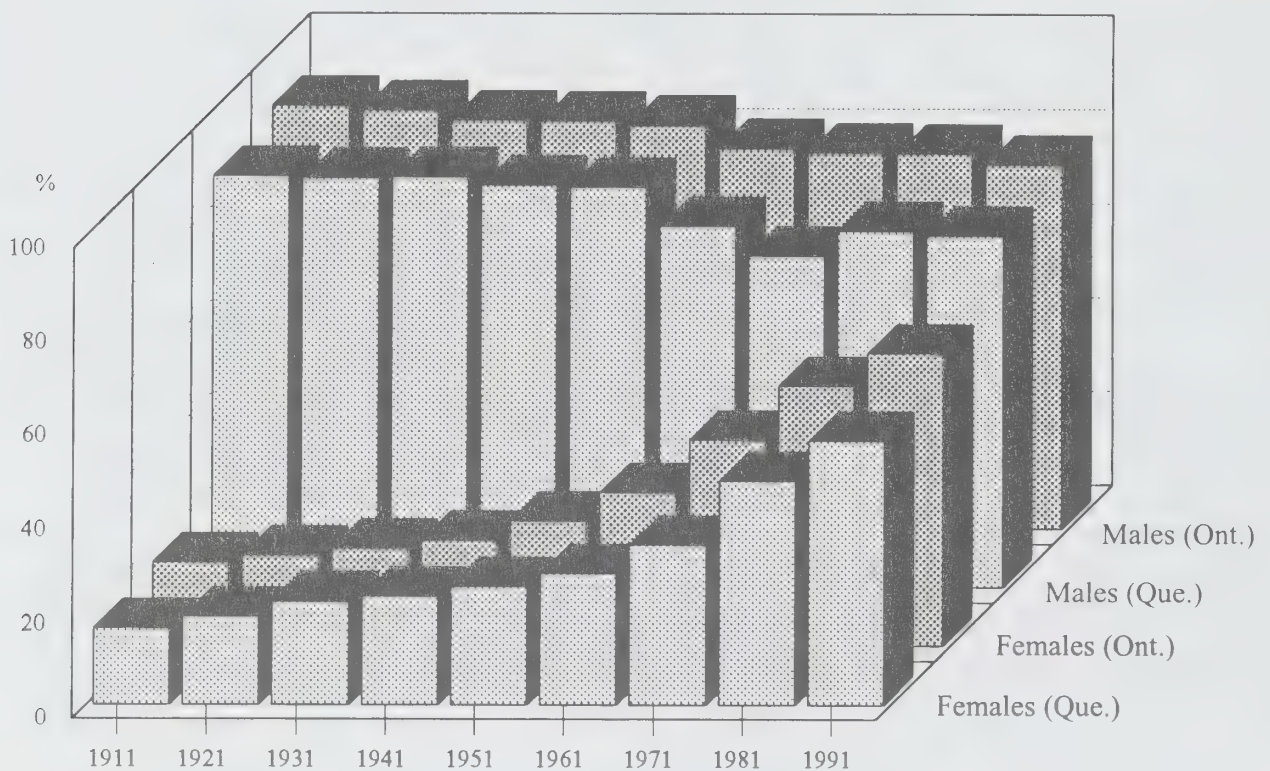
1971, 22.7% spoke English at home and only 9.3% French (Table 28), while in 1991, of 598,455, 19.9% used English, 2.7 percentage points less, while 11.5% spoke French at home. The difference between these two dates is 2.6 percentage points. In 1971 in Ontario, of the 1,249,490 allophones, 40.4% had chosen English and 0.3% French. In 1991, this group stood at close to 2 million (2,030,170), and 40.2% spoke English at home while 0.2% spoke French.

Table 28. Evolution of the Population with a Non-Official Language as Mother Tongue Who Speak One of the Two Official Languages, Quebec and Ontario, 1971 and 1991

	1971		1991	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total of Allophones Who Speak English Who Speak French	Quebec			
	371,330	...	598,455	...
	84,440	22.7	119,110	19.9
	34,580	9.3	69,090	11.5
	Ontario			
Total of Allophones Who Speak English Who Speak French	1,249,490	...	2,030,170	...
	504,880	40.4	816,620	40.2
	3,870	0.3	3,195	0.2

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, *Population: Statistics on Language Retention and Transfer*, Catalogue No. 92-776, 1991, Census of Canada, *Languages in Canada*, Catalogue No. 96-313 and calculations by the author.

Figure 9. The Labour Force as a Percent of the Population Aged 15 and Over by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1911-1991



Source: Table A2.1.

The overall impression left by this analysis of language change in each province is the same: each of the two provinces is becoming more homogeneous in terms of language spoken, and this at the cost of accentuating the dissimilarity between their populations.

EMPLOYMENT AND THE LABOUR FORCE⁹

When people are about to form families and have children, employment is an important factor in their decision. Migration is often related to job change or job search. In the long run, health and longevity are affected by material well-being, hence by people's success in the work world. It is therefore appropriate to include information about the labour force in an account of the demographic characteristics of a population viewed over a long time-horizon.

In Canada, women's participation in the paid workforce has been rising steadily since World War II, continuing a trend going back at least to the

⁹ Includes the population aged 15 and over who are employed (employed persons) or who are seeking employment (unemployed persons).

second decade of the century, while men's has been declining slightly. What is true of Canada is also true of its two largest provinces: generally, women's participation has increased and men's has fallen (Figure 9). The measure used, the labour-force participation rate, is employment plus unemployment expressed as a percentage of the population of labour-force age (15 and over). These data come from decennial censuses, the only source which can give this long a time-frame.

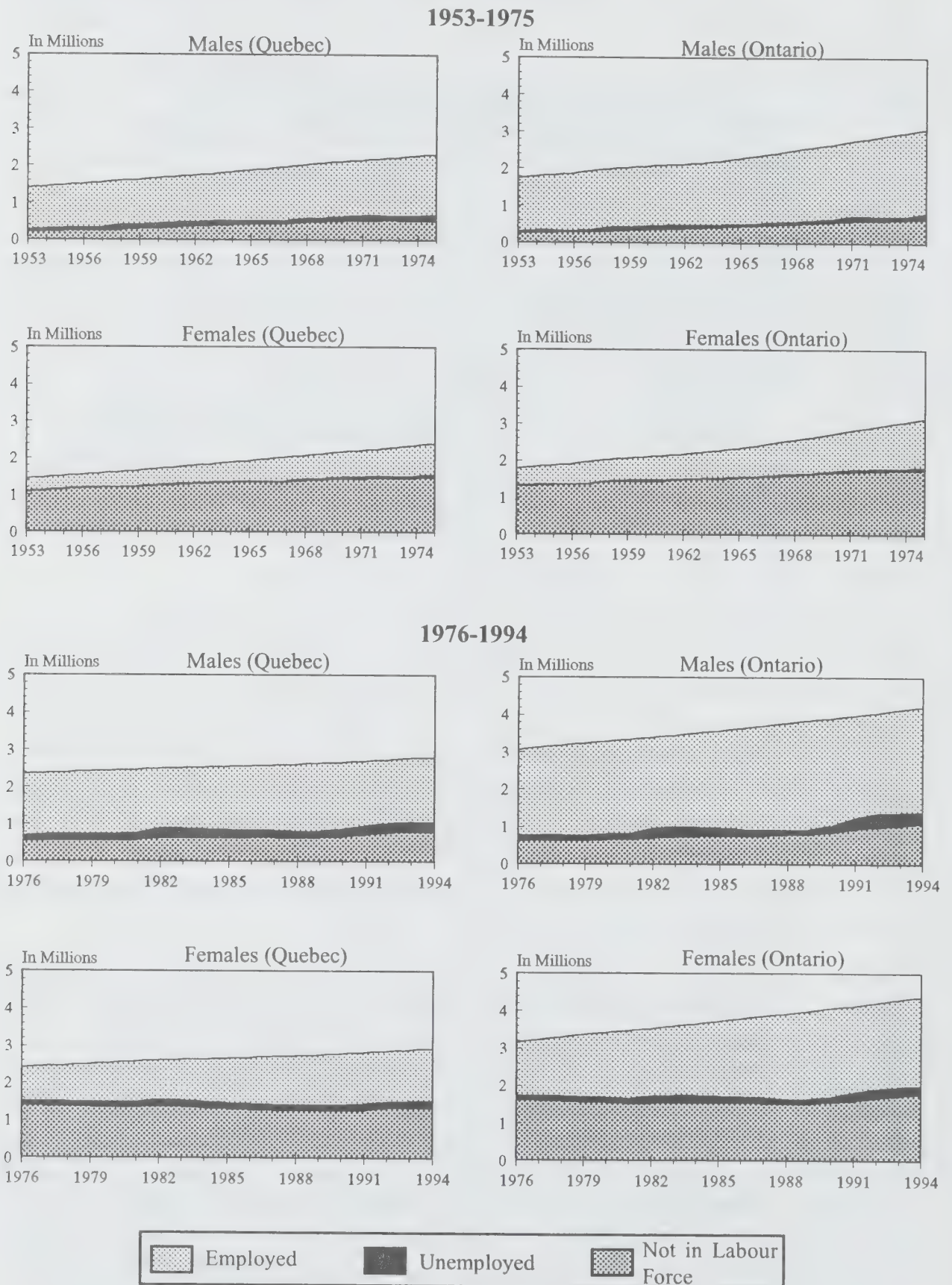
Since Quebec and Ontario have similar economies, it is not surprising that the labour-force participation of their populations is alike. There is, however, a difference, visible in Figure 9. Although the labour-force participation of women and men in Quebec in the first half of the century is very like that in Ontario (the maximum difference for men is 2.3 percentage points, in 1911, and for women, 1.4 percentage points, in 1921), the two provinces diverge markedly in the second half: the participation of Quebec men and women in the paid workforce is lower than that of their fellows in Ontario (after 1951, at least 2.7 percentage points lower for men and 4.7 percentage points lower for women). It can be seen that the strong increase in women's participation gets off to a distinctly slower start in Quebec than Ontario. In the latter, it began in 1971, but it is not evident in Quebec until 1981.

Data from Statistics Canada's monthly Labour Force Survey¹⁰ permit a more detailed look at the changes taking place over the period. Census labour-force concepts do not correspond exactly to Labour Force Survey concepts, so observations are not identical. The census measures labour-force participation for a week just before the census, while the Labour Force Survey data used here are annual averages. It should also be noted that the Labour Force Survey underwent a revision in 1976, so that data before 1976 are not directly comparable to subsequent data. In the following discussion, Labour Force Survey data for 1953 to 1975, when used, will always be presented separately from later ones.

The employment/population ratio is the ratio of the number of people of labour-force age who are employed to the total population of labour-force age. In the case of sub-populations, for example, women aged 25 to 44, both the employed and the population by which they are divided are restricted to members of the sub-population. The unemployment rate is the ratio of the unemployed to the labour force (the total number employed and unemployed) expressed as a percentage. The unemployed are those of labour-force age who, during the reference week, were without work, had actively looked for work in the past four weeks and were available for work, or who had not actively looked for work in the past four weeks but had either been on layoff or had a new job starting in four weeks or less, and were available for work.

¹⁰ A sample survey of households, designed to represent all persons in the population 15 years of age or over, with the exception of persons living in the Territories, on Indian reserves, full-time members of the armed forces, and people living in institutions.

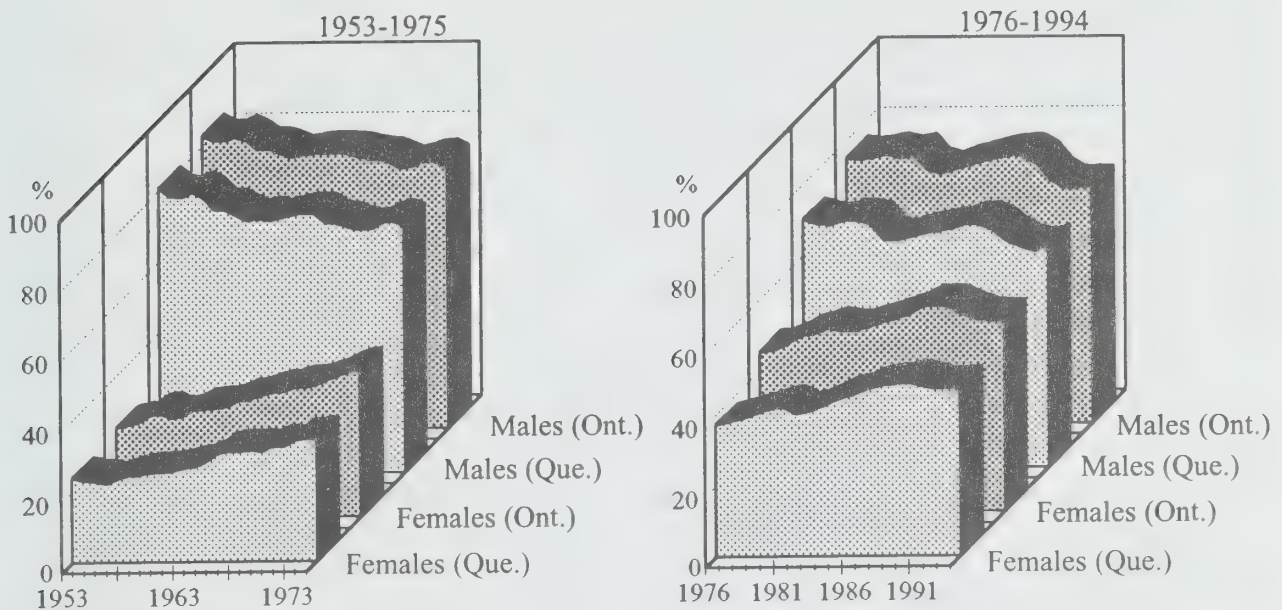
Figure 10. The Labour-Force Status of Men and Women Aged 15 and Over, Quebec and Ontario, 1953-1975 and 1976-1994



Note: Because of methodological changes, Labour Force Survey data for 1976 and after are not directly comparable to earlier data. Aged 14 and Over for the 1953-1975 period.

Sources: Tables A2.2 and A2.3.

Figure 11. The Employment / Population Ratio by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1953-1975 and 1976-1994



Note: 1976-1994 Labour Force Survey data are not directly comparable to 1953-1975 data.

Sources: Tables A2.2 and A2.3.

The Ontario labour force, like the Ontario population, has grown more rapidly than Quebec's since the 1950s. Figure 10, which shows the composition of the labour force, indicates that the Quebec labour force is more affected by unemployment than the Ontario labour force. Between 1953 and 1975, the difference between the male unemployment rates for Quebec and Ontario ranges from a low of 1.9 percentage points in 1953 to highs of 4.5 percentage points in 1963 and 1969. In this period, the difference for women is less, ranging between a low of 0.7 percentage points in 1962 and 1966 and a high of 2.5 percentage points in 1972. In the 1976-1994 period, the experience of men and women has converged: the low for men is a difference of 1.6 percentage points, in 1992, and for women it is a difference of 2 percentage points, in 1976. The highs are 4.7 percentage points for men, in 1987, and 4.5 percentage points for women, in 1988.

The employment/population ratios of Quebec and Ontario are affected in the same way by economic cycles (Figure 11), although the Quebec ratio remains uniformly lower than Ontario's.¹¹ At the same time, this uniformity masks important differences between age groups on the one hand and between full-time and part-time (fewer than 30 hours a week) workers on the other.

Between 1976 and 1994, the employment/population ratios for young men in Quebec and Ontario converged. Table 29 shows that, in the age group

¹¹ Although the most recent recession (1991-1992) affected Ontario much more than Quebec.

Table 29. The Employment / Population Ratio, by Age Group and Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1976 and 1994

Year and Province	Age Group			
	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
1976 Quebec Ontario 1994 Quebec Ontario 1976 Quebec Ontario 1994 Quebec Ontario	Males			
	53.5	89.2	79.7	13.5
	60.6	93.1	86.1	17.4
	50.0	79.2	67.2	6.8
	52.7	84.4	72.9	11.6
	Females			
	46.7	44.8	30.8	4.0
	54.1	54.7	43.9	4.7
	46.9	66.5	45.7	2.0
	53.1	71.8	56.1	4.1

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, unpublished data.

15-24, the difference fell from 7.1 percentage points to 2.7 percentage points. For older men, the ratio fell in all age groups in both provinces without converging. Among women under 25 in Quebec and Ontario the gap hardly narrowed, although it did for women aged 25 to 64. In the age group 25-44, the gap decreased from 9.9 percentage points to 5.3 percentage points.

Between 1976 and 1994, the proportion of the employed working full time fell in all age groups and in both sexes in Quebec and Ontario (Table 30). The drop was substantial for those aged 15 to 24, e.g., from 85% to 52% for women in Quebec, and slight in other cases, e.g., from 98% to 95% for Quebec men aged 45 and over. The sharp drop among young people can be attributed to increasing school attendance. There is also the frequently observed pattern that men more often work full time than women. However, there are marked differences between Ontario and Quebec, differences which underwent change between 1976 and 1994. *In 1976, among young adults, employed Quebec men, and even more women, were more likely to work full time than their fellows in Ontario (85% versus 72% in the case of women). The difference was still evident in 1994, although it was smaller.* At ages of 45 or over, in 1976, employed Ontario women worked full time less often than Quebec women (78% versus 85%), while there was little difference for men. By 1994, the differences had become small. Thus, some at least of the greater employment of Ontario women in all age groups was due to part-time employment.

Table 30. Percent of the Employed Who Work Full Time, by Age Group and Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1976 and 1994

Year	Sex and Province			
	Males		Females	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
1976 1994	15-24			
	88.1	79.1	85.1	72.3
	63.0	56.7	52.1	48.4
	25-44			
	99.3	99.2	86.7	81.6
	96.1	96.2	83.2	80.4
1976 1994	45 +			
	97.9	97.2	84.5	77.7
	95.1	94.1	78.7	75.9

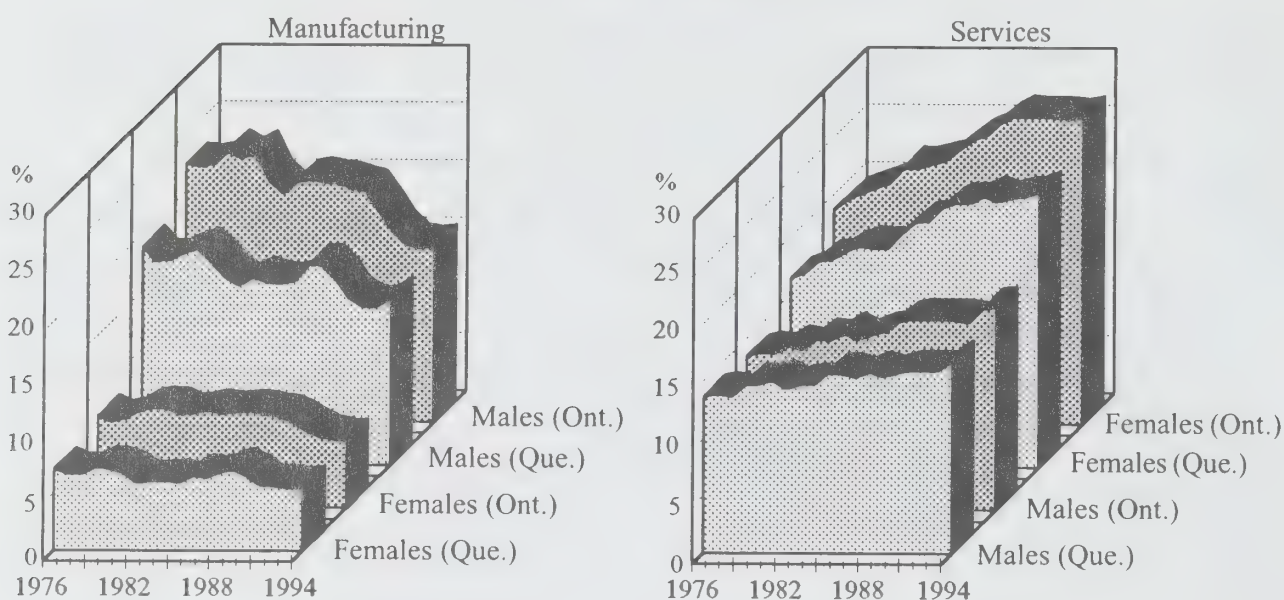
Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, unpublished data.

The industries in which people worked in Quebec and Ontario were about the same in 1976 to 1994. In both provinces there was considerable change over the period, basically toward more employment in the service sector, but the differences between them are minimal (see Figure 12).

A measure may be calculated which illustrates the relative importance of employment in selected industries: the percent of the population of labour-force age employed in the industry. This is shown for men and women in Quebec and Ontario in Figure 12 for the two industries where there is some difference between the provinces over the 1976-1994 period. In both Quebec and Ontario, the proportion in manufacturing employment fell, particularly for men, and the proportion in service industries rose, particularly for women. But, among men, this relative decline in manufacturing employment was more rapid in Ontario, so that the proportion employed in manufacturing converged on the Quebec proportion (the difference between them fell from 3.4 percentage points in 1976 to 0.8 percentage points in 1994). In service industries, on the other hand, there was a slight tendency for the proportion of Ontario men to increase faster than that of Quebec men (the former rose from 13.4% to 17.6%, the latter from 13.6% to 16.7%). Ontario women maintained their lead over Quebec women in the proportion employed in this industry throughout the period.

The employment status of people according to marital and family status has demographic consequences. The Labour Force Survey distinguishes three marital statuses: married, including people in consensual unions, single, and other. It distinguishes five family statuses: heads of family, spouses, single children, other relatives, and unattached individuals. The most significant

Figure 12. Percent of the Population in Labour-Force Ages in Selected Industries by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1994



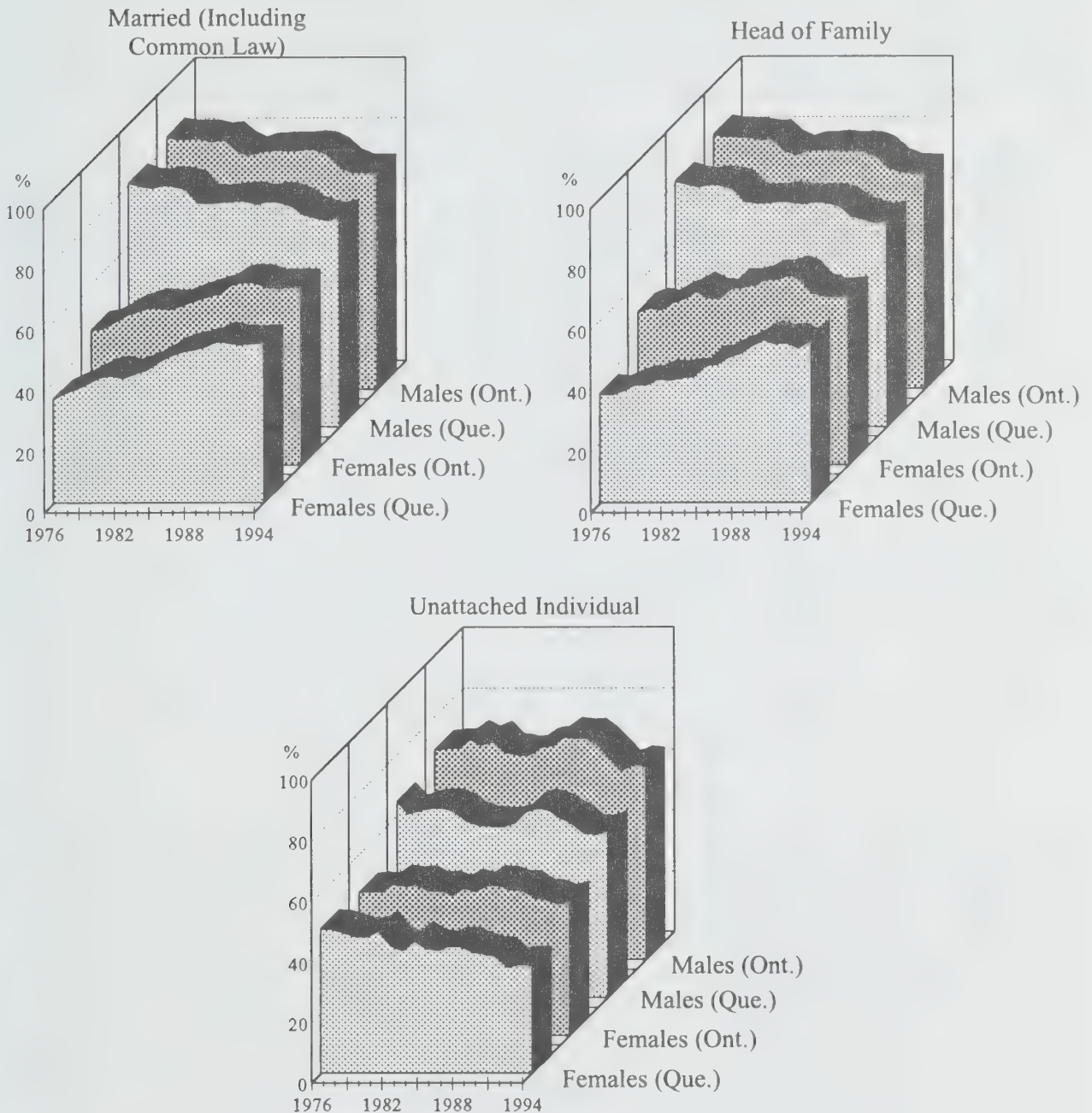
Source: Table A2.4.

data are shown in Figure 13 for the period 1976 to 1994. In each case, the employment/population ratio for Quebec is below that for Ontario. The difference is greater for women than for men among the married and, at least before 1990, heads of families. The discrepancy for men of either status is never as much as 5 percentage points while, with the exception noted, it is never less than 5 percentage points for women. The opposite is true of unattached individuals: with a few exceptions, the difference is greater for men.

The data for unattached women show an anomaly: the employment/population ratio for Quebec women, which was almost equal to that of Ontario women in 1976, 48% compared to 47% for the latter, actually fell subsequently, to 36% by 1994, while that of Ontario women remained almost constant. The opposite tendency was evident for female heads of families: the employment of Quebec women, 14 percentage points below that of Ontario women in 1976, had almost closed the gap by 1994 (53% for Quebec women, 56% for Ontario women).

Employment in Ontario and Quebec shows the marked similarities one would expect in two provinces whose economies are closely related and marked by a high level of industrialization. At the same time, there are distinct differences, of which the most notable are the lower participation in employment of Quebec men and even more of Quebec women, counterbalanced in some degree by more full-time work among those women in Quebec who are employed.

Figure 13. The Employment / Population Ratio of Men and Women for Selected Marital Statuses, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1994



Source: Table A2.5.

Detailed studies would be required to explain these differences, but it is possible to put forward two hypotheses, based on data in Table 31. First, because employment is created by investment, lower employment in Quebec may reflect less investment. In fact, in the period from 1976 to 1994, business and government annual fixed-capital investment in Quebec per person of labour-force age was never more than 96% of that in Ontario, and was sometimes as low as 76%. Second, if employment income in Quebec is lower

Table 31. Investment in Fixed Capital per Person Aged 15 or Over, and Employment Income per Employed Person, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1994

Year	Annual Investment per Person of Labour-Force Age		Annual Employment Income per Employed Person	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
	Current Dollars			
1976	2,236	2,426	12,114	13,423
1977	2,394	2,543	13,252	14,423
1978	2,423	2,643	14,259	15,010
1979	2,645	2,872	15,419	15,959
1980	2,871	3,148	16,961	17,265
1981	3,048	3,738	18,581	18,602
1982	2,849	3,496	20,564	20,701
1983	3,072	3,674	21,223	22,424
1984	3,494	3,985	22,672	23,868
1985	3,868	4,553	23,457	25,100
1986	4,249	5,418	24,555	26,422
1987	5,046	6,368	26,070	28,112
1988	5,478	7,196	27,390	30,060
1989	5,905	7,785	28,758	31,891
1990	5,827	6,856	30,198	32,771
1991	5,272	6,243	31,443	34,591
1992	5,032	5,664	32,686	35,385
1993	4,891	5,210	33,353	35,451
1994	5,110	5,542	33,278	35,921

Note: Fixed-capital investment is government plus business. Employment income is salary plus farm plus unincorporated-business income.

Sources: Statistics Canada, National Accounts and Environment Division, *Provincial Economic Accounts*, Catalogue No. 13-213, 1976-87 for 1976-80, Tables 2 and 16, 1981-94, Tables 2 and 18, Labour Force Survey, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

than in Ontario, one would expect fewer people to be drawn into the workforce. In fact, annual employment income in Quebec per employed person was consistently below that in Ontario, usually by more than \$1,000.

OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSION

Examination of the Ontario and Quebec populations shows that behaviour persists in the main demographic areas, although the trend is to converge. What is most interesting, then, is to trace the development of each of the populations, since they form the cultural foundations of these two societies, which, although they display similarities, are still quite different.

Looking at mortality, it seems clear that, at the turn of the century, Ontario had a head start on Quebec. Male and female life expectancies in Ontario were higher and, more important, infant mortality was lower. In the space of three-quarters of a century, Quebec has made impressive progress, to the point where the differences as the end of the 20th century approaches are minimal and, in some years, Quebec has the better indices of the two.

In the area of fertility, the decline in Quebec, which started from a higher level, was much greater but also more regular from one cohort to another. In Ontario, the post-War baby boom was certainly due to an increase in fertility, at least in part, but this was not the case in Quebec, where the great increase in births was practically all due to the major change in the timing of fertility in cohorts which, one after another, had nevertheless fewer and fewer children.

Quebec women have always included more childless women than in Ontario; however, in the past those women who were fertile had much larger families than their Ontario counterparts. The intensity of fertile behaviour is now in fact reversed. To a greater extent in Quebec than in Ontario, cohorts are not sure of replacing themselves. One perennial factor should be mentioned as a distinctive trait, and this is the fact that both marriage and first child come later in Quebec than in Ontario. This remains true even with the new forms of conjugal and family life: common-law unions and births outside marriage.

For various reasons, most of them economic, Ontario has always attracted many more international immigrants and internal migrants than Quebec, which has traditionally served more or less as a population reservoir from which Ontario drew, and still draws, workers. For immigrants from Europe, Montreal acted as an entry port for industrial Ontario, even before the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. Chronic negative migratory balances, a weak power of attraction and a low capacity of retention give Quebec an image that is almost the negative of that of Ontario. But this situation has had two consequences: the greater uniformity of the Quebec population from the point of view of origins, while Ontario has become more cosmopolitan, and the decrease in Quebec's share of the Canadian population compared to Ontario, since the number of births, which had to some extent offset the important flow of immigrants into Ontario, decreased with the decline in fertility. *Population projections around 1940, which predicted Quebec would be the most populous province by the 1970s, have been replaced in 1995 by new projections suggesting that in 2016 the population of Quebec will represent less than 60% of that of Ontario.*

Population movements in the recent past have been selective in terms of language. In the last few years, many Ontario Francophones have adopted English as their language of communication in the home. French has made

advances in Quebec as the language spoken at home, while English and the number of Anglophones have regressed. These demographic and demolinguistic changes have meant that both provinces are becoming increasingly uniform in terms of spoken language. This in no way contradicts the fact that today each language group is more familiar with the language of the other.

The domestic life of the residents of each province often differ significantly. In their reluctance to adopt less conventional forms of conjugal life and their tendency to follow the classical patterns of family life, people in Ontario appear much more traditional than people in Quebec and more respectful of their formal cultural heritage.

Comparisons between the two populations and their development thus show how they are converging toward similarity in basic demographic behaviour (fertility, mortality, and even nuptiality), a trend which seems destined to continue, along with a more socio-demographic differentiation (ethnic composition, migration flows and perhaps domestic life). It seems quite likely that the demographic differences between the two populations will persist in these areas in the years to come.

Appendices

Table A2.1. The Labour-Force Participation Rate for the Population Aged 15 and Over by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1911-1991

Year	Males		Females	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
1911	87.3	89.6	16.2	17.6
1921	86.9	88.8	18.7	19.1
1931	87.1	86.7	21.9	20.6
1941	85.4	86.4	22.9	22.3
1951	85.0	85.6	25.0	26.5
1961	76.7	80.7	27.9	32.6
1971	70.4	79.8	33.9	43.7
1981	75.8	79.7	47.5	55.2
1991	74.7	77.4	56.0	62.1

Note: Gainfully occupied, 1911-1941, labour force, 1951-1991. 1941 includes persons on active service.

Sources: Statistics Canada, *1971 Census of Canada*, III, Part 1, Table 1; *1981 Census of Canada*, Catalogue No. 92-915, Table 1; *1991 Census of Canada*, Catalogue No. 93-324, Table 1.

Table A2.2. The Labour-Force Status of the Population Aged 14 and Over, by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1953-1975

Year	Labour-Force Status, Sex and Province											
	Employed				Unemployed				Not in the Labour Force			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
	(in thousands)											
1953	1,134	1,452	346	456	50	35	9	5	216	258	1,088	1,320
1954	1,126	1,459	344	485	79	67	12	11	227	265	1,120	1,330
1955	1,146	1,490	347	503	85	55	13	11	236	283	1,148	1,353
1956	1,192	1,543	343	553	70	44	10	7	239	280	1,186	1,346
1957	1,207	1,580	370	582	90	64	11	12	249	294	1,202	1,379
1958	1,184	1,571	397	570	134	103	20	19	269	312	1,209	1,437
1959	1,207	1,603	414	596	121	87	17	16	293	333	1,233	1,457
1960	1,209	1,607	430	642	143	107	22	21	306	345	1,253	1,448
1961	1,210	1,608	442	662	146	109	22	22	341	374	1,284	1,463
1962	1,252	1,641	461	676	121	84	18	21	364	396	1,313	1,486
1963	1,273	1,678	489	704	121	73	21	20	387	406	1,327	1,500
1964	1,318	1,718	510	756	105	62	18	20	402	428	1,354	1,503
1965	1,366	1,768	546	780	90	49	20	18	416	453	1,362	1,543
1966	1,412	1,820	604	830	81	49	19	20	428	474	1,354	1,563
1967	1,444	1,864	636	881	92	65	24	25	438	500	1,370	1,589
1968	1,436	1,910	646	920	118	74	27	31	473	520	1,405	1,626
1969	1,460	1,965	672	972	123	67	35	28	488	550	1,421	1,648
1970	1,467	1,994	678	1,002	140	95	42	39	507	572	1,454	1,692
1971	1,474	2,021	722	1,058	153	117	45	52	520	609	1,447	1,713
1972	1,497	2,100	728	1,119	148	111	53	50	536	613	1,476	1,733
1973	1,566	2,179	787	1,188	135	91	54	50	523	627	1,458	1,740
1974	1,613	2,257	814	1,262	137	95	54	56	519	633	1,484	1,747
1975	1,621	2,268	840	1,313	166	145	74	84	534	659	1,491	1,751

Sources: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey Division, *The Labour Force*, Catalogue No. 71-001, December 1975, Tables 38 and 39, and calculations by the author.

Table A2.3. The Labour-Force Status of the Population Aged 15 and Over, by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1994

Year	Labour-Force Status, Sex and Province											
	Employed				Unemployed				Not in the Labour Force			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
	(in thousands)											
1976	1,650	2,307	903	1,438	146	126	98	122	548	628	1,412	1,600
1977	1,645	2,336	937	1,487	176	148	121	140	556	638	1,393	1,603
1978	1,647	2,396	976	1,567	189	158	134	151	564	629	1,372	1,580
1979	1,697	2,466	1,016	1,670	164	148	126	141	565	625	1,374	1,550
1980	1,715	2,472	1,066	1,732	178	165	128	144	561	655	1,358	1,546
1981	1,708	2,529	1,095	1,809	187	162	140	143	582	644	1,348	1,523
1982	1,605	2,436	1,052	1,807	257	264	170	195	635	692	1,385	1,530
1983	1,617	2,437	1,083	1,841	264	287	177	211	633	728	1,365	1,541
1984	1,659	2,531	1,130	1,912	238	242	173	201	635	743	1,341	1,543
1985	1,692	2,613	1,187	1,995	228	218	162	186	633	749	1,317	1,539
1986	1,724	2,702	1,224	2,069	207	194	159	168	643	751	1,307	1,549
1987	1,755	2,789	1,279	2,162	199	161	151	160	641	767	1,286	1,538
1988	1,805	2,857	1,315	2,279	177	137	148	135	633	790	1,277	1,520
1989	1,814	2,905	1,343	2,336	181	145	143	135	644	796	1,283	1,534
1990	1,796	2,866	1,376	2,360	204	193	155	158	669	852	1,268	1,556
1991	1,730	2,736	1,369	2,307	248	310	174	228	726	934	1,289	1,610
1992	1,709	2,700	1,358	2,300	267	366	184	244	769	994	1,328	1,680
1993	1,704	2,759	1,376	2,330	276	347	190	256	803	1,033	1,343	1,722
1994	1,757	2,800	1,399	2,360	260	309	179	238	796	1,096	1,362	1,785

Note: Because of methodological changes, Labour Force Survey data for 1976 and after are not directly comparable to earlier data.

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, unpublished data.

Table A2.4. Percent of the Population Aged 15 and Over in Selected Industries by Sex, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1994

Year	Industry, Sex and Province											
	Manufacturing				Utilities ¹				Trade			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
1976	18.9	22.3	7.1	7.9	7.7	7.3	1.7	1.8	12.1	11.8	6.0	8.4
1977	17.7	22.2	6.6	7.4	7.2	7.2	1.6	1.8	12.2	11.7	6.3	8.4
1978	17.8	22.4	6.6	7.8	7.9	7.3	1.7	1.9	11.6	12.1	6.3	8.7
1979	18.3	23.5	7.2	8.4	8.4	7.2	1.8	2.1	11.8	11.9	6.7	9.5
1980	18.7	22.8	7.1	8.6	7.9	7.4	1.7	2.1	11.7	11.2	7.1	9.3
1981	17.7	23.4	6.7	8.6	7.6	7.1	1.8	2.2	12.0	11.3	7.1	9.3
1982	16.2	21.0	5.9	8.0	7.2	6.7	1.8	2.2	11.2	11.8	6.7	9.0
1983	15.6	19.8	6.0	8.2	6.8	6.5	1.8	2.2	11.4	11.3	7.0	8.9
1984	16.3	20.9	6.0	8.4	6.6	6.5	1.5	2.2	11.7	11.9	7.4	9.2
1985	15.8	21.1	5.9	8.2	7.0	6.8	1.8	2.1	11.9	12.1	7.6	9.9
1986	15.7	20.8	6.5	8.3	6.6	6.9	2.1	2.3	12.8	12.6	7.5	9.6
1987	16.0	20.8	6.3	8.3	6.9	6.6	2.1	2.3	12.3	12.3	8.0	10.2
1988	17.3	20.3	6.8	8.1	7.1	6.4	1.9	2.6	12.1	12.8	8.0	10.6
1989	17.3	20.0	7.1	8.0	6.7	7.2	2.0	2.8	12.7	12.2	8.2	10.0
1990	16.1	18.3	6.4	7.5	6.5	6.9	2.2	2.4	12.7	12.2	8.2	10.4
1991	14.5	16.6	5.6	6.7	6.1	6.3	2.0	2.4	11.8	11.5	8.5	9.8
1992	13.7	15.4	5.6	6.2	6.3	6.3	2.0	2.2	11.8	11.4	7.8	9.2
1993	13.8	15.1	5.4	6.0	6.2	5.9	2.1	2.3	10.5	11.4	7.5	9.1
1994	14.5	15.3	5.5	5.9	6.1	6.0	1.8	2.4	11.1	11.6	8.0	9.1

¹ Includes transportation and communications.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Table A2.5. The Employment / Population Ratio by Sex and Selected Marital and Family Statuses, Quebec and Ontario, 1976-1994

Year	Marital or Family Status, Sex and Province											
	Married (Including Common Law)				Head of Family				Unattached Individual			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario	Quebec	Ontario
1976	80.5	83.2	34.3	44.5	80.7	83.6	36.2	50.4	64.6	69.1	47.9	47.3
1977	79.4	82.5	36.3	45.2	79.7	82.9	35.6	51.9	60.6	69.5	47.8	47.9
1978	78.8	82.4	37.8	47.2	78.8	82.9	37.2	51.0	61.7	69.7	46.4	47.6
1979	79.8	82.4	39.7	49.4	79.7	82.7	38.9	53.4	62.5	72.5	45.3	50.1
1980	79.3	81.5	41.5	50.6	79.2	81.9	38.9	54.9	62.5	70.6	45.2	49.3
1981	78.2	82.0	42.2	52.0	78.1	82.2	40.9	57.2	61.1	72.1	47.1	49.8
1982	73.9	78.6	41.2	51.7	73.9	78.7	40.4	55.1	58.3	68.4	42.3	47.7
1983	73.6	77.0	42.6	51.5	73.6	77.0	41.2	54.5	57.0	67.7	40.6	48.0
1984	74.1	78.2	44.0	53.0	73.6	78.3	41.5	58.1	56.7	67.3	43.9	46.6
1985	74.5	78.5	46.4	54.2	74.2	78.3	45.1	58.2	56.4	69.8	41.4	48.7
1986	74.5	78.5	48.6	55.4	73.8	78.6	45.6	59.2	57.5	70.7	40.7	47.5
1987	73.5	78.4	49.8	56.4	73.3	78.1	47.9	60.8	61.1	73.3	42.2	49.7
1988	74.4	79.0	50.5	59.3	73.9	78.5	49.1	61.2	62.4	72.8	42.0	49.6
1989	73.9	78.5	51.5	60.1	73.5	77.9	51.6	62.3	61.6	73.1	40.2	48.0
1990	72.7	76.7	53.3	59.9	72.4	76.4	53.6	60.8	59.2	70.5	39.3	48.1
1991	70.0	72.9	52.7	58.6	69.3	72.7	52.2	56.6	57.3	66.3	38.7	45.6
1992	68.8	71.3	52.1	58.2	68.2	71.2	52.8	55.3	54.1	62.4	35.1	45.1
1993	67.8	71.2	52.5	58.6	67.1	70.8	50.9	55.2	53.7	64.2	36.0	43.5
1994	68.8	71.1	52.5	58.2	67.8	70.5	53.4	55.6	55.2	63.5	35.7	44.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, unpublished data.

Table A2.6. Life Expectancy at Birth, Quebec and Ontario, by Sex, 1926-1993

Year	Quebec		Ontario	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1926	53.05	54.45	60.13	62.38
1931	56.17	57.72	61.21	63.81
1936	58.17	60.29	63.00	65.62
1941	60.36	63.17	64.56	68.40
1946	62.97	66.12	66.17	70.18
1951	64.53	68.70	66.85	71.88
1956	66.20	71.07	67.83	73.53
1961	67.36	72.88	68.33	74.45
1966	67.80	73.96	68.68	75.55
1971	68.30	75.24	69.60	76.79
1976	69.04	76.76	70.59	77.85
1981	71.03	78.76	72.25	79.07
1986	72.20	79.69	73.80	80.02
1991	73.77	80.92	75.00	80.94
1992	73.97	80.98	75.14	80.98
1993	74.19	81.12	75.32	81.15

Sources: Statistics Canada, Nagnur, Dhruva, *Longevity and Historical Life Tables 1921-1981*, Catalogue No. 89-506 and, from 1986 to 1993, calculations by the author.

Glossary¹

Census year: A neologism patterned after «fiscal year». In Canada, it refers to the 12-month period between June 1 of one year to May 31 of the following year. It can equally designate the year during which a census is held.

Cohort: A group of individuals or couples who experience the same event during a specified period.

Cohort, fictitious: An artificial cohort created from portions of actual cohorts present at different successive ages in the same year.

Crude rate: Relates certain events to the size of the entire population. For example, the crude birth rate for Canada is the ratio of the number of births in Canada in a year to the size of the Canadian population at mid-year. Crude death rates and crude divorce rates are calculated in the same way.

Current index: An index constructed from measurements of demographic phenomena and based on the events reflecting those phenomena during a given period, usually a year. For example, life expectancy in 1981 is a current index in the sense that it indicates the average number of years a person would live if he or she experienced 1981 conditions throughout his or her life.

Dependency ratio: A ratio that denotes the dependency on the working population of some or all of the non-working population.

Endogamy: Marriage within a specific group.

Endogenous: Influences from inside the system.

Excess mortality: In differential mortality, the excess of one group's mortality rate over another's.

Exogamy: Marriage outside of a specific group.

Fertility: Relates the number of live births to the number of women, couples or, very rarely, men.

Infant mortality: Mortality of children less than a year old.

Intensity : Frequency of occurrence of an event among members of a given cohort.

¹ For further information consult the following: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (1980). **Multilingual Demographic Dictionary**, Ordina Editions, Liège and Van de Walle, Étienne. **The Dictionary of Demography**, ed. Christopher Wilson. Oxford, England, New York, New York, United States of America.

Intercensal: The period between two censuses.

Life expectancy: A statistical measure derived from the life table that indicates the average years of life remaining for a person at a specified age, if the current age-specific mortality rates prevail for the remainder of that person's life.

Life table: A detailed description of the mortality of a population giving the probability of dying and various other statistics at each age.

Natural increase: A change in population size over a given period as a result of the difference between the numbers of births and deaths.

Neonatal mortality: Mortality in the first month after birth (part of infant mortality).

Net migration: Difference between immigration and emigration for a given area and period of time.

Parity: A term used in reference to a woman or a marriage to denote the number of births or deliveries by the woman or in the marriage. A two-parity woman is a woman who has given birth to a second-order child.

Population growth: A change, either positive or negative, in population size over a given period.

Population movement: Gradual change in population status over a given period attributable to the demographic events that occur during the period. Movement here is not a synonym for migration.

Post-neonatal mortality: Mortality between the ages of one month and one year.

Prevalence: Number of cases existing at one point in time.

Probability of dying: Probability of a survivor of exact age x dying before age $x+n$. Its notation is ${}_nq_x$.

Probability of survival: Probability of a survivor of exact age x surviving at least to age $x+n$. Its notation is ${}_np_x$ and it is the complement of the probability of dying ($1-{}_nq_x$).

Proportion ever married: A measure of the prevalence of marriage in a generation or a fictitious cohort. It is usually equivalent to the proportion remaining single at an age such as 50 after which first marriages are rare.

Standardized Rates: Mathematical transformations designed to make it possible to compare different populations with respect to a variable, e.g., fertility or mortality, where the influence of another variable, e.g., age, is held constant.

Structure: Arrangement of a population by different demographic characteristics such as age, sex or marital status.

Tempo: Distribution over time, within the cohort, of the demographic events corresponding to the investigated phenomenon.

Total Fertility Rate, Total Divorce Rate, etc.: A period measure obtained by the summation of the series of age-specific or duration-specific rates. It represents the behaviour of the members of the fictitious cohort.

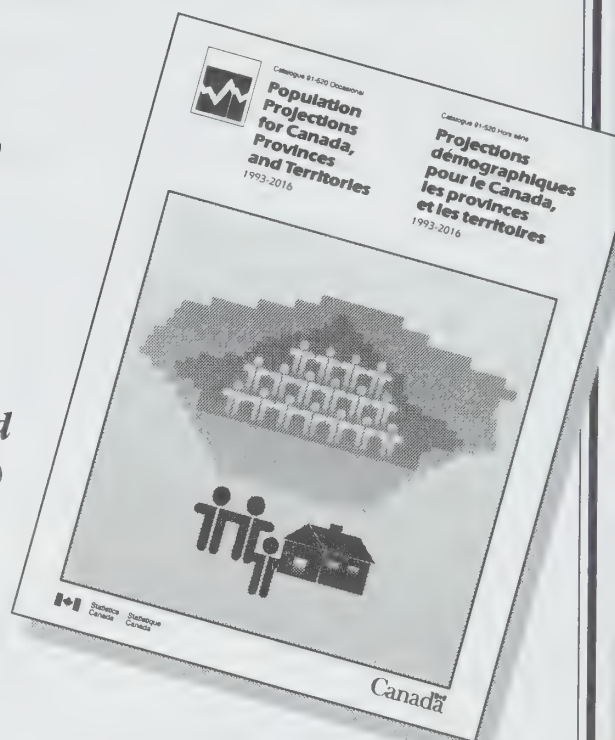
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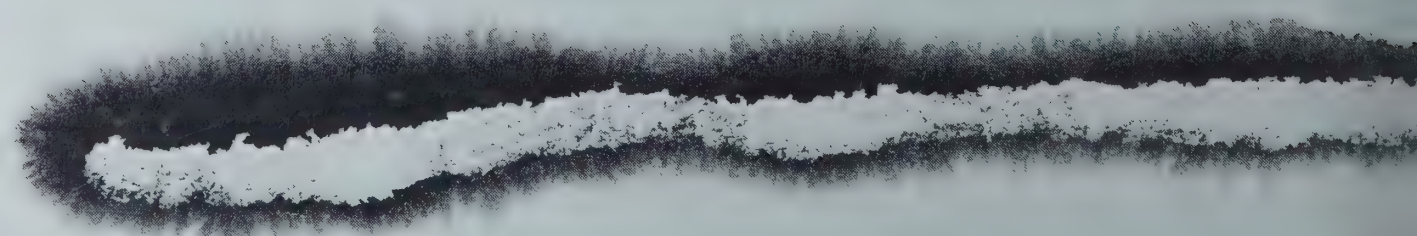
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Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1996

Current Demographic Analysis

Jean Dumas and Alain Bélanger
with the collaboration of **Gordon Smith**

Jean Dumas
Editor

Published by authority of the Minister
responsible for Statistics Canada

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To the Reader

With this issue, the *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada* ceases to be published each fall and will instead be published **during the winter of the following year**. This change has been made because the schedule for the release of vital-statistics data has been advanced, and this short delay consequently permits the reader to benefit from the analysis of data more recent by a year.

The Editor in Chief

Preface

In this annual report, Statistics Canada once again takes stock of the Canadian population using the most recent data. Behaviours which are slowly transforming the size and structure of the population are analysed. Regional differences are examined, and the nation's evolution is compared to that of other major industrialized countries.

Each year, analysts treat in depth a subject which has aroused special interest. This year, they have turned their attention to a phenomenon which has been emerging over the last two decades: the common-law union. They have studied its general evolution, the principal factors associated with its increasing numbers and certain of its consequences, as well as its differing rate of diffusion through Canada's sub-populations. The analysis is based mainly on the results of the General Social Survey carried out by Statistics Canada in 1995.

Ivan P. FELLEGI

Chief Statistician of Canada

Current Demographic Analysis

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Highlights

PART I

- On January 1, 1996, the population of Canada was estimated at 29,819,900, an increase of 1.34% from a year earlier.
- With fewer births and more deaths, the rate of natural increase in Canada has been setting record lows in recent years, and did so again in 1995. In 1975 it was 8.3 per 1,000; in 1995, it was 5.6. Nevertheless, thanks to substantial immigration, total growth attained 13.4 per 1,000, remaining at a level which has varied little over the last 20 years.
- Once again in 1995, Newfoundland was the only one among the provinces and territories to show negative growth (−6.9 per 1,000). Taking into account only the provinces, British Columbia once again had the highest growth with 26.1 per 1,000, well ahead of Ontario (16.3) and Alberta (15.2). Natural increase was lowest in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia (3.3 per 1,000), and Quebec with 4.7 experienced its lowest level of natural increase ever.

XXX

- All European countries have population growth rates markedly below Canada's. That for the European Economic Area (E.E.A.) as a whole was only 2.9 per 1,000, slightly less than the year before.
- Infant mortality continues to fall in Europe. While Canada had the lowest infant mortality rate in the world in 1989, it has now fallen behind all the countries of western Europe with the exception of Greece and Italy. In 1995, Finland held the world record with 3.9 per 1,000 live births. Canada's rate was 6.3.
- Most countries of eastern Europe and the Russian Federation continue to show unimpressive demographic indicators (negative natural increase, low life expectancy, lower total fertility rates than Canada's, high rates of abortion and infant mortality).

XXX

- The total first marriage rate rose in 1994 and 1995, breaking the downward trend which it had shown (with the exception of a brief rise in 1972) since the previous peak in 1967. The slow but steady increase in rates for delayed marriage should result in some recovery over the next few years.
- For Canada as a whole, the divorce rate has been almost unchanged for several years. Regional analysis shows that the probability of getting divorced

has for long been higher in provinces where net migration is normally positive while it is very much lower in the provinces which are losing population. While the probabilities of getting divorced between the ages of 15 and 55 are falling in most provinces, they are rising in Quebec, which is now in first place. In 1980, Quebec was sixth among provinces for its level of divorce.

XXX

- The total fertility rate in 1995 was practically unchanged, like the other demographic indexes. Quebec is no longer distinctive compared to the rest of Canada. For the last three years, Newfoundland has had the lowest rate. In 1995, it was 1.25 children per woman, the lowest ever reached by any province.
- The number of abortions, as reported to Statistics Canada, shows a slight upward trend. The data reveal in particular that the proportion of abortions which are not the first is increasing with time: in 1975, it was 11% while in 1995 it was 34%.

XXX

- Mortality rates continue to decline, although more and more slowly, as shown by estimated life expectancy at birth, whose growth is less each year. At the same time, rates of death from the major causes show obvious improvements. This apparent paradox is explained by the fact that those who benefit from these improvements are mostly older people, whose greater longevity has very little effect on life expectancy at birth.
- The increase in male deaths from AIDS, which has been slowing since 1989, fell to 1% in 1994. However, the increase in female deaths, although small in numbers (49), was larger in percentage terms.

XXX

- Alzheimer's disease is spreading very rapidly. It accounted in 1995 for more deaths than AIDS. While the number of deaths due to Alzheimer's disease among women is double that for men, the difference is due mostly to the larger elderly female population and only slightly to higher rates of the disease among women.

XXX

- Male life expectancy at age 50 increased by 3.28 years between 1971 and 1993, but the increase in mortality due to cancer caused the loss of a quarter of a year. Of the gain of 3.04 years, 85% was due to lower mortality from cardio- and cerebrovascular diseases. The net gain in life expectancy among women of the same age, which was only 2.88 years, would have

equalled that of the men if deaths due to cancer of the respiratory system had not increased as much as they did. This cause alone resulted in the loss of half a year of life.

XXX

- The number of landed immigrants, in slow decline since 1993, continued its fall in 1995. Lower immigration from certain countries accounted for most of this decline; for example, fewer than 3,000 immigrants arrived from Poland, from which around 16,000 immigrants a year were coming toward the end of the 1980s. Also, Hong Kong furnished 9,000 fewer immigrants in 1995 than in the previous year.
- The provinces to which immigrants go have remained the same, mainly Ontario and British Columbia. Once again in 1995, Quebec reduced its arrivals. Differences among those three provinces are most marked in terms of the distribution of arrivals by immigrant class. While this distribution is pretty much proportional for Ontario, which always receives the largest part of the total, considerable differences appear between Quebec and British Columbia. Quebec received 21% of refugees and British Columbia received 7%. On the other hand, Quebec received 11% of business-class immigrants and British Columbia received 38%.

XXX

- Internal migratory movements showed no important deviations from the pattern observed in recent years. Because of uncertainties in the provisional data, the only points highlighted are Alberta's balance, which went from negative to positive, and Ontario's loss of 10,000 persons in its exchanges with British Columbia.

XXX

- Since the beginning of the century, changes in the birth rate, in mortality and in migratory flows have been responsible for swings from aging of the population to rejuvenation and back again in different parts of the country. Aging levels were high in the west from 1921 until the end of World War II, as were generally rates of aging. During this period, the eastern part of the country never experienced any marked change in aging of the population. The baby boom slowed the rate of aging sharply in most provinces and even rejuvenated a few, but population aging resumed after this episode. In the west, rates of aging have not yet returned to pre-War levels, while they have surpassed them in the east.
- What is new is the speed of aging, which is certain to increase in the near future and carry aging to unprecedented levels. Most at risk are the Atlantic provinces.

- By 1921 the Quebec population had not aged much and the baby boom had little effect on it, but since the 1960s aging has speeded up considerably so that, in terms of rate of aging, Quebec is now second only to Saskatchewan.

PART II

- In 1981, only one couple in sixteen was in a common-law union; in 1995, this was true of one couple in seven. While the legally married population still represents 54% of Canada's population aged 15 and over, between 1981 and 1995 the number of Canadians living in a common-law union went from some 700,000 persons to nearly two million.
- Living as a common-law couple has spread more rapidly in Quebec than elsewhere in the country. In 1995, one couple in four in Quebec was living in a common-law union, while this ratio was only one in ten in the rest of Canada. Manitoba and Saskatchewan had the smallest proportion with only one couple in fourteen.
- Young people are more likely to live as a couple without getting married: in Quebec among those under 30, two-thirds of couples are common-law. Between 1990 and 1994, four first unions were entered into in this province as common-law unions compared to only one first marriage. Elsewhere in Canada, first unions were equally divided between common-law unions and marriages.
- In each cohort, the likelihood of being in a common-law union increases with time. For example, in the Quebec group of cohorts born between 1951 and 1955, the proportion in a common-law union increased from 10% in the 1981 census, when they were aged 25 to 29, to 12% in the 1986 census, when they were 30 to 34, to 14% in the 1991 census, when they were 35 to 39, and finally, according to the 1995 General Social Survey, to 18% when they were 40 to 44. In this group of cohorts, the proportion living in a common-law union thus increased by 8 percentage points in less than 15 years.
- More than six million Canadians have lived in at least one common-law union. This is more than a quarter (26%) of the population aged 15 and over.
- Almost half of the 1961-65 Canadian cohort has lived in a common-law union. This proportion reached almost 65% in Quebec and 40% in the rest of the country.
- More than three-quarters of Canadians who have lived in a common-law union have been in only one. About a fifth have lived in two and less than a twentieth in three or more.

- A little over a quarter of common-law unions represented merely a brief stage before the partners married: 11% married in less than a year and 16% in two to three years. But half (51%) of common-law unions were still in existence at the end of three years, and of these almost a third had resulted in children.
- Common-law unions have undergone important changes over time, and people who now choose to live together without getting married show less and less inclination to legalize their union. From the end of the 1970s to the beginning of the 1990s, the proportion of first unions which began as common-law unions and led to marriage in less than three years fell by half, from 38% of all first unions to 18%.
- For an increasing number of Canadians, marriage no longer appears necessary as a prelude to family formation. Over the period 1977-1979, around 20,000 persons a year entered a common-law union and went on to have a child within three years without legalizing their union. At the beginning of the 1990s, more than 52,000 Canadians a year behaved in the same way. The common-law union appears less and less to be a trial marriage and more and more a substitute for marriage.
- At the beginning of the decade, only 12% of common-law unions entered into in Quebec were legalized within three years, while two-thirds were still in existence at the end of three years in their original form.

XXX

- For Canada as a whole, the total fertility rate of married women would be almost twice that of a woman who passed the whole of her fertile period in a common-law union, 2.87 children per woman as opposed to 1.44 for the 1985-1994 period, and 2.52 children per woman rather than 1.20 for the 1975-1984 period.
- There is little difference between the total fertility rates of married women in Quebec and in the rest of the country, but a substantial difference when the rates for women in common-law unions are involved. Over the period 1975-84, common-law unions were 60% more fertile in Quebec than in the rest of Canada (1.51 children per woman compared to 0.93). For the 1985-1994 period, the gap has narrowed but common-law unions are still more fertile in Quebec (1.58 children per woman in Quebec and 1.30 children per woman in the rest of the country).

XXX

- Over the course of some 30 years, the likelihood of entering a first union by a common-law union has increased tenfold while that of doing so by marriage is only a fifth of what it was.

- Women born in the 1970s are one-third more likely than those born in the 1960s to enter a common-law union as their first union but, more strikingly, are less than half as likely to choose marriage as a first union.
- The probability of having a common-law union as a first union can be observed to be inversely related to religious practice, according to the 1995 General Social Survey. Women answering that they had not attended any religious service in the 52 weeks preceding the survey were three times more likely to enter a common-law union as first union compared to those who had attended religious services at least once a week.
- The separation or divorce of parents influences the subsequent conjugal behaviour of their children. Those who experienced the separation of their parents before age 15 show a propensity to enter a common-law union as a first union which is 77% higher than that shown by women who have not experienced such an event as a child.
- Compared to high-school graduates, women who have had at least some university education show a smaller probability of marrying as a first union.

Part I

DEMOGRAPHIC ACCOUNTS

On January 1, 1996, the population of Canada was estimated at 29,819,900. The total increase of 397,600 people during 1995 brought the population very close to the 30-million mark, which was reached during the summer of 1996 (Table 1A). ***Fertility hit an all-time low in 1995***, with 378,000 births for a rate of 12.8 per 1,000. A rapidly aging population continued to boost the death rate, which was up again at 7.1 per 1,000 (Table 1B). ***The result was a very small rate of natural increase, the lowest ever observed (5.7 per 1,000). This is lower than that of the United States (6.6 per 1,000) and much lower than the rate of growth by flow (7.8 per 1,000).*** In other words, immigrants seeking permanent-resident status, temporary immigrants and returning Canadians together played a greater role in population growth in 1995, even after subtracting emigrants, than did the excess of births over deaths. However, the combination of the two factors resulted in growth of 1.34%, higher than in the previous two years. Note that the net rate of international migration, which is the algebraic sum of the immigration and emigration rates, has continued to decline since the high of 1993 and is now 5.6 per 1,000. Without temporary immigrants and returning Canadians, the population would have grown by only 1.13%.

As in 1994, ***Newfoundland was the only province with negative total growth in 1995 (-6.9 per 1,000).*** Growth is also always low in the Atlantic provinces, particularly in New Brunswick, whose growth rate rose slightly to 3.4 per 1,000 in 1995, after declining steadily since 1990. All the components of growth conspire to create this situation in the region: fertility is declining, international migration is negligible, interprovincial migration is generally negative and, since most of those leaving are young people, the birth rate is dropping and the death rate is rising. The logical consequence is slowing growth. The Atlantic provinces had the lowest rates of natural increase in Canada (3.3 per 1,000 in Newfoundland, 4.5 in Prince Edward Island, 3.3 in Nova Scotia and 3.4 in New Brunswick) (Table A1 in the Appendix).

The demographic situation in Manitoba and Saskatchewan is similar. These two agricultural provinces have not been attracting internal or international migrants for many years; in fact, their population has a strong tendency to leave. They differ from the Atlantic provinces in their rate of natural increase, which is higher because of their somewhat higher birth rate.

In the rest of Canada, ***British Columbia was once again first in total growth***, except for the Yukon, where a small population can produce impressive rates with changes in limited numbers, as occurred in 1995 when a change of 1,200 people produced a growth rate of 39.9 per 1,000. Natural increase in British Columbia was the second lowest in the west (5.4 per 1,000) because of a birth rate that was significantly lower than the other provinces in that region; however, growth through net migration was once again the highest of

Table 1A. Statement of Population Change, Canada, 1973-1996

Year	Population as of January 1	Total Growth	Births	Deaths	Natural Increase (4) = (2) - (3)	Inter-national Immigrants ¹	Returning Canadians	Inter-national Emigrants ²	Net			Residual ⁴
									Statistical International Migration ³	Non-permanent Residents	Growth by Flow (10) = (6) + (9) + (8)	
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4) = (2) - (3)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8) = (5) - (7)	(9)	(6) + (9) + (8)	
(in thousands)												
1973	22,414.5	303.7	343.4	164.0	179.3	184.2	37.8	78.5	105.7	7.9	151.4	-27.1
1974	22,718.2	326.3	345.6	166.8	178.9	218.5	36.0	78.0	140.4	-2.0	174.5	-27.1
1975	23,044.4	326.6	359.3	167.2	192.1	187.9	36.4	70.7	117.2	7.9	161.5	-27.1
1976	23,371.0	289.7	360.0	167.0	193.0	149.4	36.1	64.4	85.1	-3.0	118.2	-21.5
1977	23,660.7	261.0	362.2	167.5	194.7	114.9	32.3	61.4	53.5	-2.0	83.8	-17.5
1978	23,921.7	224.4	358.4	168.2	190.2	86.3	31.8	63.5	22.8	-3.0	51.7	-17.5
1979	24,146.1	275.9	366.1	168.2	197.9	112.1	30.3	54.7	57.3	7.9	95.5	-17.5
1980	24,422.1	322.1	370.7	171.5	199.2	143.1	27.6	45.2	97.9	14.9	140.4	-17.5
1981	24,744.2	317.7	371.3	171.0	200.3	128.6	25.4	50.1	78.6	30.3	134.3	-16.9
1982	25,061.8	268.5	373.1	174.4	198.7	121.1	28.3	59.4	61.7	-3.7	86.4	-16.6
1983	25,330.3	244.4	373.7	174.5	199.2	89.2	26.8	58.6	30.6	4.4	61.7	-16.6
1984	25,574.7	243.6	377.0	175.7	201.3	88.2	26.2	55.2	33.0	-0.3	58.8	-16.6
1985	25,818.3	246.3	375.7	181.3	194.4	84.3	27.3	54.2	30.1	11.0	68.4	-16.6
1986	26,064.5	297.1	372.9	184.2	188.7	99.2	25.4	49.1	50.1	46.5	122.1	-13.6
1987	26,361.7	346.1	369.7	185.0	184.8	152.1	24.2	44.3	107.8	40.9	172.9	-11.5
1988	26,707.8	428.9	376.8	190.0	186.8	161.9	21.5	38.7	123.2	108.9	253.6	-11.5
1989	27,136.7	429.9	392.7	191.0	201.7	192.0	21.1	40.7	151.3	67.4	239.7	-11.5
1990	27,566.6	385.1	405.5	192.0	213.5	214.2	19.4	39.6	174.6	-11.0	183.1	-11.5
1991	27,951.6	366.0	402.5	195.6	207.0	230.8	22.7	48.0	182.8	-41.6	163.9	-4.8
1992 (PD)	28,317.7	423.0	398.6	196.5	202.1	252.8	22.9	44.6	208.3	-10.2	220.9	...
1993 (PR)	28,740.7	367.2	388.4	204.9	183.5	255.7	22.3	44.5	211.3	-49.9	183.8	...
1994 (PR)	29,107.9	314.4	385.1	207.1	178.0	223.9	22.6	45.4	178.6	-64.6	136.5	...
1995 (PR)	29,422.4	397.6	378.0	210.5	167.5	212.2	22.4	46.4	165.7	42.0	230.2	...
1996 (PR)	29,819.9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

See notes at the end of Table 1B.

Table 1B. Main Rates of the Demographic Accounts, Canada, 1973-1996

Year	Population as of January 1 (in thousands)	Total Growth Rate	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Rate of Natural Increase	Net Rate of International Migration ^{1, 2}	Rate of Growth by Flow ⁵
		(per 1,000)					
1973	22,414.5	13.46	15.22	7.27	7.95	4.68	5.51
1974	22,718.2	14.26	15.11	7.29	7.82	6.14	6.44
1975	23,044.4	14.07	15.48	7.20	8.28	5.05	5.79
1976	23,371.0	12.32	15.31	7.10	8.21	3.62	4.11
1977	23,660.7	10.97	15.22	7.04	8.18	2.25	2.79
1978	23,921.7	9.34	14.91	7.00	7.92	0.95	1.42
1979	24,146.1	11.36	15.07	6.93	8.15	2.36	3.21
1980	24,422.1	13.10	15.08	6.98	8.10	3.98	5.00
1981	24,744.2	12.76	14.91	6.87	8.04	3.15	4.71
1982	25,061.8	10.66	14.81	6.92	7.88	2.45	2.77
1983	25,330.3	9.60	14.68	6.86	7.83	1.20	1.77
1984	25,574.7	9.48	14.67	6.84	7.83	1.28	1.65
1985	25,818.3	9.49	14.48	6.99	7.49	1.16	2.00
1986	26,064.5	11.34	14.23	7.03	7.20	1.91	4.14
1987	26,361.7	13.05	13.93	6.97	6.96	4.06	6.08
1988	26,707.8	15.93	14.00	7.06	6.94	4.58	8.99
1989	27,136.7	15.72	14.36	6.98	7.37	5.53	8.34
1990	27,566.6	13.87	14.61	6.92	7.69	6.29	6.18
1991	27,951.6	13.01	14.31	6.95	7.36	6.50	5.65
1992 (PD)	28,317.7	14.83	13.97	6.89	7.08	7.30	7.74
1993 (PR)	28,740.7	12.70	13.43	7.08	6.34	7.30	6.35
1994 (PR)	29,107.9	10.74	13.16	7.08	6.08	6.10	4.66
1995 (PR)	29,422.4	13.42	12.76	7.11	5.65	5.60	7.77
1996 (PR)	29,819.9	...	...	...	...	...	...

¹ Based on Employment and Immigration Canada and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

² Estimated using Family Allowance and Income Tax files.

³ Emigrants subtracted from immigrants. It is statistical because landed immigrants in one year could have been in the country a year earlier or more, when they were counted in the non-permanent residents category.

⁴ The residual consists of the distribution over five years of the error of closure at the end of the census period, which is equal to the difference between the census count predicted by the components method and the actual count corrected for net undercoverage. This "error" combines errors on the components, on the net undercoverage of the censuses and differences between concepts used by the Census and administrative files.

⁵ Takes into account non-permanent residents, returning Canadians and the residual.

(PD) Final postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.

(PR) Revised postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.

Note: All other data are from final intercensal estimates. Calculations were carried out on unrounded numbers.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, catalogue no. 84-210, *Deaths*, catalogue no. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

any province (20.6 per 1,000). Ontario's growth rate in 1995 contrasts with the rates of the previous two years because of net total international migration, which is on the rise again after four slow years. With a rate of 16.3 per 1,000, Ontario was in second place, followed by Alberta. Ontario traditionally exchanges population with British Columbia. International immigration was down slightly in British Columbia this year, and the rate of natural increase was, as noted, particularly low, 5.4 per 1,000—the lowest in recent decades.

The growth rate in Quebec was about half the Canadian rate, thereby contributing to the decline in the national average. As always, growth in Quebec was due mainly (63%) to natural increase, which has been falling since 1990 as it has been across the country. The Quebec rate of 4.7 per 1,000 was the lowest ever recorded by the province. Moreover, the birth rate has never been as low (11.9 per 1,000), nor has the death rate been as high (7.2 per 1,000) at least since the mid-1950s (Summary Table).

In summary, there were no truly unexpected changes in 1995. The east grew more slowly and the west more quickly, particularly British Columbia. *And British Columbia was no longer, as it used to be, the province with the oldest population: Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Prince Edward Island have for some years now had larger proportions aged 65 and over, and Nova Scotia equals it.*

For several years now, Statistics Canada has produced estimates of the stock of non-permanent residents, given that they have rights during their stay in Canada. The annual change in the number of non-permanent residents, calculated by subtracting the number of refugee claimants and persons with valid work or student visas, as well as their dependants, on January 1 of a given year from the number on January 1 in the following year, is used when net migration is calculated in order to improve estimates of the total resident population.

CANADA AND THE WORLD

Europe

Since there were no changes in the map of western Europe in 1995, it is easy to compare one year to the next. Overall, population growth in the 15 countries was down slightly in 1995 at 1,086,700, compared to 1,115,000 in 1994. This figure includes natural increase and net migration. The low increase had an effect on the growth rate, which dropped from 3.1 to 2.9 per 1,000. Most countries contributed to the phenomenon; Italy and Portugal played a notable role, but were surpassed by Sweden, where the rate fell from 8.1 per 1,000 to 2.4, and, to a lesser extent, Austria (3.1 per 1,000 to 1.9). Nevertheless, the rate increased in five countries, in particular Denmark, up from 3.7 per 1,000 to 6.8, and Germany, up from 2.5 per 1,000 to 3.8 (Table 2).

In western Europe as a whole (E.C.), the reduced growth from 1994 to 1995 is due to a drop in natural increase that was not offset by net migration. Natural increase was down by 79,300 and net migration was up only 21,500 from the previous year.

With the exception of France, natural increase declined in all countries, with some countries meriting particular mention. In Italy, there were 20,700 more deaths than births in 1994, and 32,100 more in 1995. In Spain, where there had been positive growth of 29,300 in 1994, the figure was down to 13,200 in 1995. In almost all countries except Germany, the number of deaths was up, while the number of births was either the same or lower. France is the only country where births were up noticeably (an increase of about 18,000 over the 711,000 of the previous year).

As noted above, net migration in western Europe as a whole was up only slightly (by 2.8%) from 1994, but in a few countries the change from one year to the next was significant. Belgium went from a positive balance of 18,400 to only 2,800. In Italy, where there was positive migration of 150,800, the figure dropped to 94,000, and Sweden went from 50,900 to 11,700. In Germany, on the other hand, net migration increased by 106,300. The "closed door" policies that had been promised are clearly being implemented. For now, an effect of uninspiring economic conditions is an increase in unemployment, which is slowing immigration across the board. And yet, just a few years ago, people were still predicting that the aging of the population would lead to a call for labour from the neighbouring developing countries and so somewhat relieve the South-North pressures in that part of the world.

The current low birth rate in Europe is generally due to low fertility, combined with the fact that the aging of the population is reducing the number of women of childbearing age. Note that in northern Europe, total fertility rates are still higher than the European average (Denmark, 1.80, Norway, 1.87, Finland, 1.81). These are the countries that had been expected to have continuing very low fertility, based on the low rates at the time this incorrect assumption was made. There can be no denying the surprise at the low rates in the Mediterranean countries (Italy and Spain, about 1.18, Greece and Portugal, about 1.41), which had previously been expected to have high fertility. It is likely that rates will rise again in the future, as they have in northern Europe, as younger cohorts, previously in no rush to procreate, reach the age at which they decide to have children. It bears remembering that, while changes in the childbearing tempo of successive cohorts do not explain all the changes in fertility rates over time, they have had a considerable effect. Note the situation in France, in particular, where rates, without fluctuating greatly, have been dropping for a very long time. With a total fertility rate of 1.70, it is nevertheless above the European average of 1.43.

**Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada,
Provinces and Territories, 1976-1995**

	Year	New- foundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario
Birth Rate (per 1,000)	1976	19.8	16.3	15.3	17.1	15.0	14.6
	1981	17.6	15.3	14.1	14.8	14.5	13.8
	1986	14.0	15.0	13.9	13.5	12.6	14.1
	1991	12.4	14.4	13.1	12.7	13.7	14.5
	1992	11.9	14.0	12.8	12.5	13.4	14.2
	1993	11.0	13.2	12.4	12.0	12.8	13.7
	1994	10.9	12.8	11.9	11.8	12.4	13.4
	1995	10.2	12.9	11.4	11.3	11.9	13.2
Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1976	5.9	9.2	8.3	7.5	6.7	7.2
	1981	5.6	8.0	8.1	7.3	6.5	7.1
	1986	6.1	8.7	8.1	7.5	7.0	7.2
	1991	6.5	9.1	7.9	7.3	6.9	7.0
	1992	6.5	8.5	8.2	7.5	6.8	6.9
	1993	6.7	8.6	8.1	7.7	7.1	7.0
	1994	7.0	8.3	8.3	7.8	7.0	7.1
	1995	6.8	8.4	8.2	7.8	7.2	7.1
Total Fertility Rate (number of children per woman aged 15-49)	1976	..	2.12	1.85	2.01	1.67	1.71
	1981	..	1.87	1.62	1.67	1.57	1.57
	1986	..	1.78	1.58	1.53	1.37	1.60
	1991	1.44	1.85	1.58	1.54	1.65	1.66
	1993	1.31	1.72	1.56	1.50	1.61	1.64
	1994	1.32	1.68	1.53	1.51	1.61	1.65
	1995 (P)	1.25	1.72	1.50	1.46	1.58	1.65
Total First Marriage Rate (per 1,000) (males aged 17-49, females aged 15-49)	1976 M	751	877	740	766	631	752
	F	719	826	734	756	636	742
	1981 M	648	697	682	655	542	687
	F	627	665	669	645	557	680
	1986 M	584	704	590	594	426	616
	F	576	737	628	622	439	653
	1991 M	597	717	568	574	377	606
	F	611	724	600	599	425	646
	1992 M	554	689	551	551	333	585
	F	573	702	582	580	376	628
	1993 M	532	703	533	527	323	553
	F	554	714	566	554	364	595
	1994 M	568	653	541	538	333	560
	F	597	688	574	555	373	598
Rate of Natural Increase (per 1,000)	1976	13.9	7.1	7.0	9.6	8.3	7.4
	1981	12.0	7.3	6.0	7.6	8.0	6.7
	1986	7.9	6.3	5.7	6.0	5.6	7.0
	1991 (PD)	5.8	5.3	5.2	5.4	6.8	7.5
	1992 (PD)	5.4	5.6	4.7	5.0	6.6	7.3
	1993 (PR)	4.3	4.6	4.3	4.3	5.6	6.7
	1994 (PR)	3.9	4.5	3.6	4.0	5.4	6.4
	1995 (PR)	3.3	4.5	3.3	3.4	4.7	6.1
Total Growth Rate (per 1,000)	1976	7.0	9.3	6.9	11.8	8.1	10.9
	1981	-1.1	2.0	4.1	0.2	6.5	10.9
	1986	-3.0	1.2	4.9	1.8	8.9	18.4
	1991 (PD)	4.2	1.2	6.7	5.9	10.0	14.1
	1992 (PD)	3.8	10.2	7.4	4.4	11.2	16.5
	1993 (PR)	-1.6	10.4	4.9	3.8	9.8	13.7
	1994 (PR)	-7.1	10.0	3.3	3.1	6.1	12.1
	1995 (PR)	-6.9	10.2	5.8	3.4	7.5	16.3

See notes at the end of this table.

**Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada,
Provinces and Territories, 1976-1995 - Continued**

	Year	Manitoba	Saskatch- ewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon	Northwest Territories	Canada
Birth Rate (per 1,000)	1976	16.2	17.1	17.6	14.1	19.9	26.6	15.3
	1981	15.5	17.6	18.5	14.6	21.8	27.3	14.9
	1986	15.6	17.0	18.0	13.9	19.3	27.3	14.2
	1991	15.5	15.2	16.4	13.5	19.6	26.8	14.3
	1992	14.9	14.9	15.9	13.3	17.8	24.9	14.0
	1993	14.9	14.1	15.0	12.9	17.0	24.5	13.4
	1994	14.6	13.9	14.6	12.8	14.9	24.4	13.2
	1995	14.2	13.3	14.1	12.4	15.4	24.5	12.8
Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1976	8.0	8.4	6.2	7.4	5.5	4.8	7.1
	1981	8.3	7.7	5.6	7.0	5.7	4.1	6.9
	1986	8.1	7.8	5.6	7.0	4.5	4.3	7.0
	1991	8.0	8.1	5.6	7.1	3.9	3.9	7.0
	1992	8.0	7.7	5.5	7.1	3.9	4.1	6.9
	1993	8.3	8.1	5.7	7.2	4.1	4.1	7.1
	1994	8.1	8.2	5.7	7.1	4.2	3.7	7.1
	1995	8.5	8.4	5.8	7.0	5.2	3.5	7.1
Total Fertility Rate (number of children per woman aged 15-49)	1976	1.98	2.25	1.98	1.64	1.94	3.00	1.76
	1981	1.82	2.11	1.86	1.63	2.06	2.83	1.65
	1986	1.83	2.02	1.85	1.61	1.92	2.81	1.60
	1991	1.97	2.03	1.88	1.67	2.13	2.85	1.70
	1993	1.94	1.96	1.79	1.61	1.90	2.66	1.66
	1994	1.94	1.96	1.80	1.62	1.73	2.72	1.66
	1995 (P)	1.92	1.90	1.77	1.60	1.84	2.78	1.64
Total First Marriage Rate (per 1,000) (males aged 17-49, females aged 15-49)	1976 M	764	811	761	699	593	476	716
	F	745	784	765	706	630	556	712
	1981 M	719	706	639	677	685	450	640
	F	709	694	684	689	710	469	647
	1986 M	611	582	561	575	473	342	552
	F	657	623	612	616	564	393	585
	1991 M	592	613	590	599	465	285	543
	F	647	651	635	651	514	308	588
	1992 M	601	609	588	605	532	272	523
	F	647	639	631	646	559	294	566
	1993 M	581	611	583	575	408	279	503
	F	627	641	621	612	469	308	544
	1994 M	583	632	598	575	452	302	512
	F	626	657	642	617	469	334	552
	1976	8.2	8.7	11.4	6.7	14.4	21.9	8.2
	1981	7.1	9.9	12.9	7.6	16.0	23.2	8.0
Rate of Natural Increase (per 1,000)	1986	7.4	9.2	12.4	6.9	14.8	23.0	7.2
	1991 (PD)	7.5	7.2	10.9	6.4	15.7	22.9	7.4
	1992 (PD)	6.8	7.2	10.3	6.2	13.8	20.8	7.1
	1993 (PR)	6.6	6.0	9.3	5.7	12.9	20.4	6.3
	1994 (PR)	6.5	5.7	8.9	5.7	10.7	20.7	6.1
	1995 (PR)	5.7	4.9	8.4	5.4	10.3	21.1	5.7
Total Growth Rate (per 1,000)	1976	6.1	13.9	39.3	12.6	12.7	13.1	12.3
	1981	7.5	11.5	39.1	23.0	-21.8	37.5	12.8
	1986	6.4	2.7	6.0	11.2	31.3	-1.8	11.3
	1991 (PD)	4.5	-1.0	16.9	24.8	39.1	29.1	13.0
	1992 (PD)	5.3	2.8	16.2	28.8	18.1	17.2	14.8
	1993 (PR)	5.4	3.0	12.6	27.0	-14.4	20.1	12.7
	1994 (PR)	5.0	3.1	11.1	25.6	7.2	17.6	10.7
	1995 (PR)	7.0	5.6	15.2	26.1	39.9	10.9	13.4

See notes at the end of this table.

**Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada,
Provinces and Territories, 1976-1995 - Continued**

	Year	New- foundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario
Population Aged 65 + as a Percentage of the Total Population on July 1	1976	6.5	11.2	9.7	8.9	7.6	8.8
	1981	7.6	12.1	10.9	10.0	8.7	9.9
	1986	8.7	12.6	11.8	11.0	9.8	10.7
	1991 (PD)	9.6	13.1	12.4	11.9	11.0	11.5
	1992 (PD)	9.7	13.1	12.5	12.1	11.2	11.6
	1993 (PR)	9.9	13.1	12.6	12.2	11.4	11.8
	1994 (PR)	10.1	13.0	12.7	12.3	11.7	12.0
	1995 (PR)	10.3	12.9	12.7	12.5	11.9	12.1
Total Age Dependency Ratio (in %) ¹	1976	88.6	85.1	75.1	77.7	62.9	65.6
	1981	77.9	75.8	66.9	69.3	55.8	58.7
	1986	67.9	68.4	60.9	62.2	52.0	54.9
	1991 (PD)	59.6	67.1	58.9	59.6	53.4	55.5
	1992 (PD)	58.0	66.4	58.6	58.8	53.8	55.7
	1993 (PR)	56.4	65.4	58.0	58.0	53.9	55.9
	1994 (PR)	55.0	64.7	57.6	57.3	54.1	56.3
	1995 (PR)	54.1	63.6	57.2	56.7	54.1	56.6
Life Expectancy at Birth (in years)	1986 M	72.9	72.8	72.5	72.7	72.2	73.8
	F	79.2	... ²	79.5	80.1	79.7	80.0
	1991 M	73.7	73.2	73.7	74.2	73.8	75.0
	F	79.5	... ²	80.3	80.9	80.9	80.9
	1993 M	74.0	74.4	74.1	74.5	74.3	75.3
	F	80.0	... ²	80.5	80.7	81.2	81.1
	1994 M (P)	73.9	... ²	74.3	74.7	74.4	75.5
	F (P)	80.0	... ²	80.5	80.7	81.2	81.1
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1976	14.6	14.4	13.8	13.2	13.5	12.3
	1981	9.7	13.2	11.5	10.9	8.5	8.8
	1986	8.0	6.7	8.4	8.3	7.1	7.2
	1991	7.8	6.9	5.7	6.1	5.9	6.3
	1992	7.1	1.6	6.0	6.3	5.4	5.9
	1993	7.8	9.1	7.1	7.2	5.7	6.2
	1994	8.2	6.4	6.0	5.3	5.7	6.0
Rate of Pregnancies Terminated (per 1,000 women aged 15-44) ³	1976	3.3	2.2	6.7	2.5	4.6	13.8
	1981	2.6	0.2	8.4	2.6	5.5	14.3
	1986	1.9	..	8.1	1.9	7.4	11.7
	1991	2.9	..	8.2	3.2	8.7	12.4
	1992	3.0	..	8.6	3.5	9.4	11.9
	1993	3.2	..	8.9	3.5	9.9	11.9
	1994	3.2	..	8.5	3.3	10.3	11.6

See notes at the end of this table.

**Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada,
Provinces and Territories, 1976-1995 - Concluded**

	Year	Manitoba	Saskatch- ewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon	Northwest Territories	Canada
Population Aged 65 + as a Percentage of the Total Population on July 1	1976	10.4	11.0	7.4	9.7	2.9	2.7	8.6
	1981	11.8	11.9	7.2	10.6	3.2	3.0	9.6
	1986	12.4	12.6	7.9	11.9	3.7	3.0	10.5
	1991 (PD)	13.3	14.0	8.9	12.6	3.9	2.7	11.4
	1992 (PD)	13.4	14.2	9.1	12.7	3.9	2.7	11.6
	1993 (PR)	13.4	14.3	9.3	12.7	4.1	2.7	11.7
	1994 (PR)	13.5	14.4	9.5	12.7	4.4	2.8	11.9
	1995 (PR)	13.6	14.5	9.7	12.7	4.6	2.9	12.0
Total Age Dependency Ratio (in %) ¹	1976	72.7	79.3	69.1	65.0	60.5	86.9	67.2
	1981	67.6	73.1	57.3	58.4	53.3	77.4	59.7
	1986	63.8	70.5	56.0	57.2	50.0	68.4	56.1
	1991 (PD)	65.3	73.5	57.7	57.6	47.6	66.7	56.7
	1992 (PD)	65.3	73.5	57.9	57.3	48.3	67.4	56.8
	1993 (PR)	65.0	73.3	57.9	56.9	47.8	67.1	56.8
	1994 (PR)	64.9	73.2	57.9	56.7	48.6	66.9	56.9
	1995 (PR)	64.9	73.0	57.8	56.4	48.9	66.5	56.9
Life Expectancy at Birth (in years)	1986 M	73.3	73.8	73.7	74.4	...	...	73.3
	F	80.0	80.5	80.2	80.8	...	...	80.0
	1991 M	74.6	75.3	75.1	75.2	...	...	74.6
	F	80.7	81.5	81.2	81.4	...	...	81.0
	1993 M	74.7	75.5	75.5	75.5	...	...	75.0
	F	80.9	81.8	81.4	81.5	...	...	81.2
	1994 M (P)	74.9	75.3	75.6	75.8	...	...	75.1
	F (P)	80.9	81.8	81.4	81.5	...	...	81.2
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1976	15.6	14.3	14.2	13.8	22.3	34.7	13.5
	1981	11.9	11.8	10.6	10.2	14.9	21.5	9.6
	1986	9.2	9.0	9.0	8.5	24.8	18.6	7.9
	1991	6.4	8.2	6.7	6.5	10.6	12.2	6.4
	1992	6.8	7.3	7.2	6.2	3.8	16.7	6.1
	1993	7.1	8.1	6.7	5.7	7.9	9.6	6.3
	1994	7.0	8.9	7.4	6.3	2.3	14.6	6.3
Rate of Pregnancies Terminated (per 1,000 women aged 15-44) ³	1976	6.2	5.5	11.6	18.5	13.3	5.9	10.0
	1981	6.8	7.6	11.5	18.7	16.9	11.9	10.8
	1986	10.6	4.1	10.1	15.8	16.3	13.0	9.9
	1991	10.3	5.6	9.9	13.6	19.8	18.6	10.4
	1992	10.4	6.4	9.5	13.0	20.5	16.9	10.4
	1993	10.7	7.3	9.8	13.0	21.1	15.1	10.6
	1994	11.6	7.9	10.3	11.5	18.6	14.7	10.5

¹ Ratio between population aged 0-17, 65+ and 18-64.

² Because of an absence of deaths in certain age groups, the mortality table could not be calculated.

³ Practiced in hospitals in Canada.

(P) Preliminary.

(PD) Final postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.

(PR) Revised postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.

(PP) Preliminary postcensal data based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, catalogue no. 84-210, *Deaths*, catalogue no. 84-211, *Marriages*, catalogue no. 84-212, *Therapeutic Abortions*, catalogue no. 82-219, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 2. Numbers and Main Demographic Indicators for the Industrialized Countries, 1994 and 1995

Country	Population as of January 1			Births		Deaths		Natural Increase		Net Migration	
	1994	1995	1996	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995
	In Thousands										
Belgium	10,101.0	10,130.6	10,143.0	116.4	115.6	104.9	105.9	11.5	9.7	18.4	2.8
Denmark	5,196.6	5,215.7	5,251.0	69.7	69.8	61.1	63.2	8.6	6.6	10.6	28.7
Germany	81,352.6	81,538.6	81,845.0	769.6	759.5	884.7	875.1	-115.1	-115.6	315.6	421.9
Greece	10,390.0	10,442.9	10,474.6	103.8	104.0	97.8	98.5	6.0	5.5	27.3	26.2
Spain	39,168.2	39,177.4	39,241.9	365.1	357.2	335.8	344.0	29.3	13.2	26.6	51.3
France	57,800.1	58,020.4	58,265.4	710.9	729.0	519.6	529.0	191.3	200.0	50.0	45.0
Ireland	3,571.0	3,579.6	3,591.2	47.9	48.5	30.8	31.5	17.1	17.0	-6.5	-5.4
Italy ³	57,153.7	57,268.6	57,330.5	527.4	514.9	548.1	547.0	-20.7	-32.1	150.8	94.0
Luxembourg	400.9	406.6	412.8	5.5	5.4	3.8	3.8	1.7	1.6	4.0	4.6
Netherlands ⁴	15,341.3	15,424.1	15,492.8	195.6	189.4	133.5	136.2	62.1	53.2	20.4	15.5
Austria	8,005.9	8,039.9	8,054.8	92.4	88.7	80.7	81.2	11.7	7.5	13.1	7.4
Portugal	9,868.0	9,912.1	9,920.8	109.3	109.0	99.6	99.2	9.7	9.8	10.3	-1.2
Finland	5,077.9	5,098.8	5,116.8	65.2	63.1	48.0	49.3	17.2	13.8	3.6	4.3
Sweden	8,745.1	8,816.4	8,837.5	112.3	103.3	91.8	93.9	20.5	9.4	50.9	11.7
United Kingdom	58,276.0	58,491.6	58,671.9	750.7	732.1	632.3	641.7	118.4	90.4	80.2	90.0
EC members	370,448.3	371,563.3	372,650.0	4,041.8	3,989.5	3,672.5	3,699.5	369.3	290.0	775.3	796.8
Iceland	..	267.0	268.0	4.4	4.3	1.7	1.9	2.7	2.4	-0.8	-1.4
Norway	4,324.8	4,348.4	4,370.0	60.1	60.3	44.1	45.3	16.0	15.0	7.6	6.6
Switzerland ¹	6,968.6	7,019.0	7,060.4	83.0	82.5	62.0	63.4	21.0	19.1	29.5	22.3
Leichtenstein	30.5	30.6	31.0	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
EFTA ¹	..	11,665.0	11,729.4	147.9	147.5	108.0	110.8	39.9	36.7	36.5	27.7
EEA ¹	..	383,228.3	384,379.4	4,189.7	4,137.0	3,780.5	3,810.3	409.2	326.7	811.8	824.5
Canada	29,107.9	29,422.4	29,819.9	385.1	378.0	207.1	210.5	178.0	167.5	171.9	163.0
United States	259,681.0	261,638.0	264,023.0	3,952.8	3,900.1	2,279.0	2,312.2	1,673.8	1,587.9	736.0	731.0
Mexico	89,209.8	90,812.7 ⁶	92,399.5	2,306.1	2,296.2	417.9	419.8	1,888.2	1,876.4	-285.3	-289.6
North America	377,998.7	381,873.1	386,242.4	6,644.0	6,574.3	2,904.0	2,942.5	3,740.0	3,631.8	..	..
Australia	17,746.6	17,932.1	18,168.6	258.1	256.2	126.7	125.1	131.4	131.1	76.0	105.8
New Zealand	3,524.8	3,577.2	3,643.2	57.4	57.8	27.1	28.0	30.3	29.8	22.0 ⁷	28.5
Japan	124,683.6	125,000.0	125,500.0	1,238.3	1,187.1	875.9	922.1	362.4	265.0	11.6	-11.6 ⁷

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 2. Numbers and Main Demographic Indicators for the Industrialized Countries, 1994 and 1995 - Continued

Country	Total Growth Rate (per 1,000) ⁸		Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births)		Life Expectancy ⁵		Total Fertility Rate	
	1994	1995	1994	1995	Males	Females	1994	1995
Belgium	3.0	1.2	7.6	6.1	73.3	80.2	1.55	1.54
Denmark	3.7	6.8	5.7	5.3	72.7	78.0	1.80	1.80
Germany	2.5	3.8	5.6	..	73.3	79.8	1.26	1.24
Greece	3.2	3.0	7.9	7.7	75.2	80.2	1.35	1.40
Spain	1.4	1.6	6.0	5.6	73.2	81.2	1.22	1.18
France	4.2	4.2	5.8	4.9	73.8	81.9	1.65	1.70
Ireland	3.0	3.2	5.9	..	73.1	78.7	1.86	1.87
Italy ³	2.3	1.1	6.6	6.3	74.9	81.4	1.22	1.17
Luxembourg ⁴	14.1	15.1	5.3	5.5	73.0	80.0	1.72	1.68
Netherlands ⁴	5.4	4.4	5.6	..	74.5	80.2	1.57	1.53
Austria	3.1	1.9	6.3	5.4	73.5	80.1	1.44	1.39
Portugal	2.0	0.9	8.1	..	71.5	78.6	1.44	1.41
Finland	4.1	3.5	4.7	3.9	72.8	80.2	1.85	1.81
Sweden	8.1	2.4	4.4	4.2	76.1	81.4	1.88	1.74
United Kingdom	3.4	3.1	6.2	..	74.2	79.2	1.74	1.71
EC members	3.1	2.9	6.1	..	73.7	80.1	1.45	1.43
Iceland	7.2	3.7	3.4	6.1	76.7	80.7	2.14	2.08
Norway	5.4	4.9	5.2	..	74.9	80.6	1.86	1.87
Switzerland ¹	7.2	5.8	5.1	5.1	75.3	81.7	1.49	1.48
Leichtenstein	10.5	12.0	5.6	..	..	..	..	..
EFTA ¹	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EEA ¹	3.1	3.0	6.2 ²	..	73.9	80.1	1.45	1.44
Canada	10.7	13.4	6.3	6.1	75.1 ⁹	81.2 ⁹	1.66	1.64
United States	7.5 ⁶	9.1 ⁶	7.9	7.6	72.3 ⁹	79.0	2.04	2.02
Mexico	18.0 ⁶	17.5 ⁶	30.3	29.0	69.8	76.2	2.90	2.81
North America	10.2	11.4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Australia	10.5 ⁶	11.8 ⁶	5.9	5.7	75.5 ¹⁰	81.1	1.85	1.82
New Zealand	14.9 ⁶	18.5 ⁶	7.1	6.7	73.7 ¹⁰	79.1 ¹⁰	2.04	2.04
Japan	2.5	4.0 ⁶	4.2	4.3	76.4	82.8	1.50	1.43

See notes at the end of the table.

Table 2. Numbers and Main Demographic Indicators for the Industrialized Countries, 1994 and 1995 - Concluded

Country	Marriages (in thousands)		Marriage Rate (per 1,000)		Divorces (in thousands)		Divorce Rate (per 1,000)		Births Out of Wedlock (per 100 births)
	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994
Belgium	52.0	51.5	5.1	5.1	22.0	35.0	2.2	3.5	..
Denmark	35.3	35.0	6.8	6.7	13.7	13.0	2.6	2.5	46.9
Germany	440.2	429.7	5.4	5.3	166.1	..	2.0	..	15.4
Greece	56.8	64.5	5.4	6.2	7.7	7.5	0.7	0.7	2.9
Spain	196.1	196.9	5.0	5.0	79.6	..	2.0	..	..
France	253.7	254.0	4.4	4.4	114.3	..	2.0	..	..
Ireland	16.3	..	4.6	..	..	..	..	..	19.7
Italy ³	285.1	281.1	5.0	4.9	27.5	..	0.5	..	..
Luxembourg	2.4	2.1	5.8	5.1	0.7	0.7	1.7	1.8	12.7
Netherlands ⁴	83.0	80.6	5.4	5.2	36.2	34.0	2.4	2.2	14.3
Austria	43.3	42.9	5.4	5.3	16.9	18.2	2.1	2.3	26.8
Portugal	66.0	..	6.7	..	13.6	..	1.4	..	17.8
Finland	24.9	23.7	4.9	4.6	13.8	14.0	2.7	2.7	31.3
Sweden	34.2	33.5	3.9	3.8	22.2	22.5	2.5	2.5	51.6
United Kingdom	..	..	..	..	173.6	..	3.0	..	32.0
EC members	..	..	5.2	..	..	..	1.9	..	..
Iceland	1.3	1.2	4.9	4.5	0.5	0.5	1.8	1.9	59.6
Norway	20.6	..	4.8	..	10.9	..	2.5	..	45.9
Switzerland ¹	42.4	40.8	6.1	5.8	15.6	15.7	2.2	2.2	6.4
Leichtenstein	0.4	0.4	13.0	13.2	..	..	..	..	8.4
EFTA¹	233.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EEA¹	..	..	5.2	..	..	..	1.9	..	..
Canada	160.0	160.3	5.5	..	78.9	..	2.7	..	37.2
United States	2362.0	2336.0	9.1	8.9	1,191.0	1,169.0	4.6	4.0	..
Mexico	..	666.6	..	7.4	..	35.2	..	0.4	..
North America	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Australia	111.2	109.4	6.2	6.1	48.3	49.7	2.7	2.7 ⁶	25.6
New Zealand	21.9	21.5	6.2	6.0	9.2	9.6	2.6	..	..
Japan	782.7	791.9	6.3	6.4	195.1	199.0	1.6	1.6	..

¹ Switzerland ceased to be a member of EFTA and the EEA in 1992. It is included here to permit comparisons with previous data for major groups. ² Eurostat estimates. ³ Resident population. ⁴ Includes administrative corrections. ⁵ In years and tenths of a year. ⁶ Calculations by author. ⁷ Legal entries minus legal exits. ⁸ Growth rates are furnished by the countries. If they are not consistent with the populations as of January 1 in the two successive years, it is presumably because the population estimates for the preceding year were corrected after the information was furnished. ⁹ 1994. ¹⁰ Average for 1993-1995.

Note: EFTA: European Free Trade Association. EEA: European Economic Area
Sources: Europe: Eurostat. Canada: Statistics Canada. United States: Census Bureau and NCHS (National Centre for Health Statistics). Mexico: Data obtained from the Consejo Nacional de Población Secretaría General. Australia: Data furnished by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. New Zealand: Data furnished by the Department of Statistics. Japan: Statistical Standards Department.

Right now, Europe as a whole (E.E.A.) has about the same demographic weight as the North America of NAFTA (384 million and 386 million, respectively). While we cannot predict the future, it is likely that in 20 years the two populations will no longer be as balanced. If growth rates and their components were to remain as they are today, the population of Europe would be only 85% that of North America. In that North America of 20 years from now, Canada would have a population of 39 million, or about the same 8% it represents currently. The U.S. would have lost 3.2% of its weight, which would have been gained by Mexico, with a population of 130 million. In Europe, Germany would have gained only 6 million, France, the U.K. and Italy would have lost less than 6 million, less than 4 million and less than 2 million respectively. France and Germany combined would have only 20 million more people than Mexico.

At the time of this study, many countries had not yet reported their marriage and divorce data. Based on available data, it would appear that the marriage rate is still dropping, but there are some exceptions, such as Greece, where it is on the rise. Similarly, divorce seems up slightly. The increase is particularly notable in Belgium.

Europe continues to make remarkable progress ***in the area of infant mortality***. A veritable revolution has occurred in just five or six years, with rates dropping 25% to 35% in most countries. Considerable reductions can be noted again from 1994 to 1995. Infant mortality improved by 16% in France, by 14% in Austria and by 17% in Finland. According to available statistics, ***Greece and Italy are the only European countries with a rate higher than Canada's, which was the lowest in the world in 1989.*** In 1995, Finland had the best record (3.9 per 1,000), slightly lower than that of Japan.

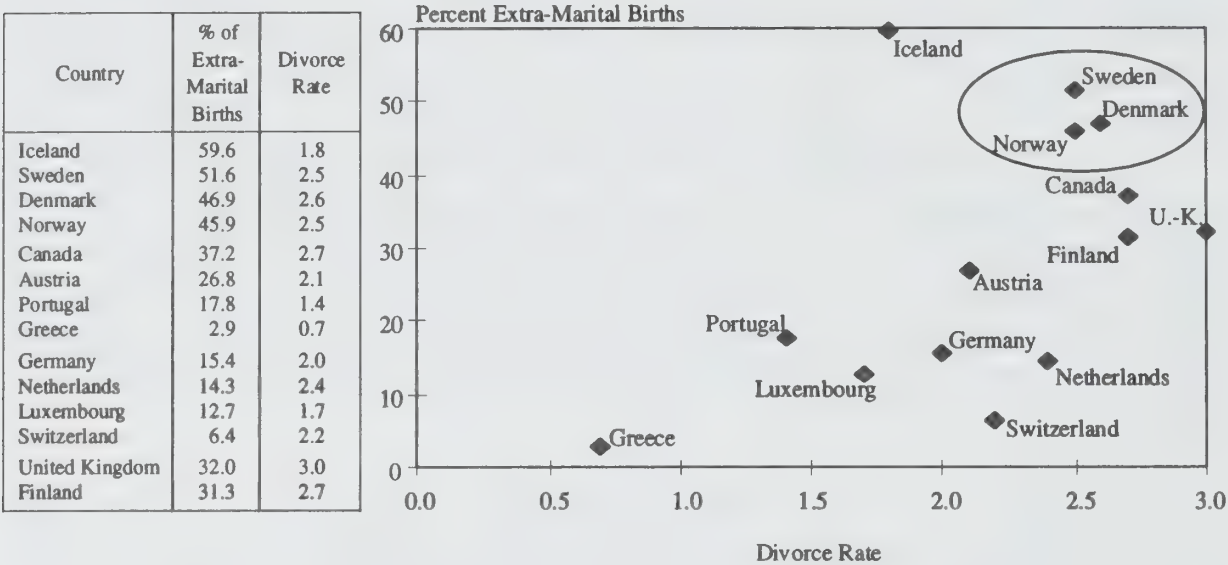
The slight drop in life expectancy for Europe as a whole in 1995 is probably just the result of adjustments of the previous year's figures. Male life expectancy is highest in Iceland, at 76.7, and lowest in Portugal. As for women, France is first (81.9) and Denmark is last (78.0). No great importance should be attached to the minor differences between countries. They are often illusory and changes from one year to the next are not really significant. For all practical purposes, life expectancy is the same in societies with similar health care and economic conditions.

Extramarital Births

The percentage of births out of wedlock varies considerably from one country to the next, as does the divorce rate.¹ Unfortunately, we have just the crude divorce rate, and data on extramarital births for a few countries only.

¹ By European standards, extramarital births and divorce are both indicators of liberalism in matters of morality.

Figure 1. Divorce and Extra-Marital Births for Certain Countries in 1994



Source: Eurostat.

A priori, given the cultures of North America and Europe, we might propose that, since religion frowns on both divorce and children born out of wedlock, there should be a positive correlation between the two if their populations accept these religious precepts. In fact, there is no strong correlation, as Figure 1 shows. Only four countries, Canada, Austria, Portugal and Greece, fall on the regression line constructed using the indexes of all the countries. Only the countries of northern Europe have both high divorce rates and significant proportions of extramarital births, and there are no countries with both few divorces and many extramarital births.

The United States

The size of the U.S. population on January 1 in Table 2 cannot be reconciled with its components, natural increase and net migration, without lengthy explanations.

Immigration remains impressive, as high as that for all of Europe, while the U.S. population is 30% smaller than the European.

As regards natural increase, 1995 is the fifth consecutive year in which births have declined in the U.S. *However, the total rate of 2.02, which is practically at replacement level, is much higher than Canada's.* This is not simply due to the higher fertility of black women: the rate for the white population is 1.99, for blacks, who are far less numerous, it is 2.16, and for Asians, 1.90.

In 1990, the rate was 2.08, so there has been a slight drop in overall fertility. In 1990, the rate for white women was 2.00 and for black women, 2.48. It would therefore seem that the two main racial groups comprising the U.S. population are responsible for the decline in population growth, the black more than the white. The drop in the period rate is due to lower rates among women under 35, which is not offset by the slight increase among women 35 to 44. Among black women, the rates have dropped notably for those under 35, and remained stable for those over 35.

It is important to note that, as a period rate, the fertility of American women was at its lowest toward the end of the 1970s, when young women were clearly delaying the birth of their first child while older women were increasingly less inclined to add to their families after the age of 35. The minor changes observed over the last 15 years are not likely to have had any effect on the lifetime fertility of the cohorts concerned; they merely reflect, although less so than in southern Europe, a change in tempo which is occurring concurrently with the slow decline in fertility.

The U.S. mortality rate is dropping slowly. As in Canada, there was a slight but unexpected increase in 1993 which health observers now attribute to the flu. However, the U.S. lags behind Canada in terms of life expectancy, which is 72.3 for men and 79.0 for women. Despite annual progress, infant mortality at 7.6 per 1,000 remains higher than in Canada, which, as mentioned above, is no longer the world leader in this regard.

Australia

Although Australia's population is only 60% that of Canada, for historical reasons, the country has a similar demographic evolution and has followed the same path. Population growth in 1995, after the adjustment of estimates following the latest census, was 11.8 per 1,000, higher than in 1994 and the highest since 1992. Also like Canada, the growth rate depends largely on immigration, which fluctuates from year to year depending on the economic and political situation. In 1995, net international migration accounted for 45% of total growth.

Fertility in Australia has declined almost without interruption from a 1961 high of 3.55 children per woman, although there was a slight increase from 1992 to 1993. In 1995, *the Australian fertility rate was 1.82, placing it between those of the U.S. and Canada.*

Mortality is low, according to life-expectancy figures. In 1995, life expectancy was 75.5 for men and 81.1 for women, which is comparable to Canadian figures (minor differences may be completely accidental). Infant mortality is much lower than in Canada, although not as low as in many European countries.

We know that for a long time Australia had a very strict immigration policy that allowed in whites only, preferably of British extraction. But the fear of low population and the proximity of populous Asian nations led to a quick change in policy after World War II, and the country began increasingly to open its doors to immigrants of other origins.² Like all countries with high immigration, Australia must deal with the economic and international repercussions of the phenomenon every year. The origin of immigrants in 1995 nevertheless offers a good indication of where most people come from. The U.K. still tops the list, with 11,600 entrants planning to establish permanent or long-term residence. More than 17,500 came from the rest of Europe, including refugees from the former Yugoslavia (3,000), exiles from Bosnia-Herzegovina (3,100) and emigrants from the Baltic states. However, 53,000 people, or half of all immigrants, came from Asia (Southeast, Northeast and South). In this regard also, Australia bears a strong resemblance to Canada.

The Russian Federation and Eastern Europe

The U.S.S.R. was a union of republics grouped around Russia, each of them more or less homogeneous in terms of ethnicity, language and culture. While the U.S.S.R. existed, some population transfers occurred, although they were more significant politically than demographically. Moscow has never been generous with its population statistics, and there has always been doubt as to the reliability of published data, given that these are important indicators of economic and social health. The same applies to eastern Europe to a certain degree. Since the dismantling of the U.S.S.R., the various satellite republics have regained their independence. Based on data collected by local authorities, estimates are slowly emerging and beginning to circulate in the rest of the world. The quality of the data no doubt varies, but because of their long tradition of scrupulous administration, these countries have a good reputation for thoroughness among European demographers. The following section focuses on the European countries of the former U.S.S.R. and the nations of eastern Europe (Table 3).

Of all the countries observed, Russia had the lowest life expectancy, at 57.7 for men and 71.3 for women, which is a huge 14-year gap between the sexes. The highest life expectancy was in East Germany (69.9 and 77.2), which is still well below the Canadian averages of 75.1 and 81.2. The Russian figures are the same as those observed in Canada in 1920 for men and in 1951 for women, giving a fair idea of how far behind the Western world the country is in terms of health. But the summary period indicators for the male population may, more than those for the female population, reflect the harsh experiences of the generations living through World War II and the post-War period. Interestingly enough, infant mortality (18.6 per 1,000) can be compared

² See *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1991*.

Table 3. Main Demographic Indicators for the Russian Federation and Eastern European Countries, 1994

Country	Population on January 1 (thousands)	Natural Increase (thousands)	Total Fertility Rate ¹	Proportion of Extra-Marital Births (per 100 births)	Legal Abortions (per 100 births)	Life Expectancy at Birth ⁶		Infant Mortality (rate per 1,000)	Total First Marriage Rate ⁷		Total Divorce Rate	Total Growth (thousands)
						1994			1994			
						Males	Females		Males	Females		
Former U.S.S.R.	1995	1994	1994	1994	1994			1994		1994	1995	
	Russia	148,306.1	-889.7	1.39	19.6	180.1 ⁴	57.7	71.3	18.6	749	773	..
	Belarus	10,345.0	-18.9	1.75 ⁵	8.5 ²	73.0 ⁵	64.9 ⁴	75.4 ⁴	12.9	..	..	..
	Ukraine	51,719.4	-243.2	1.46	12.8	153.1	62.8	73.2	14.7	..	..	..
	Moldavia	5,348.0	10.0	2.10 ⁵	11.2 ⁵	94.5	64.3 ⁵	71.1 ⁵	22.9	..	..	..
	Estonia	1,492.0	..	1.45 ⁵	38.3 ⁵	158.3	64.1 ⁴	75.0 ⁴	14.5	..	..	..
	Latvia	2,529.5	-17.5	1.39	26.4	110.5	60.7	72.9	15.7	..	..	..
	Lithuania	3,717.0	-3.7	1.54	10.8	70.8	62.3	74.9	14.1	..	..	..
	Former Yugoslavia											
Bosnia-Herzegovina	4,570.3	33.1 ³	1.70 ²	7.4 ²	..	69.7 ²	75.2 ²	15.3 ²	..	..	..
Croatia	4,776.5	-0.9	1.48 ⁴	7.8 ⁵	51.9 ⁵	65.6 ³	75.0 ³	10.2	..	..	..
Macedonia	2,783.9	17.1 ⁵	2.18 ⁴	7.1 ²	..	..	..	24.6 ⁵	..	..	..
Slovenia	1,949.4	0.1	1.32	28.8	61.4 ⁵	69.4 ⁵	77.3 ⁵	6.5	..	..	..
Former Czechoslovakia												
Czech Republic	10,333.2	-10.8	1.50	14.6	50.3	69.5	76.6	7.9	1004 ²	1029 ²	36.3 ⁵	-11.9
Slovakia	5,356.2	15.0	1.66	11.7	62.2	..	..	11.0	928 ²	969 ²	22.9 ²	..
Former Eastern Europe												
Bulgaria	8,427.4	-32.4	1.37	24.7	122.6	67.3	74.8	16.3	576	576	11.9	-42.7
Hongary	10,246.0	-31.3	1.64	19.4	64.4	64.8	74.2	11.7	589	572	29.0	-32.0
Poland	38,581.9	94.9	1.80	9.0	0.2 ⁵	67.2	75.9	15.2	680	699	12.0	27.1
Romania	27,778.3	..	1.41	18.3	214.8	66.6 ²	73.1 ²	21.2	864 ⁸	740	23.0	..
East Germany	15,531.0	-12.4	0.77	41.4	40.0 ⁵	69.9 ⁵	77.2 ⁵	6.2	296 ⁵	338 ⁵	14.1	-55.0

¹ Mean number of children per woman.

² 1990

³ 1991

⁴ 1992

⁵ 1993

⁶ In years and tenths of a year.

⁷ First marriages per 1,000 men or women.

⁸ 1985

Source: Data furnished by the Institut national d'études démographiques, Paris.

to Canadian levels in the 1970s. In a population whose evolution has not been disturbed, a close relationship between general mortality and infant mortality is usually observed, which would lead us to believe that the life expectancy of the average Russian male could rise rapidly if economic conditions improve and when cohorts are involved whose lives were less disturbed. There are probably a great number of premature deaths due to poor socioeconomic conditions and the alcoholism they lead to, which affects life expectancy. It might also be hypothesized that infant mortality is not any higher because a selection effect is occurring, fertility perhaps being greater among wealthier Russians. On the other hand, a low birth rate may have a beneficial effect on the quality of neonatal care. Most of the other countries have life expectancies that are, on average, about 10 years lower than those in Canada and the rest of the Western world, and also very high infant mortality, particularly in Romania, Moldavia and Macedonia.

The differences between male and female life expectancy reveal the great difference between the former republics of the U.S.S.R. and the countries of eastern Europe. As we have seen, the gap is huge in Russia. However, in eastern Europe and the former Yugoslavia, it is much lower, approaching the difference seen in western Europe and North America (seven to nine years). This supports the theory that there is something exceptional occurring in the countries of the former U.S.S.R., which could disappear in a relatively short time if economic conditions improve.

In almost all countries, people are eschewing marriage, quite possibly for the same reasons people in the Western world are doing so. Among the most spectacular changes may be noted that from 1990 to 1994 the total first marriage rate for men fell by 275 per 1,000 in Bulgaria (from 851 per 1,000 to 576), 181 in Hungary (from 770 per 1,000 to 589) and even 178 in Poland (from 858 per 1,000 to 680). Of course, these rates are linked to the current situation and might rise again as economic conditions change, but it is reasonable to be sceptical on this point, particularly since the number of births outside marriage is increasing overall. For example, from 1985 to 1994, they went from 12% to 20% in Russia; from 17% to 26% in Latvia; and from 7% to 11% in Lithuania. Fertility, however, is low. Only in Moldavia is the total fertility rate at the replacement level. In the former U.S.S.R., the simple average is 1.58; it is 1.39 in the Russian Federation. Central European countries are still below the replacement level, with an average of 1.53. There was no increase in abortions, which is not at all surprising: the rate in these countries is consistently high since abortion has long been a common means to terminate an unwanted pregnancy, due to the high cost or lack of contraceptives.

As a result of these factors, many countries have had negative natural increase. Such was the case in Bulgaria, at -5 per 1,000, Hungary (-3), Romania (-1), the Czech Republic (-2), Russia (-5), Estonia (-5), Latvia (-7), Lithuania (-1), Moldavia (-2) and especially the Ukraine (-8).

Conclusion

Taken as a whole, demographic behaviour (aside from abortion) in Central Europe and the former U.S.S.R. is not unlike that of western Europe. One interpretation of the situation could be that, in the entire Western world, at least, people are breaking free from lifestyles and practices inherited from ancient traditions (such as uncontrolled fertility, indissoluble marriage, fertility within marriage only, and so on) because of the diffusion of knowledge which has fostered the development of communications of all kinds. Mortality, however, is different. The struggle against death requires powerful economic efforts on the part of a whole society, not individuals, and it involves major long-term investments that many countries have chosen not to make as they pursue other objectives.

NUPTIALITY

Recent Changes

The decline in marriage rates is no longer a newsworthy item. In most industrialized countries, total rates and period tables indicate a questioning of this type of living arrangement. However, it is worth noting that in Canada in 1994, the total rate—the traditional nuptiality indicator, which has been dropping year after year—has ceased declining and has even risen slightly for the first time since the Great Depression of the 1930s (Table 4). Almost all the provinces, including Quebec, have contributed to the change. Of course, this is only one sign and its interpretation is by no means certain; however, it merits attention given that many observers of society seem to have the feeling that the institution of marriage cannot recover. This curious moratorium suggests an examination of changes in behaviour in the real cohorts that contribute to the fictitious cohort and the resulting rates (Table A2 in the Appendix).

The 1938 male cohort reached age 50 in 1988, by which time 95.5% were married. This is practically a record in the industrialized world, and there is no way we can expect similar intensity among the cohorts that were in their twenties in the mid-1990s. It is, however, possible to determine what the intensity might be if current trends in age-specific rates were to persist. Simply by looking at a table of such rates, an increase in late marriages can be seen that corresponds to a reduction in early marriages, although the former does not compensate for the latter (Table 5). From the male cohort of 1945 to that of 1955, the sum of the marriage rates from age 30 to 40 (period rates) rose from 81 to 121 per 1,000, a 49% increase. This was also the case for the women of these cohorts: the sum increased from 44 to 72 per 1,000, or 65%. If this upward trend in age-specific rates is extended in a linear manner, the sum could be as high as 162 per 1,000 for men in the 1965 cohort, and 109 per 1,000 for women. *Based on these hypotheses, the sum of first-marriage rates for the 1965 cohort would be 605 per 1,000 for men*

Table 4. Total First Marriage Rate, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1988-1994 (per 1,000)¹

Province	1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Newfoundland	626	628	664	669	644	658	597	611	554	573	532	554	568	597
Prince Edward Island	728	739	798	807	768	766	717	724	689	702	703	714	653	688
Nova Scotia	637	680	640	685	610	649	568	600	551	582	533	566	541	574
New Brunswick	644	675	639	680	624	659	574	599	551	580	527	554	538	555
Quebec	425	453	424	455	408	459	377	425	333	376	323	364	333	373
Ontario	635	690	647	697	653	698	606	646	585	628	553	595	560	598
Manitoba	617	669	624	679	637	690	592	647	601	647	581	627	583	626
Saskatchewan	600	647	625	677	613	665	613	651	609	639	611	641	632	657
Alberta	590	642	621	665	625	673	590	635	588	631	583	621	598	642
British Columbia	633	684	641	693	638	694	599	651	605	646	575	612	575	617
Yukon	525	623	497	558	518	591	465	514	532	559	408	469	452	469
Northwest Territories	302	314	301	326	313	327	285	308	272	294	279	308	302	334
CANADA	574	620	585	630	582	631	543	588	523	566	503	544	512	552
CANADA LESS QUEBEC	626	676	640	688	641	687	599	640	587	627	562	600	570	608

¹ Males aged 17 to 49 and females aged 15 to 49.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 5. First-Marriage Rates for Birth Cohorts, by Sex¹, Canada, 1945-1965

Cohort	Sum of Rates to Age 29	Age											Sum of Rates for Ages 30-40	Total Sum of Rates		
		30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40				
Table 3. First-Marriage Rates for Birth Cohorts, by Sex, Community	Males															
	1945	806.9	17.6	13.5	10.7	8.3	7.0	6.0	5.0	3.9	3.3	3.2	2.4	80.9	887.8	
	1946	817.2	17.2	13.8	10.7	8.9	7.2	6.1	5.4	4.4	3.6	3.3	3.0	83.6	900.8	
	1947	854.6	17.7	13.8	10.9	9.1	7.7	6.4	5.5	4.4	3.5	3.7	3.3	86.1	940.7	
	1948	802.8	18.3	14.2	11.6	9.5	7.8	6.7	5.7	4.6	3.9	3.7	3.4	89.4	892.3	
	1949	768.1	18.8	15.1	12.0	10.0	8.5	7.4	6.1	5.0	4.6	4.3	3.5	95.4	863.9	
	1950	748.3	19.8	15.6	12.9	10.9	8.7	7.6	6.4	5.4	5.0	4.2	3.3	100.0	848.3	
	1951	727.1	20.3	16.2	13.0	11.2	9.5	7.5	7.1	6.1	5.1	4.0	3.2	103.1	830.7	
	1952	710.2	21.0	17.4	14.7	11.7	9.3	8.5	7.3	6.6	5.3	4.2	3.3	109.4	819.8	
	1953	688.3	22.1	17.9	14.8	11.6	10.2	9.5	8.0	6.6	5.0	4.4	3.5	113.7	801.9	
	1954	674.4	22.6	18.4	14.5	12.8	11.6	9.7	7.9	6.4	5.3	4.5	3.9	117.5	792.0	
	1955	651.9	23.3	17.5	15.7	13.9	11.8	9.9	8.0	6.3	5.5	4.6	3.8	120.5	772.2	
	1956	639.0	23.5	19.9	17.4	14.3	12.5	9.7	8.1	6.5	5.8	4.8	3.9	126.4	765.4	
	1957	620.1	24.8	21.0	17.9	14.9	11.8	10.0	8.2	6.8	6.1	4.9	4.0	130.5	750.6	
	1958	696.2	26.4	21.9	18.2	15.0	12.0	9.8	8.2	7.4	6.4	5.1	4.1	134.4	730.6	
	1959	578.8	27.9	23.1	18.0	14.7	12.3	10.5	9.0	7.6	6.6	5.2	4.2	139.1	717.9	
	1960	554.4	28.8	22.5	18.9	15.3	12.6	11.1	9.3	7.9	6.8	5.3	4.3	142.8	697.2	
	1961	533.7	27.1	22.7	18.5	15.4	13.6	11.5	9.6	8.1	7.0	5.5	4.4	143.3	677.0	
	1962	511.5	28.1	22.5	19.0	16.6	14.0	11.8	9.8	8.4	7.3	5.6	4.5	147.6	659.1	
	1963	495.4	27.7	23.5	20.3	17.1	14.4	12.2	10.1	8.6	7.5	5.7	4.6	151.8	647.2	
	1964	465.8	28.5	24.7	20.9	17.6	14.8	12.5	10.4	8.9	7.7	5.9	4.7	156.6	622.4	
	1965	443.3	30.2	25.3	21.5	18.1	15.3	12.9	10.7	9.1	7.9	6.0	4.8	161.7	605.0	
		Females														
		1945	842.7	9.2	7.3	5.8	4.6	4.0	3.2	2.5	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.4	43.9	886.6
		1946	868.1	9.1	7.1	5.9	4.8	3.9	3.5	3.0	2.3	2.2	1.9	1.6	45.3	913.5
		1947	928.2	9.1	6.8	5.8	4.9	4.0	3.2	2.9	2.2	2.2	1.9	1.7	44.9	973.1
		1948	872.1	9.2	7.4	6.1	5.4	4.3	3.6	2.9	2.5	2.3	2.1	2.0	47.8	919.9
1949		834.7	9.6	7.6	6.4	5.4	4.5	3.9	3.3	2.6	2.5	2.2	2.0	50.0	884.8	
1950		817.5	10.5	8.4	7.0	5.8	5.1	4.2	3.4	3.2	2.8	2.6	2.0	55.0	872.5	
1951		807.7	11.1	8.8	7.5	6.4	5.4	4.2	3.8	3.5	3.1	2.6	2.2	58.5	866.3	
1952		793.6	11.7	9.5	7.8	6.6	5.4	5.1	4.4	3.7	2.8	2.6	2.3	61.9	855.5	
1953		784.6	12.1	10.3	8.1	6.5	5.7	5.4	4.6	3.8	3.1	2.6	2.2	64.4	849.0	
1954		772.4	13.6	10.4	7.8	7.2	6.3	5.7	4.8	3.7	3.3	2.7	2.4	67.9	840.3	
1955		751.6	14.0	10.3	9.0	8.1	6.9	6.1	5.1	4.1	3.6	2.8	2.5	72.4	824.1	
1956		740.2	13.7	11.4	10.1	8.8	7.5	6.3	4.8	4.2	3.2	3.0	2.6	75.6	815.8	
1957		731.2	15.3	13.1	11.1	9.1	7.9	6.4	5.0	4.2	3.6	3.1	2.7	81.6	812.7	
1958		714.7	16.8	14.0	12.0	9.4	8.1	6.5	5.3	4.6	3.8	3.2	2.8	86.5	801.3	
1959		703.7	18.8	15.2	11.7	9.9	8.4	7.0	5.7	4.8	3.9	3.3	2.9	91.7	795.5	
1960		684.4	19.5	14.5	12.0	10.0	8.2	7.3	5.9	5.0	4.0	3.4	3.0	92.9	777.4	
1961		671.0	19.0	15.5	12.4	10.1	8.9	7.6	6.1	5.2	4.2	3.5	3.2	95.7	766.8	
1962	653.6	19.9	15.7	13.2	10.7	9.2	7.9	6.4	5.4	4.3	3.6	3.3	99.6	753.2		
1963	635.2	19.7	15.9	13.4	11.1	9.6	8.2	6.6	5.6	4.4	3.7	3.4	101.6	736.6		
1964	619.2	20.3	16.7	13.9	11.5	9.9	8.5	6.8	5.8	4.6	3.8	3.5	105.3	724.7		
1965	599.0	21.4	17.3	14.3	11.9	10.2	8.8	7.0	6.0	4.7	3.9	3.6	109.3	708.4		

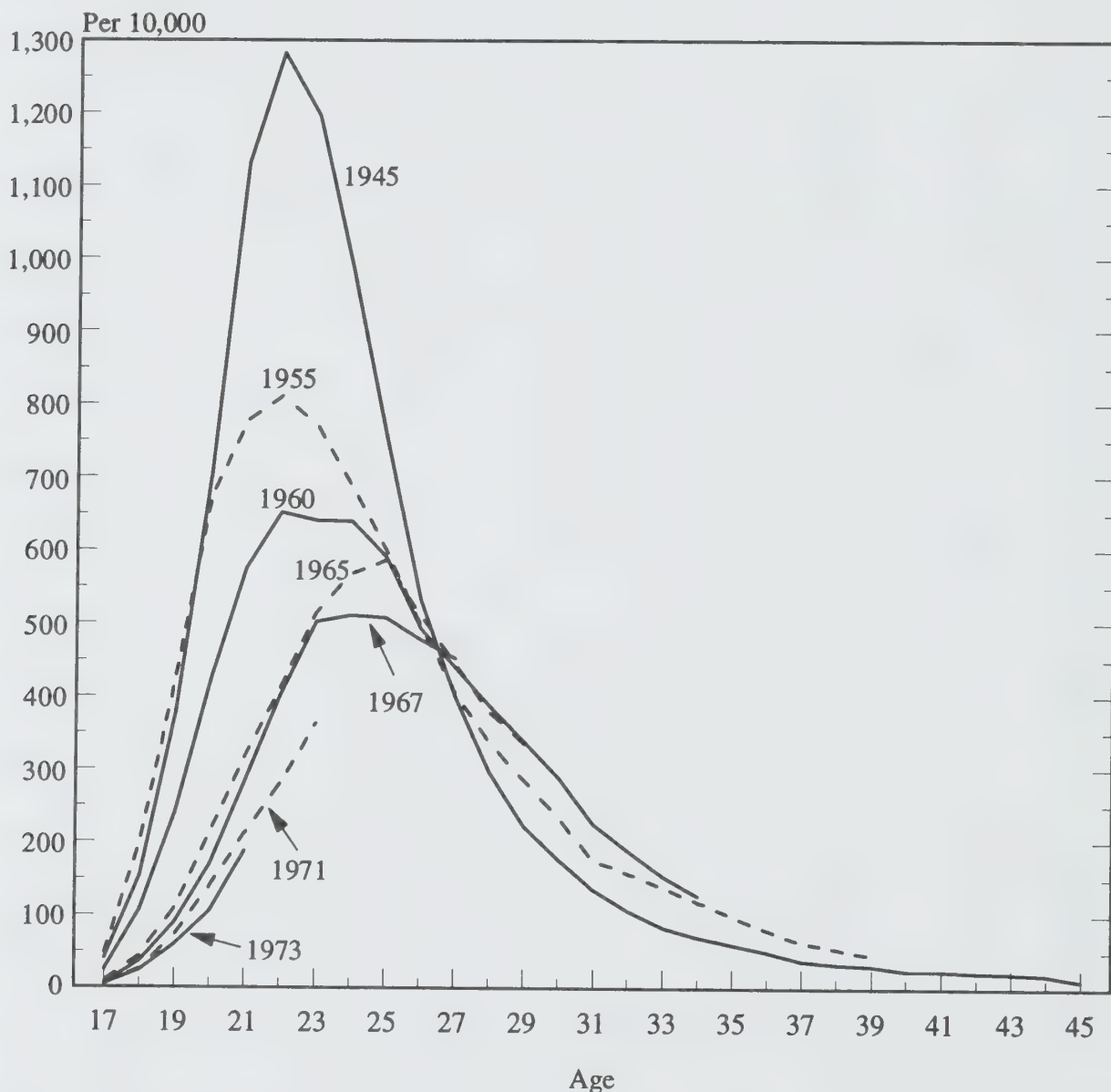
¹ Men (aged 17 to 40) and women (aged 15 to 40).

Note: Rates in italics result from a linear extrapolation of the rates observed at the same ages in the preceding cohorts.

Sources: Tables A3.1 and A3.2 in the Appendix.

and 708 per 1,000 for women. In other words, 61% of men and 71% of women in the 1965 cohort would have married at least once before the age of 40, and a number of others would likely join them during their forties. Plausibility increases with time, as important events in the life cycle (graduation, joining the labour force, leaving home, settling down, having children, retiring, etc.) occur later and later, as though they were in some way dependent on the average life span, which is increasing. It may be added that a certain number

Figure 2A. Age-Specific First Marriage Rates for Recent Cohorts, Males, Canada

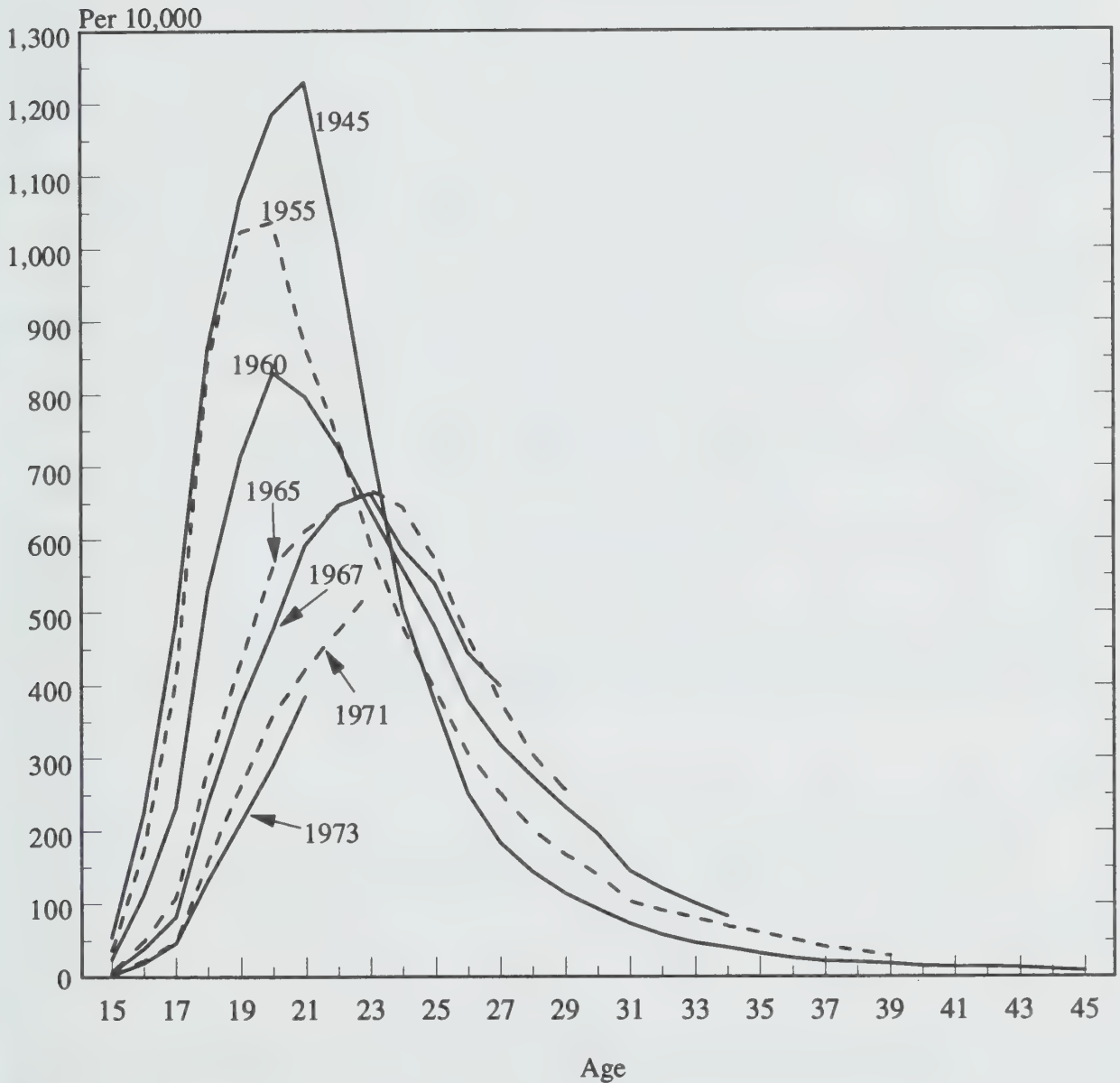


Source: Table A3.1 in the Appendix.

of common-law unions established early in life are converted into marriages later. Thus, while there has certainly been a growing disaffection for the institution of marriage, it is an exaggeration to proclaim its demise.

Changes in the age-specific rates and their distribution can be seen clearly in the average age at which people marry. For women 15 to 40, that age is over 25 for the 1965 cohort, whereas it was 22 for the 1945 cohort. The direction taken by the curves for the 1971 and 1973 cohorts (Figures 2a and 2b) in fact suggests that they will peak at older ages than those of earlier cohorts and that they will spread out more to the right.

Figure 2B. Age-Specific First Marriage Rates for Recent Cohorts, Females, Canada



Source: Table A3.2 in the Appendix.

Data on marriages in 1995 reinforce earlier views, leaving the impression that cohort nuptiality will be affected somewhat less than period rates indicate. Indeed, in 1995, all the age-specific rates were up again as of age 26. The result is a second consecutive year in which there is a slight increase for men, with no change for women.

Table 6, featuring the number and percentage of different types of marriage, indicates stagnation. The only findings that emerge from the minimal changes in marriage types are the continuation of the increase in remarriages and a downward trend for women's first marriages.

Table 6. Marriages, First Marriages and Remarriages, Canada, 1969-1994

Year	Number of Marriages	Number of First Marriages		Number and Proportion of Marriages in which at least one Spouse has been Previously Married		Number and Proportion of Remarriages in which both Spouses had been Previously Married	
		Males	Females	Number	%	Number	%
1968	171,766	157,309	156,783	21,133	12.3	8,307	39.3
1969	182,183	162,853	162,690	27,494	15.1	11,329	41.2
1970	188,428	167,267	167,421	29,975	15.9	12,193	40.7
1971	191,324	168,944	169,072	31,698	16.6	12,934	40.8
1972	200,470	176,537	177,155	33,582	16.8	13,666	40.7
1973	199,064	173,355	174,135	36,047	18.1	14,591	40.5
1974	198,824	170,678	172,107	39,063	19.6	15,800	40.4
1975	197,585	167,022	168,817	42,300	21.4	17,031	40.3
1976	186,844	155,679	157,412	43,098	23.1	17,499	40.6
1977	187,344	154,906	156,854	44,750	23.9	18,178	40.6
1978	185,523	151,884	154,016	46,254	24.9	18,892	40.8
1979	187,811	152,731	154,982	48,309	25.7	19,600	40.6
1980	191,069	154,138	156,918	50,600	26.5	20,422	40.4
1981	190,082	151,978	154,506	52,340	27.5	21,340	40.8
1982	188,360	149,419	152,825	52,979	28.1	21,438	40.5
1983	184,675	144,960	147,968	53,342	28.9	22,080	41.4
1984	185,597	144,674	147,907	55,436	29.9	23,177	41.8
1985	184,096	144,009	146,718	54,632	29.7	22,833	41.8
1986	175,518	137,665	138,523	52,678	30.0	22,170	42.1
1987	182,151	138,454	139,324	60,106	33.0	26,529	44.1
1988	187,728	142,956	143,943	61,665	32.8	26,892	43.6
1989	190,640	145,733	146,242	62,276	32.7	27,029	43.4
1990	187,737	143,637	145,350	60,393	32.2	26,094	43.2
1991	172,251	131,996	133,576	55,578	32.3	23,644	42.5
1992	164,573	125,505	126,955	53,547	32.5	23,139	43.2
1993	159,316	121,104	122,479	52,405	32.9	22,644	43.2
1994	159,959	121,497	122,642	52,758	33.0	23,021	43.6

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Marriages*, catalogue no. 84-212 and unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Divorce

For several years now the number of divorces in Canada has remained stable at about half the number of marriages. In 1994, there were 78,800 divorces (Table A4 in the Appendix) and 160,000 marriages. *The duration-specific divorce rate has been observed to be constant for several years now, and there have been only minor changes in the distribution of duration-specific rates.* It would therefore seem that the situation has stabilized for the time being (Table 7).

Regional differences remain intriguing. They are not only difficult to grasp in detail but also hard to explain. Unfortunately, there is no satisfactory method for measuring the intensity of the phenomenon; all require weighty hypotheses. Furthermore, divorce falls under federal jurisdiction, which means that people can obtain a divorce anywhere in Canada. The courts have a certain degree of autonomy and may handle divorce applications more or less quickly, depending on the number of requests and the personnel they have available. Thus, the pace at which divorce decrees are handed down may slow down or accelerate from time to time. Great prudence is also called for in interpreting variations in a given rate when analysing time series. Although the probability of divorcing between the ages of 15 and 50 may not be the best indicator for highlighting regional differences, it does reveal a few for which explanations will be suggested.

The ratio of the number of divorces in a five-year age group to the number of married women present at the middle of the period furnishes a divorce rate. This rate is transformed into a quotient for the period by the relationship $2({}_5t_x) / (2 + {}_5t_x)$. Since the quotient is the probability of getting divorced, when subtracted from one it is the probability of not getting divorced. By multiplying together these successive five-year probabilities from the youngest age (age 15) to the oldest (age 55), the probability of not getting divorced during the period is found and by subtracting from one, that of getting divorced. This is the index used.

Looking at the distribution of provincial indexes in Canada³, one cannot help but notice that, regardless of the general fluctuations in levels over time, *certain provinces such as British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario are always at the top of the list, while others are consistently at the bottom: the Atlantic provinces, Manitoba and Saskatchewan* (Table 8). In each of the two groups, provinces are found showing differences among themselves on the various factors which might otherwise explain why they belong to the group (e.g., religion, language, ethnic origin, educational level), but in fact the only characteristic suggestive of an explanation and shared by all the provinces in

³ The most readily available statistic and the most useful for present purposes is that of divorces by province where the decree was issued.

Year	Number of Marriages per Calendar Year	Marriage Cohort	Cohort Marriages	Marriage Duration (in years)																									Year of Obser- vation	T.D.R. ¹	
				0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24			25
1969	182,183	1968-69	176,975	3	22	53	83	122	158	182	184	171	165	160	153	148	146	133	112	103	121	139	118	106	98	90	81	80	68	1994	3,855
1970	188,428	1969-70	185,306	3	25	55	92	151	177	192	192	176	174	165	163	159	139	127	112	121	147	118	113	100	96	87	77	78			
1971	191,324	1970-71	189,876	4	28	61	106	161	186	189	191	184	180	173	166	151	132	115	129	151	121	113	101	96	93	86	83				
1972	200,490	1971-72	195,907	4	33	74	117	174	193	196	197	191	188	186	169	145	126	145	159	131	122	111	100	98	78	82					
1973	199,064	1972-73	199,777	5	36	83	129	181	203	212	211	206	204	180	155	135	152	175	138	126	111	103	99	101	89						
1974	198,824	1973-74	198,944	5	44	94	136	184	213	227	229	218	189	168	146	160	184	149	129	111	109	107	98	96							
1975	197,585	1974-75	198,205	6	52	104	147	199	225	242	234	214	185	163	172	197	150	139	130	111	111	104	94								
1976	193,343	1975-76	195,464	8	59	111	161	217	251	246	227	194	165	195	207	165	152	131	121	116	105	97									
1977	187,344	1976-77	190,344	8	63	116	162	227	250	240	208	180	200	225	181	158	143	127	117	123	106										
1978	185,523	1977-78	186,434	7	65	123	175	235	250	221	200	230	248	196	175	155	137	133	117	118											
1979	187,811	1978-79	186,667	8	58	132	185	226	226	211	252	274	211	185	164	152	141	129	120												
1980	191,069	1979-80	189,440	7	65	135	176	206	210	268	297	227	207	184	169	152	132	124													
1981	190,082	1980-81	190,576	8	71	133	154	190	269	316	250	218	189	181	162	163	134														
1982	188,360	1981-82	189,221	9	65	118	144	260	326	263	232	216	193	181	165	168															
1983	184,675	1982-83	186,518	8	64	109	209	322	273	247	219	201	184	173	161																
1984	185,597	1983-84	185,136	8	63	150	270	263	253	237	213	208	172	160																	
1985	184,096	1984-85	184,847	8	72	212	249	260	251	231	221	219	188																		
1986	175,518	1985-86	179,807	10	103	217	265	263	248	240	224	224																			
1987	182,151	1986-87	178,835	20	106	216	251	259	253	240	221																				
1988	187,728	1987-88	184,940	19	106	214	252	261	227	222																					
1989	190,640	1988-89	189,184	19	109	210	267	291	258																						
1990	187,738	1989-90	189,189	17	110	233	275	296																							
1991	172,251	1990-91	179,994	19	118	231	278																								
1992	164,573	1991-92	168,412	21	114	229																									
1993	159,316	1992-93	161,945	24	139																										
1994	159,95	1993-94	159,638	24																											

¹ Total Divorce Rate.
Note: Rates after 1980 have been revised.
Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 8. Probability of Divorce Between Ages 15 and 55, Women, by Province, 1980, 1987, 1990 and 1994

Rank	1980		1987		1990		1994	
	Province	In %	Province	In %	Province	In %	Province	In %
1	Newfoundland	3.2	Newfoundland	7.1	Newfoundland	7.0	Prince Edward Island	6.5
2	Prince Edward Island	4.6	Prince Edward Island	7.9	Prince Edward Island	8.9	Newfoundland	7.6
3	New Brunswick	5.8	New Brunswick	10.8	New Brunswick	9.2	New Brunswick	7.6
4	Saskatchewan	6.2	Saskatchewan	11.3	Manitoba	10.6	Nova Scotia	9.4
5	Quebec	6.4	Quebec	11.6	Saskatchewan	10.7	Manitoba	9.7
6	Manitoba	6.9	Nova Scotia	11.9	Nova Scotia	10.8	Saskatchewan	10.0
7	Ontario	7.7	Manitoba	13.9	Ontario	12.2	Ontario	11.6
8	Nova Scotia	8.3	Ontario	14.0	British Columbia	12.7	Alberta	12.1
9	Alberta	10.2	Alberta	14.1	Quebec	13.1	British Columbia	12.4
10	British Columbia	10.5	British Columbia	15.3	Alberta	13.5	Quebec	13.1

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Divorces*, catalogue no. 84-213 and calculations by the author.

each group is their situation with regard to migration. The three provinces with the highest divorce rates are also those that have had on average a positive balance of migration, while those with the lowest divorce rates are the ones where net migration has almost always been negative. Migration is known to be selective on more than one count. Age and education are certainly important factors, but individual characteristics and personality traits also play a role. Of course, the majority of persons who get a divorce in a province are usual residents of that province, but it is at least possible that people who migrate are also those who possess characteristics that make them more likely to divorce. For a certain number of people, migration may also offer an opportunity to do something that they would otherwise not be able to do in their own community, or country in the case of international immigrants. Furthermore, the act of migration itself may place a strain on a couple. A new social milieu, new jobs or new responsibilities may bring out certain personality traits that make it difficult for the couple to continue living together as they did in the community they left behind.

Note also that the provinces with the highest divorce rates are also the most urbanized. It would not be wrong to make a connection but it would not add much since very few internal or international migrants show much interest in moving to rural areas. By the same logic, the regions that are losing population are keeping those individuals least at risk for divorce.

These considerations form only one part of an explanation of the higher divorce rates observed in certain provinces and do not claim to make migratory phenomena the motor driving divorce. Quebec is a case in point. The province is more often a loser than a winner in terms of migration, yet the divorce rate has been rising for several years, and in 1994 Quebec ranked first in terms of intensity. Unlike a total rate, the index used does not take into account the relatively smaller proportion of married people in Quebec, since it is the multiplied rate of the five-year probabilities of divorce per 100 women in the fictitious cohort. In

the case of Quebec, sociodemographic changes among its residents are recent and profound. The other reasons for having recourse to divorce are too numerous and powerful to permit any visible effect stemming from migratory phenomena.

FERTILITY

Like most of the other demographic indexes for Canada, those for fertility have been virtually stationary for several years now. Given that the levels are low, the best one can say is that there has been a barely visible downward trend. With minor fluctuations, the total fertility rate has fallen from 1.71 to 1.64 children per woman. At the same time, some changes between regions have been evident (Table 9).

Quebec is no longer the province with the lowest fertility. Its place at the bottom of the list has been taken by Newfoundland, which registered the lowest level ever reached by any province, 1.25 children per woman. Overall, fertility levels in the Atlantic provinces weakened somewhat more than those elsewhere in the country. It may also be observed that all provinces are now well below the replacement level while just ten years ago Saskatchewan was still just about there while Manitoba was not far below.

It may be noted that the index for the second child in Quebec, which was usually distinctly below that for the rest of Canada, is now the same but that those for higher-order births remain very weak. From the point of view of timing, from puberty to the 30s an upward trend is evident in the indexes for Quebec and a downward trend in the rest of the country. Even in the 30-34 age group, the difference, to Quebec's disadvantage, is smaller now than it used to be. Above this age, the fertility of Quebec women remains lower than that of other Canadian women (Table 9).

The results of the Quebec family policy implemented around 1985 will never be known with certainty. Is the recovery in fertility at the beginning of the 1990s to be credited to it, while the unfortunate consequences of economic recession prevented more obvious results or, as others have claimed, was it completely ineffective and unrelated to the slight rise in births registered by the province? In either case, it will remain as one of the first manifestations of a concern to renew the population in the post-transition period in North America.

Childbearing in Cohorts of Women Born Between 1931 and 1955

Although demographers and sociologists have always studied fertility using administrative and survey data, the data from the General Social Survey have been exploited to confirm, through the answers given by the respondents, how the fall in fertility evolved from the end of the baby boom to the cohorts now coming to the end of their fertile period.

Table 9. Age-Specific Fertility and Total Fertility Rates by Birth Order and Age of Mother for Quebec and the Rest of Canada¹, 1983-1994

Birth Order	Year	15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		Total Fertility Rate		
		Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Canada
1	1983	12.47	23.31	51.46	51.94	49.77	48.84	16.08	19.40	3.71	4.57	0.46	0.51	0.6697	0.7429	0.7232
	1984	12.39	22.56	48.69	49.46	49.66	49.14	15.96	20.46	3.91	4.74	0.53	0.54	0.6558	0.7345	0.7136
	1985	12.48	21.57	46.94	47.02	49.93	49.11	16.81	20.74	3.95	4.71	0.47	0.56	0.6529	0.7185	0.7014
	1986	12.97	21.08	46.82	45.67	49.60	48.18	17.41	20.48	4.42	5.03	0.49	0.66	0.6586	0.7055	0.6935
	1987	13.43	20.40	45.37	43.84	50.71	47.49	18.44	20.84	4.45	5.40	0.65	0.72	0.6653	0.6934	0.6864
	1988	13.90	20.76	48.22	43.94	53.93	49.52	19.22	22.13	4.71	6.05	0.69	0.77	0.7033	0.7158	0.7129
	1989	14.86	22.16	50.75	45.02	57.70	50.16	21.45	23.51	5.19	6.28	0.64	0.85	0.7529	0.7399	0.7435
	1990	15.66	22.83	53.08	45.04	60.44	52.55	23.54	25.16	5.64	6.88	0.66	0.89	0.7951	0.7667	0.7739
	1991	14.93	23.55	52.24	43.64	61.30	50.77	24.27	24.92	6.22	7.00	0.73	0.90	0.7984	0.7539	0.7647
	1992	15.05	22.74	48.66	41.64	59.87	50.61	24.68	25.82	6.09	7.30	0.78	0.99	0.7756	0.7455	0.7524
	1993	14.61	22.06	47.00	40.66	55.80	49.54	24.46	26.67	6.25	7.67	0.86	1.10	0.7449	0.7386	0.7393
	1994	14.80	22.17	46.28	39.97	53.27	49.85	24.18	27.74	6.48	7.92	0.88	1.19	0.7295	0.7442	0.7397
2	1983	1.54	4.29	21.88	30.07	47.39	46.29	25.03	27.57	5.29	6.66	0.61	0.76	0.5087	0.5782	0.5593
	1984	1.59	4.18	21.58	29.56	48.53	47.31	26.52	28.77	5.69	7.38	0.61	0.71	0.5226	0.5895	0.5716
	1985	1.63	4.08	20.53	28.43	47.13	47.66	26.02	29.77	5.77	7.72	0.58	0.79	0.5083	0.5922	0.5699
	1986	1.65	3.86	18.73	27.07	45.90	47.41	25.03	30.54	5.71	8.16	0.67	0.81	0.4885	0.5893	0.5626
	1987	1.86	4.02	19.12	25.80	43.87	46.43	25.36	31.19	6.05	8.78	0.68	0.95	0.4847	0.5859	0.5592
	1988	1.78	3.75	19.54	25.30	43.98	44.99	27.13	31.40	6.75	9.26	0.83	1.12	0.5000	0.5791	0.5584
	1989	1.93	4.06	20.62	25.01	45.31	44.70	28.65	32.39	7.05	9.63	0.73	1.10	0.5215	0.5845	0.5681
	1990	2.21	4.14	21.79	24.60	48.96	44.41	31.51	33.84	7.98	10.15	0.91	1.20	0.5668	0.5917	0.5853
	1991	2.10	4.30	22.14	24.05	48.38	43.42	32.16	33.20	7.82	10.42	0.85	1.16	0.5673	0.5827	0.5789
	1992	2.36	4.56	21.97	23.83	49.25	43.08	33.20	34.59	8.68	10.74	0.94	1.40	0.5820	0.5911	0.5888
	1993	2.29	4.47	22.09	22.73	47.64	41.38	33.57	33.76	8.72	11.18	1.11	1.42	0.5771	0.5748	0.5751
	1994	2.26	4.43	21.66	22.47	47.49	40.89	34.31	34.60	9.14	11.64	1.06	1.53	0.5797	0.5778	0.5779
3	1983	0.14	0.44	3.87	8.05	14.57	19.49	14.02	16.40	4.07	5.44	0.54	0.60	0.1860	0.2521	0.2341
	1984	0.10	0.44	3.69	7.83	14.06	19.49	13.79	17.25	4.31	5.60	0.57	0.65	0.1826	0.2563	0.2364
	1985	0.15	0.45	3.63	7.73	13.68	19.41	13.17	17.32	4.26	5.84	0.51	0.70	0.1770	0.2572	0.2356
	1986	0.18	0.48	3.36	7.42	13.05	19.19	12.20	17.60	4.30	6.05	0.57	0.74	0.1683	0.2574	0.2336
	1987	0.18	0.42	3.50	7.25	12.17	18.53	11.61	17.58	3.88	6.33	0.57	0.76	0.1595	0.2544	0.2290
	1988	0.18	0.48	3.55	7.16	12.37	18.20	12.18	17.84	4.07	6.73	0.52	0.84	0.1644	0.2563	0.2320
	1989	0.22	0.48	4.28	7.19	13.85	17.69	13.86	18.41	4.61	7.08	0.65	0.96	0.1873	0.2591	0.2403
	1990	0.17	0.50	4.49	7.08	15.03	17.17	15.14	18.33	5.21	7.25	0.58	0.91	0.2032	0.2562	0.2425
	1991	0.19	0.51	4.61	6.98	15.09	16.76	15.74	18.49	5.46	7.20	0.66	0.89	0.2087	0.2542	0.2428
	1992	0.24	0.59	4.95	6.95	15.36	16.21	16.55	17.83	5.63	7.31	0.80	0.93	0.2176	0.2491	0.2413
	1993	0.25	0.56	5.28	6.83	14.77	15.15	15.89	17.45	5.55	7.13	0.73	0.96	0.2123	0.2404	0.2335
	1994	0.28	0.57	5.22	6.94	15.22	14.81	15.92	16.81	5.79	7.30	0.82	1.05	0.2162	0.2374	0.2322

See notes at the end of the Table.

Table 9. Age-Specific Fertility and Total Fertility Rates by Birth Order and Age of Mother for Quebec and the Rest of Canada¹, 1983-1994 - Concluded

Birth Order	Year	15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		Total Fertility Rate	
		Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada
4	1983	0.01	0.03	0.58	1.48	2.77	5.17	3.89	5.83	1.93	2.77	0.34	0.47	0.0476	0.0788
	1984	0.02	0.04	0.51	1.47	2.61	5.34	3.64	5.82	1.74	2.73	0.33	0.43	0.0443	0.0792
	1985	0.02	0.04	0.47	1.44	2.44	5.22	3.48	5.96	1.83	2.84	0.28	0.54	0.0426	0.0802
	1986	0.02	0.03	0.48	1.48	2.39	5.16	3.31	5.95	1.70	2.83	0.37	0.49	0.0413	0.0797
	1987	0.02	0.04	0.50	1.50	2.21	5.02	3.19	5.71	1.67	2.86	0.35	0.46	0.0397	0.0780
	1988	0.02	0.05	0.54	1.48	2.40	4.94	3.07	5.78	1.69	2.91	0.43	0.49	0.0407	0.0783
	1989	0.01	0.05	0.58	1.57	2.59	4.87	3.65	6.13	1.67	3.07	0.35	0.56	0.0442	0.0813
	1990	0.00	0.04	0.75	1.65	2.79	4.73	3.95	6.02	2.24	3.11	0.35	0.54	0.0504	0.0805
	1991	0.01	0.05	0.81	1.68	3.22	4.69	4.18	6.03	2.11	3.22	0.35	0.47	0.0535	0.0805
	1992	0.03	0.06	0.91	1.65	3.13	4.53	4.35	5.84	2.20	3.02	0.42	0.53	0.0552	0.0783
	1993	0.02	0.05	0.82	1.57	3.05	4.31	4.49	5.67	2.23	3.16	0.45	0.56	0.0553	0.0766
	1994	0.02	0.06	1.12	1.61	3.43	4.31	4.74	5.53	2.50	3.04	0.49	0.57	0.0615	0.0756
5+	1983	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.33	0.69	1.86	1.39	3.05	1.22	2.23	0.49	0.75	0.0195	0.0411
	1984	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.33	0.65	1.85	1.33	2.96	1.22	2.33	0.39	0.73	0.0183	0.0410
	1985	0.00	0.01	0.08	0.37	0.66	1.85	1.13	2.91	1.03	2.12	0.33	0.67	0.0162	0.0396
	1986	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.36	0.67	1.81	1.28	2.83	1.07	2.07	0.36	0.65	0.0174	0.0387
	1987	0.00	0.01	0.11	0.34	0.64	1.85	1.17	2.87	0.94	2.19	0.34	0.71	0.0160	0.0398
	1988	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.38	0.62	1.71	1.31	2.97	1.18	2.11	0.40	0.68	0.0180	0.0393
	1989	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.41	0.77	1.76	1.60	2.87	1.30	2.15	0.35	0.63	0.0207	0.0391
	1990	0.01	0.01	0.14	0.44	0.76	1.91	1.51	2.92	1.30	2.27	0.39	0.67	0.0206	0.0411
	1991	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.43	0.80	1.94	1.62	2.99	1.39	2.27	0.34	0.59	0.0214	0.0412
	1992	0.00	0.01	0.20	0.41	0.96	1.96	1.68	2.95	1.33	2.28	0.37	0.68	0.0227	0.0414
	1993	0.00	0.02	0.13	0.35	0.65	1.24	1.12	1.70	0.78	1.09	0.18	0.28	0.0144	0.0234
	1994	0.00	0.04	0.19	0.54	1.14	2.05	1.78	2.94	1.37	2.23	0.45	0.67	0.0247	0.0423
All Orders	1983	14.16	28.07	77.89	91.88	115.18	121.65	60.40	72.26	16.23	21.66	2.43	3.09	1.4315	1.6931
	1984	14.10	27.23	74.54	88.65	115.53	123.13	61.23	75.26	16.86	22.78	2.43	3.06	1.4235	1.7006
	1985	14.28	26.15	71.65	85.00	113.84	123.25	60.62	76.70	16.84	23.22	2.16	3.26	1.3970	1.6878
	1986	14.82	25.46	69.49	82.01	111.60	121.75	59.24	77.40	17.19	24.14	2.47	3.35	1.3740	1.6705
	1987	15.49	24.89	68.60	78.74	109.60	119.32	59.75	78.19	16.99	25.56	2.59	3.60	1.3651	1.6515
	1988	15.87	25.04	71.95	78.26	113.30	119.37	62.90	80.13	18.39	27.05	2.87	3.90	1.4265	1.6687
	1989	17.02	26.76	76.34	79.19	120.21	119.17	69.20	83.33	19.82	28.21	2.72	4.11	1.5266	1.7039
	1990	18.06	27.53	80.26	78.80	127.98	120.77	75.66	86.27	22.38	29.66	2.89	4.21	1.6361	1.7362
	1991	17.23	28.41	79.95	76.76	128.79	117.58	77.96	85.63	23.00	30.11	2.93	4.01	1.6493	1.7125
	1992	17.70	27.95	76.69	74.51	128.56	116.39	80.46	87.03	23.92	30.65	3.31	4.54	1.6532	1.7054
	1993	17.17	27.15	75.32	72.13	121.92	111.62	79.53	85.26	23.51	30.23	3.32	4.33	1.6039	1.6536
	1994	17.37	27.27	74.47	71.54	120.55	111.91	80.93	87.62	25.29	32.13	3.69	5.01	1.6115	1.6774

¹ 1983 to 1990 excluding Newfoundland.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, catalogue no. 84-210, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Fertility is usually considered complete by age 49, but so few children are born to women after 44, or even 39, that fertility can be regarded as to all intents and purposes complete by age 40. If this assumption is accepted, women born as recently as the mid-1950s can be included in an examination of completed fertility. Statistics Canada's General Social Survey, 1995, has recently been released and makes possible a review of the completed fertility of women born between 1931 and 1955, who therefore reached their peak childbearing years in the period spanning the latter half of the baby boom and the subsequent baby bust. While no strikingly new findings emerge, these data confirm the trends revealed by other data sources and provide some additional depth.

One of the fundamental changes now taking place in marriage and childbearing is that fertility is less closely tied to marital status than in the past. As more and more women have interrupted marital histories, and as more and more childbearing takes place outside of marriage, previous studies limited to ever-married or continuously married women lose their relevance, and a more inclusive view is required. The 1991 Census of Canada was the first to ask all women over 15 the number of live births they have ever had; previously, only ever-married women were asked the question. The General Social Survey also permits an analysis of fertility without reference to marital status.

The simplest ways to summarize childbearing are to give the distribution of women by the number of children they have ever borne, or reduce this to the average number of children they have had, as shown in Table 10. To evaluate the quality of the General Social Survey data, estimates from the 1991 Census and from the 1995 General Social Survey are included for women of the same cohorts. For General Social Survey data, only births before Census Day 1991 are included. The two populations are not exactly the same, since the General Social Survey is a sample of the 1995 population (the 1991 population diminished by deaths and emigration and increased by immigration), but the changes are small. In addition, the data collection methods differ. The two sets of estimates will, therefore, not correspond exactly.

Looking first at the percentage of women having a given number of children, the smaller the percentage the more the General Social Survey tends to deviate from the census. For older age groups of women and for cases where few women have the particular number of children, the deviation can approach 50%. However, ignoring fourth and higher births, and cases where estimates must be interpreted with caution, the General Social Survey deviates from the census by less than 10% in the majority of cases for age groups of women under 55, and never by as much as 20%, and for older women by 17% to 27%. Finally, the General Social Survey overestimates the mean number of children per woman by between 1% and 6%, a very small difference. This suggests that General Social Survey estimates can be used with due caution,

Table 10. Women Aged 35-64 in 1991 by Five-Year Age Group and Number of Children Ever Born by Census Day, 1991, Comparing the 1991 Census and the General Social Survey, 1995, Percentages, Canada

Number of Children	Age in 1991 and Birth Cohort of Woman											
	35-39 (1952-56)		40-44 (1947-51)		45-49 (1942-46)		50-54 (1937-41)		55-59 (1932-36)		60-64 (1927-31)	
	Women	Children	Women	Children	Women	Children	Women	Children	Women	Children	Women	Children
1991 Census												
0	19.8	...	15.9	...	13.7	...	12.1	...	12.0	...	13.4	...
1	16.1	9.0	14.5	7.3	12.4	5.6	9.9	3.7	8.6	2.8	9.1	2.8
2	38.9	43.4	40.2	40.8	36.0	32.2	27.5	20.5	21.6	14.0	20.0	12.4
3	18.3	30.6	20.3	30.9	22.7	30.5	24.1	26.9	22.0	21.4	19.4	18.1
4	5.0	11.2	6.4	12.9	9.4	16.7	13.7	20.4	15.5	20.1	14.7	18.3
5+	1.8	5.8	2.8	8.1	5.7	15.0	12.7	28.5	20.3	41.7	23.4	48.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (in thousands)	1,150	2,062	1,044	2,057	817	1,828	660	1,770	616	1,901	600	1,925
Children per Woman	...	1.79	...	1.97	...	2.24	...	2.68	...	3.08	...	3.21
General Social Survey, 1995												
0	19.1	...	12.8	...	12.1 *	...	10.7 *	...	13.0 *	...	10.5 *	...
1	14.6	7.9	13.7	6.7	9.5 *	4.1 *	11.1 *	4.0 *	12.0 *	3.8 *	...	...
2	38.3	41.3	42.1	41.4	41.5	35.7	26.1	18.8	15.9	10.2	24.8	14.5
3	19.6	31.7	23.0	34.0	21.1	27.3	27.4	29.6	16.7	16.0	10.9 *	9.6 *
4	7.1 *	15.4 *	6.8 *	13.4 *	6.8 *	11.8 *	8.0 *	11.5 *	16.1	20.7	13.3 *	15.6 *
5+	...	...	...	...	8.9 *	21.2 *	16.8	36.0	26.4	49.2	33.1	58.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (in thousands)	1,167	2,160	1,039	2,112	862	2,004	661	1,833	613	1,911	625	2,131
Children per Woman	...	1.85	...	2.03	...	2.33	...	2.77	...	3.12	...	3.41

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.

** Estimate is too variable to be published.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1991, catalogue no. 93-321, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Table 11. Parity Progression Ratios by Specified Ages in 1991 by Five-Year Birth Cohorts of Women Born 1927-1956, Comparing the 1991 Census and the 1995 General Social Survey, Canada

Parity Progression Ratio	Birth Cohort of Woman						
	1927-31	1932-36	1937-41	1942-46	1947-51	1952-56	
	By Age 50			By 45-49	By 40-44	By 35-39	
	1991 Census						
	a ₀	866	880	879	863	841	802
	a ₁	895	903	887	856	828	799
	a ₂	742	728	647	512	422	393
	a ₃	663	619	523	399	311	273
	a ₄	615	568	482	380	305	267
	General Social Survey, 1995						
	a ₀	895	870	893	879	872	809
	a ₁	918	862	876	892	843	819
	a ₂	698	788	666	471	428	423

Note: a₀: proportion of women who proceed to have at least a first child.
a₁: proportion of women who, having had a first child, proceed to have at least a second.
a₂: proportion of women who, having had two children, proceed to have at least a third.
All births are assumed to have occurred by age 50, and only births before Census Day 1991 are included.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1991, catalogue no. 93-321, table 2, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

and also that summary measures, like the mean number of children per woman, as well as the parity progression ratios and birth intervals to be discussed below, are much closer to census estimates than estimates of percentages of women having specified numbers of children.

The three oldest cohorts in Table 10, women born from 1927-1931 to 1937-1941, represent those whose childbearing began at the peak of the baby boom while subsequent cohorts are increasingly those of the baby bust. Analysis is limited to women under 65 to avoid recall problems. All cohorts can be assumed to have completed their fertility, although the assumption is weaker for the youngest cohort, women born from 1952 to 1956. The sharp decline in the proportion of women with large completed fertilities over these six cohorts is evident. Taking the census data, in the 1927-1931 cohort, 38% of women have had four or more children, and two-thirds of all children are in families of this size. By the 1952-1956 cohort, 7% of women have had four or more children, and fewer than a fifth of children are in this large a family. At the same time, the proportion of children in families of two or three children rises from 31% in the oldest cohort to 74% in the youngest. The result is a steady decline in the number of children per woman, from 3.2 in the 1927-1931 cohort to 1.8 in the 1952-1956 cohort.

The numbers on which the percentages in Table 10 are based can be used to calculate a measure of the dynamics of childbearing, the parity progression ratio, the proportion of women who, not having had a child, have at least a first child, or the proportion of women who, having had a first child, go on to have at least a second child, etc. Table 11 compares parity progression ratios estimated using the 1991 Census and the 1995 General Social Survey. For the former, the first five ratios are shown but, to restrict the analysis to reliable estimates, only the first three are shown for the latter. All women are included without regard to marital status, so that these ratios are not directly comparable to those limited to ever-married women.

The greater stability of these estimates compared to those reported above is evident: the General Social Survey is mostly within 5% of the census estimates and never deviates by as much as 10%. The data suggest a pattern widely observed not only in Canada but in other developed countries: high ratios for the transition to the first birth and, for those who have had a first birth, to the second birth, although there is evidence also of a slow decline over time. For higher-order births, radical changes are observed. The proportion of those who, having had a second child, go on to have at least a third declines from 742 per 1,000 in the 1927-1931 cohort to only 393 per 1,000 in the 1952-1956 cohort. The parity progression ratios at higher parities for women in the 1927-1931 cohort have already declined somewhat from those observed among women born before the turn of the century. Reporting findings from the 1961 census for women born in 1896 and earlier, who would therefore have begun their childbearing during World War I or earlier, J. Henripin⁴ found the first five parity progression ratios of 872, 861, 794, 769 and 762 per 1,000 women. These ratios indicate that 60%⁵ of women born in 1896 or earlier would have had three or more children compared to 58% of women born between 1927 and 1931, while 35% of the former but only 23% of the latter would have had five or more children. By the 1952-1956 cohort, these numbers have fallen to 25% having three or more children and 2% having five or more, although observation is cut short at ages 35 to 39.

So far, data from the General Social Survey have been used only for comparisons to 1991 census data, but the Survey's full value is realised when it is used to investigate fertility in 1995. Table 12 shows parity progression ratios for women at the ages of 39 and 44 in 1995. Because they are estimates derived from a sample of the total population, they are inherently variable, and increasingly so as the sample size diminishes. For this reason, only the first three ratios are presented, to first birth, from first birth to second birth,

⁴ Statistics Canada, *Trends and Factors of Fertility in Canada*, catalogue no. 99-541E, Ottawa, 1972, Table 2.11.

⁵ This percentage and the following are found by multiplying successive ratios: $0.872 \times 0.861 \times 0.794 = 0.596$.

Table 12. Parity Progression Ratios for the First Three Births by Ages 39 and 44, by Birth Cohort of Women Born 1931-1955, Canada, 1995

Age and Parity Progression Ratio	Birth Cohort of Woman					Total	
	1931-35	1936-40	1941-45	1946-50	1951-55		
	Year of Reaching Age 20						
	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70	1971-75		
	Year of Completing Age 39						
	1971-75	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95		
	Year of Completing Age 44						
	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95			
By Age 39	per 1,000 Women						
	a ₀	837	886	875	847	824	854
	a ₁	842	862	895	845	846	858
	a ₂	783	679	469	419	457	529
	By Age 44						
	a ₀	837	891	875	851	—	864
	a ₁	842	857	895	840	—	859
	a ₂	783	673	471	412	—	553

Note: a₀: proportion of women who proceed to have at least a first child.

a₁: proportion of women who, having had a first child, proceed to have at least a second.

a₂: proportion of women who, having had two children, proceed to have at least a third.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1991, catalogue no. 93-321, table 2, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

and from second birth to third birth. Although all the ratios given are statistically reliable, small deviations from the trend should nonetheless be treated with caution.

Childbearing by age 44 is measured for four cohorts, women born 1931-1935 to 1946-1950. *Of women completing their childbearing in 1991-1995, only two out of five of those having a second child went on to have a third. Just 15 years earlier, over three-quarters of women completing their childbearing in 1976-1980 went on to have a third child.* This change in the third parity progression ratio has a marked effect on completed fertility: 55% of women born in 1931-1935 had at least three children, while 31% of women born in 1946-1950 did so.

By restricting the definition of the fertile period to ages 15 to 39, an extra cohort, women born from 1951 to 1955, is added to the analysis. Their peak childbearing would be at ages 25 to 29, in 1976-1980. A comparison of the youngest, 1951-1955, cohort to the preceding one shows that part of the

Table 13. Median Duration of Birth Interval¹ in Months for Women Born 1931-1955, Canada, 1995

Birth Interval	Birth Cohort of Women				
	1931-35	1936-40	1941-45	1946-50	1951-55
1st	101.9	100.6	102.4	120.5	124.9
2nd	29.6	29.5	30.9	36.9	34.7
3rd	32.3	41.5	—	—	218.6

¹ The time in months within which one-half of all women having a child have a child of a higher order. Thus, the calculation of the median duration is impossible when half of the women at risk of a birth of higher order in the life table constructed to take censoring into account have not had the child in question.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

pattern, a slow decline in the proportions proceeding to a first birth, is continuing, but there is no evidence of a continuing decline in the proportion proceeding from a first birth to a second birth or from a second birth to a third birth, and there may even be some recovery. In addition, the proportion having at least three children is virtually unchanged from the previous cohort. The slight upturn in the third ratio may represent mere random variation in the sample. There is thus reason to believe that the changes observed since the peak of the baby boom in the first three parity progression ratios may finally be stabilizing.

In one case, the birth cohort 1941-1945, the third parity progression ratio by age 39 is slightly higher than that by age 44, which might be thought to be logically impossible. This is not so, however. It can be due to some women having a second birth between 39 and 44, and so being added to the denominator of the ratio, but not having a third birth and so not contributing to the numerator.

An important dimension of childbearing on which the General Social Survey, but not the census, throws light is the timing of births. Once again, the growing dissociation between marriage and childbearing makes it appropriate to find a more neutral starting point for birth intervals than marriage, and age 15 is used instead. The first birth interval is thus the time elapsed between age 15 and a first birth, the second birth interval is the time elapsed between the first birth and the second birth, etc. Estimates of the first three intervals for the five cohorts of women born between 1931 and 1955 are shown in Table 13. The summary measure of the interval is the median duration, the halfway point in the distribution of women by the time elapsed from the previous event (reaching age 15 or the earlier birth), to either the next birth or the survey date if they do not have another birth. Hence, half of women have the specified birth in a shorter length of time than the median, and half have it in a longer length of time, or reach the survey date without having it. For the 1941-1945 to 1951-1955 cohorts, the median third birth interval either does not exist or

is very long: what is happening is that the proportion of women going on to have a third birth is very close to half by the time they reach age 40, slightly under for the 1941-1945 and 1946-1950 cohorts, and slightly over for the 1951-1955 cohort. In the older cohorts, half of women who have had a second birth have gone on to have a third birth within about three years.

The data show that birth intervals are increasing over these five cohorts. For example, *the first interval, between age 15 and the first birth, lengthens from a median of 102 months in the 1931-1935 cohort* (the median age of women at their first birth is 23.7) *to 125 months in the 1951-1955 cohort* (a median age of 25.6). Taken with the parity progression ratios, the summary conclusion is that, while few women are forgoing childbearing altogether, many are having their children later. There is however, a significant difference in the pattern shown by birth intervals and parity progression ratios. In the case of birth intervals, most change is in the first, which lengthens by almost two years between the 1931-1935 cohort and the 1951-1955 cohort. In contrast, the second birth interval lengthens by only about half a year. As observed above, the major change in the parity progression ratios is in the third ratio and higher. *In other words, women have been increasingly delaying their first child and forgoing a third child.* However, it should be noted that the widespread belief that the two-child family is now the norm is somewhat exaggerated. *Although the 30% of women in the 1946-1950 cohort who have had at least three children by age 39 are far from being a majority, they are also by no means a negligible proportion.*

Abortions⁶

Since abortion ceased to be illegal in Canada, the number of clinics where voluntary interruptions of pregnancy may be obtained has increased; with the exception of Saskatchewan and Prince Edward Island, all provinces have such clinics.⁷ As a result, the number of interruptions performed in clinics continues to grow. Looking back, it becomes apparent that voluntary interruptions of pregnancy were underestimated prior to 1990 by the number of abortions, illegal except in Quebec, that were not counted as therapeutic. From 1989 to 1990, there was almost no increase in the number of abortions performed in hospitals, but the number performed in clinics increased by 187%. However the Canadian Institute for Health Information (C.I.H.I.) to which Statistics Canada transferred the data collection activities in 1995 still does not have complete information on the subject. Since January 1988, when the Supreme Court of Canada completely decriminalized abortions, the collection of data has become more difficult. When most hospitals continue to report the number of abortions performed, along with the demographic and medical characteristics

⁶ Understood as voluntary interruptions of pregnancy.

⁷ There are none in Yukon or the Northwest Territories.

Table 14. Rate by Age and Total Rate of Voluntary Interruptions of Pregnancy, Canada, 1993 and 1994

Age Group	1993			1994		
	Population (thousands)	Voluntary Interruptions of Pregnancy	Rate (per 1,000)	Population (thousands)	Voluntary Interruptions of Pregnancy	Rate (per 1,000)
> 15	187.7	664	36	193.4	561	29
15-17	564.4	8,306	147	568.8	8,486	149
18-19	380.6	11,378	299	388.5	12,540	323
20-24	1,014.6	31,226	308	1,015.0	31,868	314
25-29	1,158.0	23,323	201	1,137.9	23,026	202
30-34	1,300.9	17,015	131	1,322.6	16,723	126
35-39	1,231.8	9,544	77	1,267.0	9,978	79
40-44	1,091.9	2,947	27	1,127.7	3,073	27
Total Rate	...	...	47.95	...	...	48.62

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Therapeutic Abortions*, catalogue no. 82-219, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

of the women, some have stopped the compilation and reporting of demographic characteristics. For clinics, data collection is less complete and less consistent. While most clinics provide Statistics Canada (and now the Institute) with the information requested, a few report only partial information or, in a limited number of cases, no information. Some provinces collect information from clinics themselves and then forward it to the agency. If they do not, the numbers have to be traced from the patient's place of residence that appears in the records of the province where the procedure was performed. Further complicating matters is the fact that information available one year may not have been available the previous year, nor will it necessarily be available the next year. Notwithstanding such problems in data collection, regularity in the time series gives some confidence in the trends observed. Also, a comparison of the demographic characteristics of women who choose clinics over hospitals in Ontario and Alberta leads to the conclusion that there is no great difference between the clienteles of the two types of establishment; it therefore seems reasonable to conclude that the situation is likely to be similar elsewhere. It thus seems appropriate to apply conclusions based on the part to the whole.

Compared to 1994 figures for age-specific voluntary interruptions of pregnancy, almost all the rates have increased slightly (Table 14). The total rate is therefore also somewhat higher. The rate of 0.48 means that 1,000 Canadian women will have 480 abortions during their childbearing years. This does not mean that one in every two women will have an abortion, since some women have more than one; also, the calculation is based on the fictitious cohort and not on a real one. However, these statistics do show that the number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy is on the rise.

Table 15. Number of Voluntary Interruptions of Pregnancy by Province of Residence, Canada, 1994

Province	Voluntary Interruptions of Pregnancy (V.I.P.)			Births (4)	Ratio VIP / Births (%) (3) / (4)
	In Hospital (1)	In a Clinic (2)	Total (3)		
Newfoundland	485	406	891	6,337	14.1
Prince Edward Island	6	159	165	1,716	9.6
Nova Scotia	1,823	228	2,051	11,099	18.5
New Brunswick	617	235	852	8,978	9.5
Quebec	17,459	9,928	27,387	90,578	30.2
Ontario	29,743	15,363	45,106	147,068	30.7
Manitoba	2,858	593	3,451	18,480	18.7
Saskatchewan	1,741	107	1,848	14,038	13.2
Alberta	6,713	2,296	9,009	39,796	22.6
British Columbia	9,718	4,196	13,914	46,998	29.6
Yukon	138	2	140	442	31.7
Northwest Territories	267	7	274	1,580	17.3
Residence Not Stated	62	767	829	...	...
Total	71,630	34,287	105,917	387,110	27.4

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Therapeutic Abortions*, catalogue no. 82-219, *Births*, catalogue no. 84-210 and calculations by the author.

From one year to the next, the number of second abortions is also increasing.⁸ First abortions represented 89% of the total in 1975, but only 66% in 1994. These figures lead us to believe that the number of women who resort more than once to an abortion is increasing over time.

In any given year, comparing the number of abortions to the number of births gives a ratio that allows for comparisons over time and with other countries. This ratio is rising quite rapidly in Canada, increasing from 18.6% in 1978 to 27.4% in 1994 (see "Canada and the World" above). Births are declining as the number of voluntary interruptions of pregnancy increases but it would be wrong to conclude that, in a country like Canada, it is voluntary interruptions of pregnancy that are responsible for the decline in births.

There was a time when, for various reasons, such as the notoriety surrounding an unwanted pregnancy or the lack of properly equipped clinics, women had to leave home to obtain a voluntary interruption of pregnancy, but those days are long gone. We need only look at the change in the number of abortions performed in U.S. border states. In 1971, 17% of all known procedures performed on Canadian women took place in these states, but in recent years, the figure has dropped to a negligible proportion (about 3 per 1,000). Note also that, with the exception of provinces that do not have adequate

⁸ Statistics Canada, *Therapeutic Abortions 1994*, catalogue no. 82-319-XPB, pages 22-23.

clinics or hospital facilities, very few women interrupt a pregnancy in a province other than their province of residence: according to hospital data, only a few hundred do so.

MORTALITY

Deaths

As suspected last year, the increase in the number of deaths in 1993 (8,377) has proved to be merely a surprising surge, not uncommonly observed, short-lived and largely due to the flu. The increase in 1994 was 2,165, which is perfectly in keeping with the average increase in recent years. In 1995, the number of deaths increased by 3,425 (Table A7 in the Appendix). This annual increase does not signify a rise in mortality: it is inevitable in a growing population where older people constitute an increasingly large share. In fact, the mortality rate continues to drop, albeit slowly, as we will see when we look at the changes in age-specific deaths and the parameters of the life table. However, before examining the major causes of death, deaths due to HIV will be reviewed. Alzheimer's disease—an illness that is of increasing concern due to Canada's aging population—and suicide will also be touched on.

Deaths Due to AIDS

Curious developments have occurred in the mere eight years that HIV mortality has been observed in Canada. ***Most fortunately for men, the rate is clearly dropping: the increase was only 1% from 1993 to 1994*** (Table 16). Since the number of people carrying the immunodeficiency virus is increasing, it must be supposed that treatment is slowing or halting the progression of the disease toward fatal AIDS. Also, a certain number of men infected with HIV are not actually dying of AIDS, but of other, competing causes (accident, suicide). With regard to women, however, the pattern is extremely erratic. This certainly has something to do with the fact that the disease is far less widespread among women. In fact, female deaths in the last eight years (557) constitute only 6% of all deaths from AIDS (8,749) during the period. But 1994 shows a disturbing increase of 54% (49 deaths) over the previous year, and there had already been a 29% increase from 1992 to 1993.

Alzheimer's Disease

While a fair number of the secondary, but not minor, causes of death are declining, others are on the rise. ***Alzheimer's disease*** is a case in point. This disease of aging has only been classified separately (Code 331) since 1979, in the ninth edition of the International Classification of Diseases adapted for North America. It is by no means a new disease; it has merely been distinguished from senile dementia as a whole. For the time being, Alzheimer's disease can

Table 16. Deaths Due to HIV (Causes 042-044 in the ICD) by Broad Age Groups and Sex, Canada, 1987-1994

Year	Sex	Age Group					Total	Variation with the previous year (%)
		0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60 +		
1987	M	1	85	293	87	22	488	...
	F	5	7	12	8	5	37	...
1988	M	2	96	361	126	29	614	25.8
	F	3	10	28	7	9	57	54.1
1989	M	3	124	485	164	21	797	29.8
	F	2	10	20	10	12	54	-5.3
1990	M	3	108	576	215	35	937	17.6
	F	1	14	19	7	4	45	-16.7
1991	M	3	129	698	233	42	1 105	17.9
	F	4	15	25	14	7	65	44.4
1992	M	4	161	783	305	35	1 288	16.6
	F	4	10	38	11	7	70	7.7
1993	M	7	159	924	330	54	1,474	14.4
	F	2	19	49	13	7	90	28.6
1994	M	4	127	954	350	54	1,489	1.0
	F	14	16	77	26	6	139	54.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Causes of Death*, catalogue no. 84-208 and calculations by the author.

be confirmed only by autopsy, although its symptoms become increasingly well defined in those afflicted by the disease. If the number of deaths attributed to it accurately reflects its incidence, *this is a cause of death that is progressing very quickly, even taking into account the possibility of improper assignment in the years immediately following its addition to the classification. The number of deaths rose from 72 in 1979 to 2,544 in 1994* (Table 17). *At the moment, it is more deadly than AIDS*, but its victims are very different. Because it is a disease of aging, almost all those who die of it are over 65. Also, *despite the great difference in the number of deaths for men and women, it affects women only slightly more than men* (Table 18). In 1994, 859 men died of Alzheimer's disease, compared to 1,685 women, a ratio of almost two to one. However, a breakdown of the crude rates for the population 40 and over shows that, although the 1994 male rate is lower than the female rate by 12 points per 100,000, 84% of that difference is due to the older age structure among women, which is more likely than the male age structure to lead to the appearance of the disease. The difference in incidence accounts for only 16%. There is no a priori reason why 1994 would be different from preceding years, and why this conclusion should not be generalized.

Table 17. Number and Rate of Deaths Due to Alzheimer's Disease by Sex, Canada, 1979-1994

Year	Males		Females	
	Number	Rate (per 100,000)	Number	Rate (per 100,000)
1979	30	0.6	42	0.8
1980	70	1.5	73	1.4
1981	125	2.6	130	2.5
1982	136	2.7	156	2.9
1983	218	4.2	223	4.0
1984	330	6.3	348	6.1
1985	450	8.4	547	9.4
1986	496	9.0	700	11.8
1987	639	11.3	845	13.8
1988	701	12.1	983	15.7
1989	730	12.2	1,087	16.8
1990	775	12.6	1,240	18.7
1991	767	12.2	1,344	19.7
1992	824	12.7	1,394	19.9
1993	848	12.7	1,563	21.6
1994	859	12.5	1,685	22.7

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, *Causes of Death*, catalogue no. 84-208 and calculations by the author.

Suicide

It has been many years since death by suicide was last addressed in the pages of this Report. In the 1983 edition, the reader was warned against several pitfalls awaiting the analyst of this cause of death. It must be kept in mind that it is a cause for which the number of deaths must be accepted with great caution. "In fact," according to the 1983 Report, "the exact number of suicides is unknown. Violent deaths may be suspected of really being suicides but there may be no evidence to classify them as such." It must be stressed that this remains the case. Nevertheless, making use of available data, it can be

Table 18. Standardization and Decomposition of Rates of Death from Alzheimer's Disease, Canada, 1994

	Standardization ¹		Effect	Decomposition	
	Female Population	Male Population		Difference (effect) ¹	Difference (%)
Standardization by Rate	26.16	16.03	Age Effect	-10.13	84.0
Standardization by Age	22.06	20.14	Rate Effect	-1.92	16.0
Total Standardization (Crude Rates)	27.40	15.40	Total	-12.05	100.0

¹ Per 100,000.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, *Causes of Death*, catalogue no. 84-208 and calculations by the author.

Table 19. Standardized¹ Death Rates² by Suicide (per 100,000), Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1970-1974 to 1990-1994

Province	1970-1974		1975-1979		1980-1984		1985-1989		1990-1994	
	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate
Males										
Newfoundland	10	8.3	10	7.5	10	10.1	10	10.1	9	14.9
Prince Edward Island ³	2	23.3	1	26.4	8	19.0	9	14.0	4	22.1
Nova Scotia	7	19.5	7	20.1	7	20.1	7	19.4	8	19.2
New Brunswick	9	14.7	8	19.7	4	23.0	5	21.0	5	22.0
Quebec	8	16.3	9	18.6	3	25.2	1	25.9	1	27.2
Ontario	6	20.0	6	20.5	9	18.9	8	17.3	9	14.9
Manitoba	3	21.7	5	23.5	6	21.5	4	21.6	6	19.9
Saskatchewan	4	21.6	4	23.7	1	26.0	3	21.7	3	22.9
Alberta	4	21.6	2	25.3	2	25.6	2	25.1	2	26.5
British Columbia	1	25.0	3	24.2	5	21.8	6	19.8	7	19.5
Yukon ³	...	69.1	...	34.6	...	47.2	...	45.9	...	37.3
Northwest Territories ³	...	30.1	...	39.4	...	39.9	...	46.2	...	49.7
Canada	...	19.5	...	20.8	...	22.0	...	21.0	...	20.6
Females										
Newfoundland	10	1.6	10	0.9	10	1.3	10	1.3	10	2.8
Prince Edward Island ³	9	1.7	9	4.3	9	2.8	9	3.6	9	2.9
Nova Scotia	7	3.9	7	4.5	7	3.4	8	3.7	7	3.9
New Brunswick	8	3.3	8	4.4	7	3.4	7	4.4	8	3.6
Quebec	6	5.7	6	6.6	2	7.6	1	7.1	2	6.5
Ontario	2	9.2	3	8.2	3	6.7	5	5.5	6	4.2
Manitoba	4	7.5	4	7.7	6	5.9	3	6.2	5	4.7
Saskatchewan	5	5.9	5	7.6	5	6.3	4	5.6	3	5.7
Alberta	3	7.6	2	8.5	1	8.5	2	6.5	1	7.4
British Columbia	1	11.4	1	9.9	3	6.7	6	5.4	4	5.2
Yukon ³	...	25.5	...	11.6	...	11.0	...	7.1	...	1.5
Northwest Territories ³	...	6.1	...	6.8	...	9.4	...	11.7	...	8.8
Canada	...	7.6	...	7.5	...	6.8	...	5.9	...	5.2

¹ Population structure of Canada in 1991.

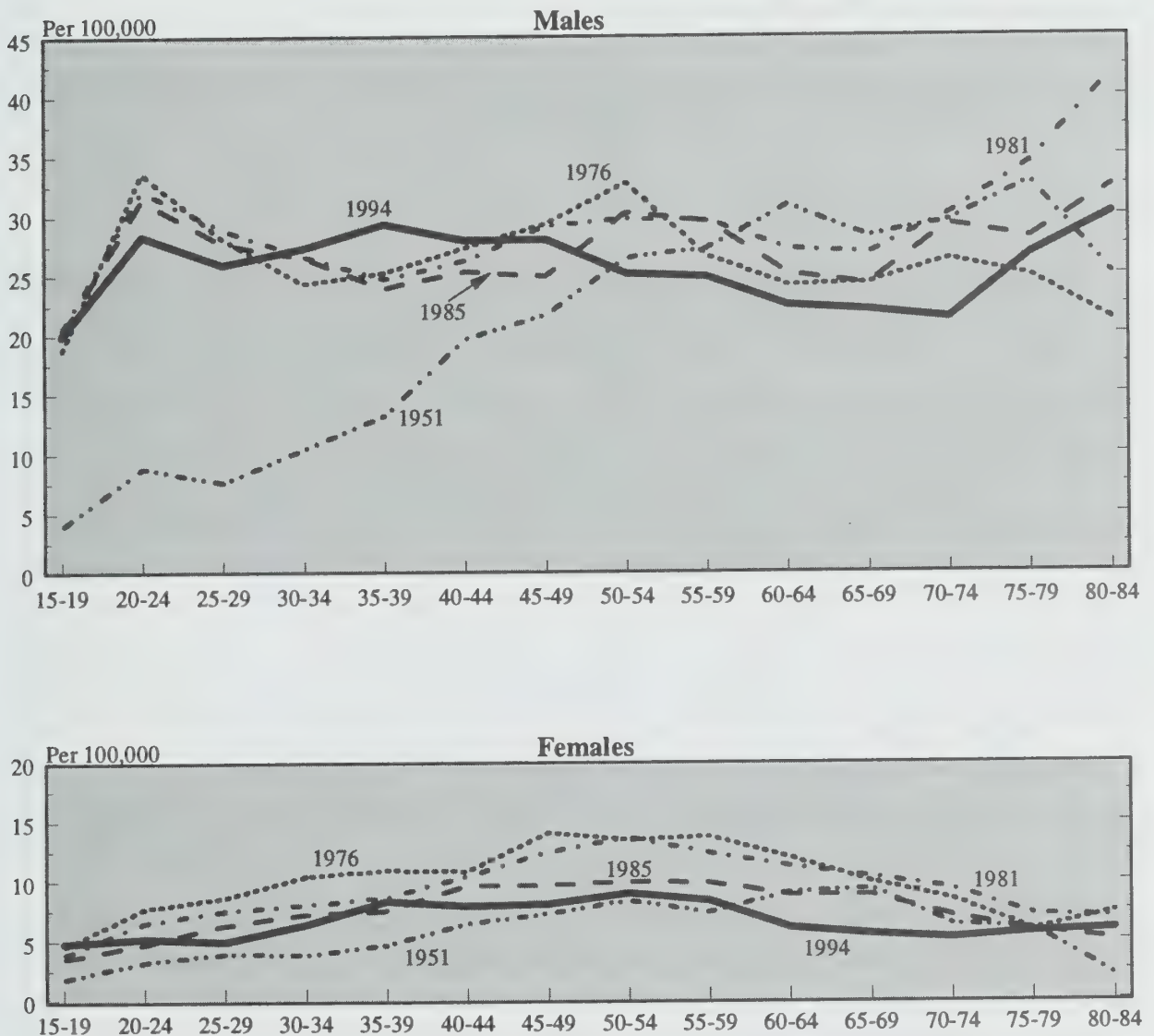
² The rates are medians for each five-year period.

³ Since numbers are small, variations may be random..

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

determined that the number of deaths by suicide had reached 3,776 in 1994 in a population of 29 million, which yields a crude rate of 12.6 per 100,000. In 1980, it was 10.3 and in 1983, 11.3. These crude rates are not directly comparable because the age structure of the population has changed over

Figure 3. Rate of Death by Suicide by Age and Sex, Canada, 1951, 1976, 1981, 1985 and 1994



Source: Table A8 in the Appendix.

the period. But since mortality from suicide is less related to aging than other types of mortality, a reference population on which to carry out a simple standardization can be chosen freely, to give a glimpse of the changes which have taken place in populations in which suicide has varying incidences at different ages.

Choosing the 1991 population as standard, one may observe that mortality by suicide, which rose from the 1950s to the first half of the 1980s, fell slightly since. The average of standardized annual rates went from 22.0 per 100,000 in the 1980-1984 period to 21.0 in the following period and to 20.6 in the 1990-1994 period for males. For females, the highest average annual rate, 7.6 per 100,000, is observed in the 1975-1979 period. It has fallen since, reaching 5.2 between 1990 and 1994 (Table 19).

An examination of Figure 3 shows that variations in age rates have been minimal since 1976, as have trends. In fact, no new pattern of evolution can be detected. Canada, contrary to many industrialized countries, has always been characterized by a high suicide rate among young adults, and this situation remains unchanged. If any change deserves mention, it is a lower reduction in suicide rates after age 50 as Figure 3 shows.

Interprovincial Differences

The number of suicides is small and when it is broken down by age group and province there obviously result considerable variations by age of uncertain significance. It is wiser to compare provinces with large enough populations to suppress random fluctuations. It may be observed that the values for Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia have changed over the course of twenty years (Table 19). Using as before the annual average for the five-year period, the highest level for the period 1970-1974 and for males is observed in British Columbia (25.0 per 100,000), followed by Ontario (20.0) and finally Quebec with 16.3. Ten years later, Quebec is in first place with 25.2, followed by British Columbia (21.8), with Ontario in last place with 18.9 per 100,000. For the 1990-1994 period, the order has remained the same but the values have changed. Quebec's rate has risen (27.2) while those of the other two provinces have fallen, to 19.5 in British Columbia and to 14.9 in Ontario. ***It can be concluded that the higher rates observed in Quebec in 1994 are the result of a long-term trend and do not represent a sudden change.***

There is no obvious explanation for these changes. Economic prosperity, characterized globally by the level of average income, the number of the unemployed, social-assistance recipients, personal bankruptcies, can furnish only a suspect correlation with the number of suicides. The same is true of the "social climate," an incommensurable reality. The reasons a suicide has for ending it all are often unknown to those who know about the case, and often different from what indicators chosen after the fact because they appear relevant would lead one to imagine. Deductions and suppositions satisfy the need for an explanation more than they describe reality.

If these considerations apply to medium-term changes, still more should they induce caution in the interpretation of annual fluctuations. In Quebec in 1995, male rates by age group from 15 to 64 increased in no particular order and by different amounts. Such variations in a single year can only be described as a period effect, which casts doubt on a cohort effect involving baby-boomers, as some writers have characterized it, but above all it is necessary to keep the numbers involved in mind. An increase of the order of 160 is certainly not negligible (it is 18% of the 1994 figure), but it loses some of its mystery when it is placed in the context of an upward trend. Before chancing interpretations which may turn out to be inaccurate, it would be wiser to await the next year to see if a change in the trend is evident. The same prudence

Table 20. Change in Life Expectancy at Birth, Canada, 1976-1994

Year	Males		Females	
	Life Expectancy at Birth	Gain	Life Expectancy at Birth	Gain
1976	70.50	...	77.81	...
1981	72.05	1.55	79.17	1.36
1986	73.32	1.27	80.02	0.85
1991	74.61	1.29	80.95	0.93
1992	74.78	0.17	81.02	0.07
1993	74.96	0.18	81.09	0.07
1994	75.12	0.16	81.17	0.08
Gain from 1991 to 1996	...	0.85	...	0.38

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Research and Analysis Section and calculations by the author.

must be shown with regard to suicide among young people; it is too early to say that it has improved because the rate for 15-to-19-year-olds has decreased by 1%, that for 20-to-24-year-olds has dropped by 11%, and that for 25-to-29-year-olds has dropped by 7% between 1985 and 1994 (Table A8 in the Appendix).

The Life Table (Table A9 in the Appendix)

The final life table for 1993 has proved to be almost identical to the provisional table, and the 1994 life table shows very little change. Table 20 shows the changes in male and female life expectancies at birth since 1976. The increases tended to grow smaller from one period to the next. The increases for the period 1991-1996 (not yet all known) were estimated using the annual increases of 1992, 1993 and 1994. Note that they are very low for men and almost insignificant for women. This move toward at least temporary near-stagnation should come as no surprise. Considering the level of understanding we now have of disease prevention and treatment, only modest increases in life expectancy can be hoped for. *Diseases of the circulatory system, which have caused and continue to cause the most deaths, have been fought to the point where they affect people in late middle age or early old age, but preventing such diseases among frail, elderly people is very difficult.* From 1971 to 1994 the rate of deaths due to heart disease fell by 63% among men aged 50 to 54; among men 80 to 84, it dropped by only 42%. According to the logic on which the life table is based, the number of younger lives saved is what increases life expectancy at birth. When death comes later in life, these figures do not significantly reduce the number of years lived by the population in the table. As will be discussed below, it is now clear that cancer

is the major stumbling block for science. It is causing even more deaths than before among relatively young people, and women in particular. This is one of the main reasons for the very slight increase in life expectancy, especially for women. Until major discoveries are made to prevent or cure this disease, smaller and smaller gains in life expectancy can be anticipated.

Employing Standardization and Decomposition of Mortality Rates

The study of changes over time in mortality and its causes has always posed the problem of finding comparable measures, and the same difficulty is encountered in the analysis of mortality differences between geographical areas. Consequently, it seems worthwhile to illustrate how the problem can be addressed by taking stock of the progress which has been achieved in Canada in certain areas of mortality. The following question can be legitimately posed: *what is the outcome, as measured by simple indexes, of the effort expended over the last few decades in the fight against death?*

When comparisons of the behaviour of several populations are at issue, raw rates are obviously useless measures, even if the size of the populations involved is the same. This is because the different causes of death, acting in varying degrees in different populations, do not select their victims equally at every age. As a consequence, the age structure of the population affects the number of deaths which result, and a process of standardization is employed in order to eliminate this structural effect. Direct standardization, frequently used in demography, consists in calculating fictitious deaths in a population that has been chosen as a standard, making use of the death rates by age of the real populations that are to be compared. Then the sum is taken for each and divided by the total standard population. For each population, the rate resulting from this calculation has a value differing from that of the crude rate. These measures are called standardized or normalized or comparative rates. For their calculation, it is obviously necessary to have death rates by age available for each population.

The value of a standardized rate thus does not measure something actually there but rather serves as a kind of index possessing the property of being comparable, i.e., of showing, with certain reservations, that the phenomenon studied is stronger or weaker in different populations independently of their differences in age structure. An actual value for one of the rates can be maintained by choosing one of the populations being compared as the standard population. (This is the principle adopted in the comparison of men and women carried out above for deaths due to Alzheimer's disease.)

Because the standard population becomes the reference point for comparisons, it will be readily understood that its choice is of the greatest importance: it is in relation to it that the others are implicitly judged. To the extent that its structure, compared to the other populations, does or does

Table 21. Standardization and Decomposition of the General Mortality Rate, Canada, 1951-1993

Age Group	1951			1993			Fictitious Deaths	
	Number of Deaths	Population	Death Rate (per 1,000)	Number of Deaths	Population	Death Rate (per 1,000)	1993 Population Rates	1951 Population Rates
0-1	14,584	344,073	42.4	2,448	387,900	6.3	16,442	2,171
1-4	2,528	1,378,036	1.8	507	1,617,500	0.3	2,967	432
5-9	1,156	1,397,825	0.8	317	1,974,900	0.2	1,633	224
10-14	727	1,130,783	0.6	366	1,984,400	0.2	1,276	209
15-19	1,163	1,057,972	1.1	1,187	1,962,300	0.6	2,157	640
20-24	1,543	1,088,641	1.4	1,465	2,057,500	0.7	2,916	775
25-29	1,637	1,131,215	1.4	1,839	2,304,800	0.8	3,335	903
30-34	1,833	1,042,734	1.8	2,585	2,682,100	1.0	4,715	1,005
35-39	2,289	999,133	2.3	3,258	2,548,100	1.3	5,838	1,277
40-44	3,008	868,567	3.5	3,846	2,255,600	1.7	7,812	1,481
45-49	4,052	744,679	5.4	4,984	1,991,600	2.5	10,837	1,864
50-54	5,589	663,656	8.4	6,157	1,526,200	4.0	12,853	2,677
55-59	7,555	570,690	13.2	8,754	1,268,400	6.9	16,792	3,939
60-64	10,344	506,152	20.4	13,850	1,214,400	11.4	24,818	5,773
65-69	13,104	433,497	30.2	20,071	1,107,000	18.1	33,463	7,860
70-74	15,160	314,638	48.2	26,035	951,300	27.4	45,836	8,611
75-79	15,140	189,952	79.7	29,534	646,800	45.7	51,553	8,674
80-84	12,342	96,610	127.8	30,934	438,000	70.6	55,955	6,823
85+	11,636	52,222	222.8	46,772	329,400	142.0	73,396	7,415
Total	125,390	14,011,075	...	204,909	29,248,200	...	374,593	62,752
Crude Rate (per 1,000)	...	...	8.9	...	...	7.0	...	...
Standardized Rate (per 1,000)	...	...	...	...	...	...	12.8	4.5

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Deaths*, catalogue no. 84-210, Census of Canada 1951, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

not favour the appearance of the deaths which enter into the calculation of the comparative rates, it will furnish a high or low reference point. Thus, in the case of general mortality, as the risks of death are higher among older persons than among the young, the comparison of the values of the standardized rate will give rise to different comments according to whether the reference point chosen is the young population or the old population.

If the change in general mortality in Canada is evaluated over a long period (1951-1993), a decline is observed in the crude rate. In fact, it drops from 8.95 per 1,000 in 1951 to 7.01 per 1,000 in 1993, which supports the conclusion that mortality has fallen (Table 21). Since changes have taken place between the two dates in population structure, as well as progress in the fight against the causes of death, the difference observed results from a combination of the two phenomena. If the 1951 population had been exposed to the death rates by age of the 1993 population, the rate for the population as a whole would have been 4.48 per 1,000. The comparison evidently shows that the fight against death has borne fruit since, with the death rates by age of 1993, the rate for 1951 would have been 4.48 instead of 8.95, a gain of 4.47 points per 1,000. On the other hand, if the 1993 population still had the death rates

Table 22. Standardization and Decomposition of General Mortality Rates, Canada, 1951 and 1991

	Standardization ¹		Effect	Decomposition	
	Situation in 1993	Situation in 1951		Difference (effect) ¹	Difference (%)
Standardization by Rate	9.907	6.714	Age Effect	3.193	-164.0
Standardization by Age	5.742	10.878	Rate Effect	-5.136	264.0
Total Standardization (Crude Rates)	7.006	8.949	Total	-1.943	100.0

¹ Per 1,000.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, *Death*, 1951 and 1991 and calculations by the author.

by age of the 1951 population, the rate for the population as a whole would have been 12.81 per 1,000. This comparison also indicates that the situation has improved since, instead of the rate of 12.81 yielded by the assumption, one of only 7.01 per 1,000 is observed. But this time the excess is 5.80 points per 1,000. The role played by the choice of reference population is obvious and, as a result, the effect of progress cannot be quantified unambiguously: in the first case, the gain is 4.40 points per 1,000 (50%) and in the second 5.80 points per 1,000 (45%).

Without calling in question the results of direct standardization, it is possible to proceed differently. Das Gupta⁹, drawing on the work of numerous other methodologists, has proposed a method, recently published by the U.S. Census Bureau, which separates the change in the value of the rates into two parts, one due to the change in age structure and one which can be attributed to "progress." The sum of the two measures corresponds exactly to the difference between the crude rates. The following analysis reports the results of the application of this method of standardization to Canadian data.

Between two dates, the difference between the crude rates is the algebraic sum of the rate standardized for age structure and the rate standardized for the value of the rates by age. According to the results which appear in Table 22, between 1951 and 1993, as previously stated, the value of the crude general death rate has gone from 8.95 per 1,000 to 7.01, for a gain of 1.95 points. The decomposition of the overall gain permits the observation that, if the age structure had not changed between the two dates, it would have been 5.14 points but that aging reduced this gain by 3.19 points. The algebraic sum thus gives, as expected, the 1.94 points yielded by the difference between the crude rates.

⁹ Prithwis Das Gupta, *Standardization and Decomposition of Rates: A User's Manual*, U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

If “i” designates the age group, let “ T_i ” be the death rate by age group for population 1, “ t_i ” that for population 2. N_i / N is the proportion of the total population of the age group in population 1 and n_i / n is the corresponding proportion in population 2. Then:

$$\sum_i \frac{n_i / n + N_i / N}{2} \times T_i = \text{the standardized rate by age for population 1}$$

and

$$\sum_i \frac{t_i + T_i}{2} \times N_i / N = \text{the standardized rate for the rates of population 1}$$

The interest of this method lies principally in the continuous consistency, whatever the interval of time considered, of the difference observed in the value of the crude rates between any two years with the sum of the differences of which it is the result: differences due to the age structure on the one hand and to the value of the rates on the other. In Table A10 in the Appendix, where series of rates from 1971 to 1994 for five major causes of death are shown for men and women (which will be discussed below), the increase in female mortality due to malignant neoplasms and cancers can be seen to be 6.6 points per 100,000 (155.9 - 149.3 per 100,000) and the effect of age can be seen to be 49.2 points per 100,000 (177.3 - 128.1), for a total of 55.8 points, corresponding to the observed difference in the crude rates between 1971 and 1994. In the same way, if the crude rate increased by 32.5 points per 100,000 from 1978 to 1988, the change in the age structure by itself would have caused the rate to go from 141.0 to 164.9 per 100,000 (an increase of 23.9 points per 100,000) and the change in the value of the rates would have been responsible for an increase of 8.6 points (156.2 - 147.6), which add up to exactly 32.5 points.

These intriguing results suggest passing in review the major causes of death (Table 23) in order to measure over the lengthy period 1951 to 1993, within the limitations of the method¹⁰, the success of the fight against disease and the importance of the brake which the aging of the population has applied. As far as infectious and parasitic diseases go, the gain is observed to be very modest (2.39 points per 10,000), but it would have been slightly higher (2.62) if the change in population structure had not hidden 10% of its effect.

¹⁰ The question always remains of interaction among the causes. Those who do not die from one cause of death become candidates for another cause.

Table 23. Standardization and Decomposition of Rates of Death for Certain Causes, Canada, 1951 and 1991

	Standardization ¹		Effect	Decomposition		
	1993	1951		Difference (effect) ¹	Difference (%)	
Infectious and Parasitic Diseases ²	Standardization by Rate	0.236	0.214	Age Effect	0.022	-9.0
	Standardization by Age	0.094	0.356	Rate Effect	-0.262	110.0
	Total Standardization (Crude Rates)	0.107	0.346	Total	-0.239	100.0
Heart Diseases ³	Standardization by Rate	3.259	1.972	Age Effect	1.287	-143.0
	Standardization by Age	1.522	3.709	Rate Effect	-2.187	243.0
	Total Standardization (Crude Rates)	1.928	2.827	Total	-0.899	100.0
Heart Attacks ⁴	Standardization by Rate	1.957	1.233	Age Effect	0.724	-1724.0
	Standardization by Age	1.212	1.978	Rate Effect	-0.766	1824.0
	Total Standardization (Crude Rates)	1.528	1.570	Total	-0.042	100.0
Neoplasms ⁵	Standardization by Rate	1.900	1.337	Age Effect	0.563	81.0
	Standardization by Age	1.684	1.552	Rate Effect	0.132	19.0
	Total Standardization (Crude Rates)	1.989	1.293	Total	0.696	100.0

¹ Per 1,000.

² 1951 : Causes 001-138. 1993 : Causes 001-139.

³ 1951 : Causes 401-402.1, 410-443 and 465. 1993 : Causes 391, 392, 393-398, 402, 404, 410-416 and 420-429.

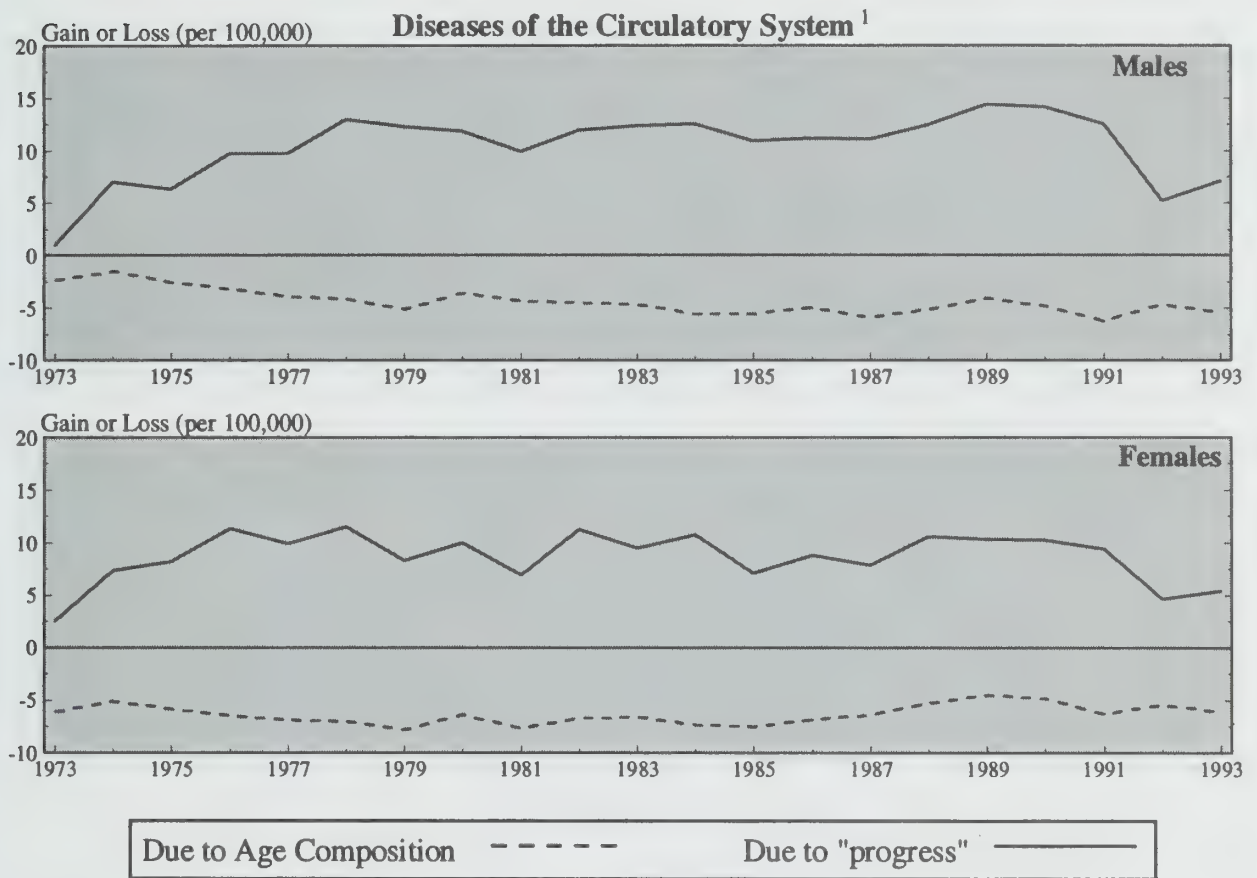
⁴ 1951 : Cause 420. 1993 : Causes 410-414.

⁵ 1951 : Causes A44-A60. 1993 : 140-239.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, *Causes of Death*, 1951 and 1991 and calculations by the author.

The major cause of death, the *heart-disease* group, has nevertheless declined. The improvements in nutrition, the reduction in fat consumption, better hygiene, etc., as well as medical and surgical advances would have reduced the death rate by almost 2.187 points per 1,000 if half the gain had not been absorbed by the increasing number of persons at risk, as represented by the elderly (1.287 points). The same phenomenon can be observed by examining the change in the value of the death rate from heart attacks, which is part of the heart-disease group. The gain due to "progress" would have been substantial (0.766 per 1,000), but it passed completely unobserved by reason of the increase in the number of elderly persons. *It can be said of this cause of death that someone is just as likely to die of it as in 1951 but at a more advanced age.* The increase in death from cancer has been evident in the increase of the

Figure 4. Decomposition of the Annual Gain into that Due to “Progress” and that Due to Changes in Age Composition, Canada, 1973-1993



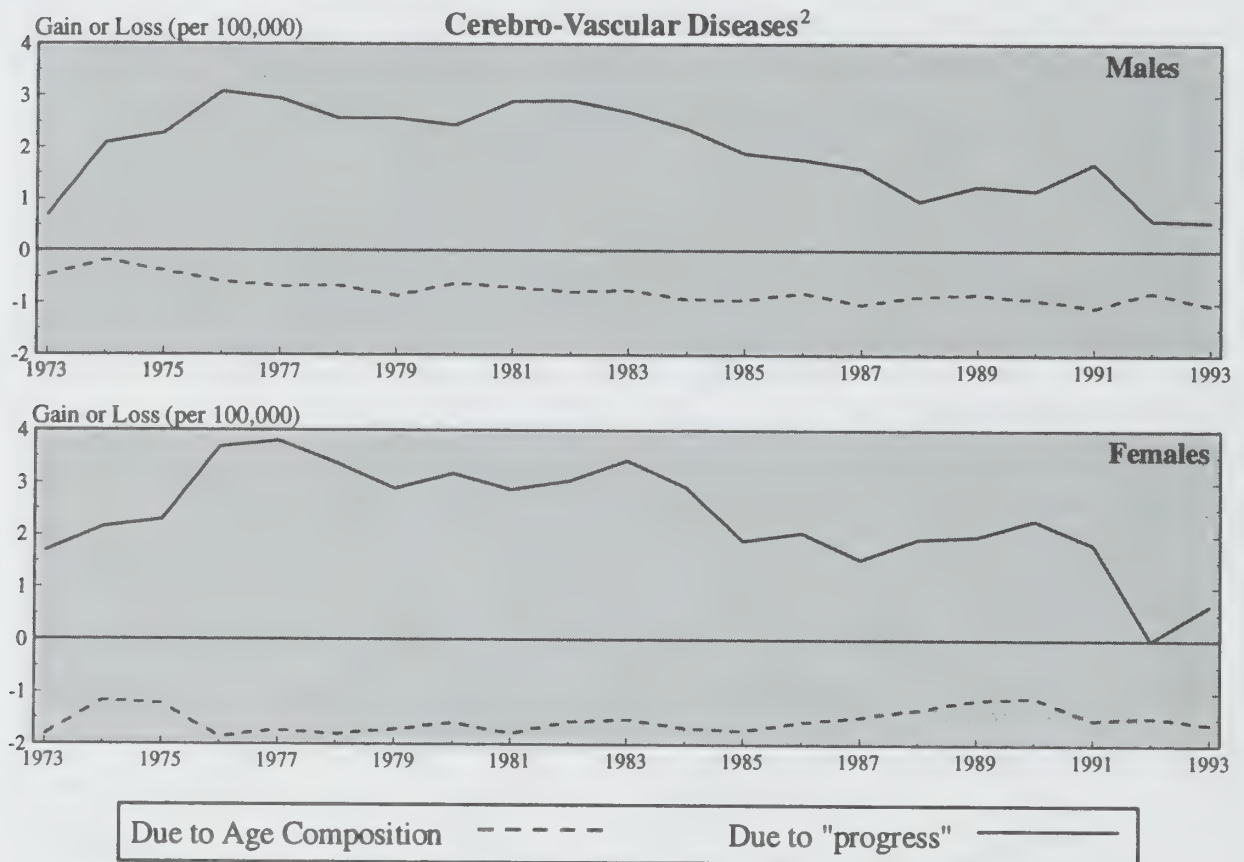
Note: The “progress” curve has been constructed using the three year moving average of annual gains.

Source: See end of figure.

crude rate, unlike the other causes of death, which have become less deadly. On this subject, one often hears that, as cancer is known to be a disease of aging, it is necessary to take into account the effect of aging on the increase in the value of the rate. The method has permitted the measurement that in fact 81% of the increase in mortality from this cause is due to aging. But it remains true that part of the increase is real, i.e., due to changes in the rates by age, since these have contributed 0.132 per 1,000, or 19%, to the increase in the crude rate between these dates.

The shorter period from 1971 to the present permits finer observations, year by year, of the components of which the crude rates by cause are the sum. The choice of the period 1971-1994 has been determined by the population estimates serving as the denominator of the rates. As it happens, these estimates are consistent while a break appears with those of preceding years. The data of Table A10 in the Appendix have been translated into graphs (Figure 4) to give a more holistic view of the changes in four causes to which the health sciences have paid particular attention.

Figure 4. Decomposition of the Annual Gain into that Due to "Progress" and that Due to Changes in Age Composition, Canada, 1973-1993 - Continued



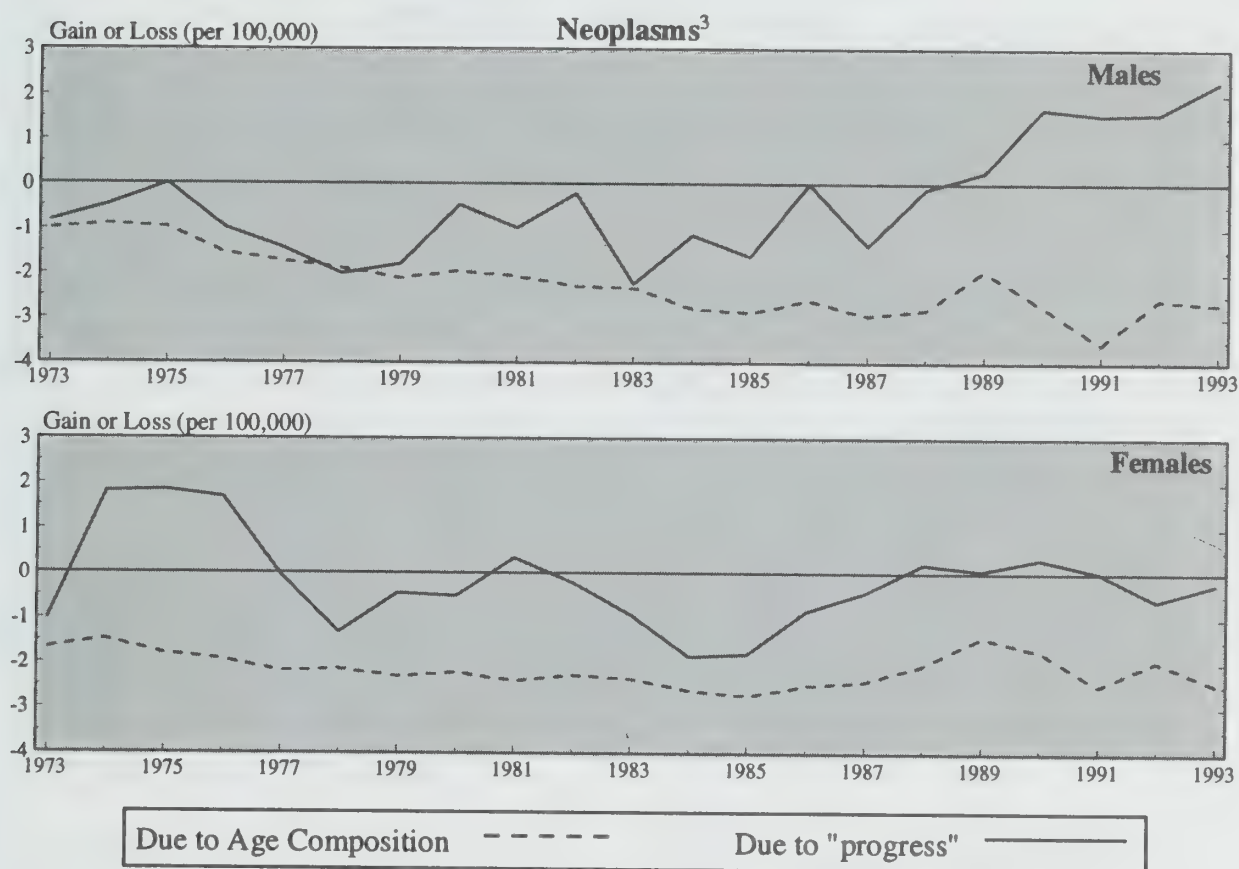
Note: The "progress" curve has been constructed using the three year moving average of annual gains.

Source: See end of figure.

For each year, the curve, solid or dashed, displays the gain (or loss) over the preceding year. Consequently, if each year a gain exactly equal to that of the previous year was observed, the curve would be a horizontal straight line parallel to the X axis. Thus, when the curve is rising, it does so because, from one year to the next, a larger gain has been realized, and vice versa, when the slope is downward, it means that a smaller gain, although still a gain, has been realized than in the previous year. The only case in which a loss from one year to the next is represented is when the curve passes below the zero line toward the bottom of the graph.

The first remark suggested by these graphs concerns the changes due to age composition. Because the Canadian population is aging, the curves representing population change show a loss which on the whole continues to grow. If these curves are not identical on all the graphs, it is because in each case they are relative to the cause of death, and the different causes do not have exactly the same incidence at each age. The most interesting curves and the most diversified are those representing "progress" or, more exactly, changes in the age-specific rates.

Figure 4. Decomposition of the Annual Gain into that Due to "Progress" and that Due to Changes in Age Composition, Canada, 1973-1993 - Continued



Note: The "progress" curve has been constructed using the three year moving average of annual gains.

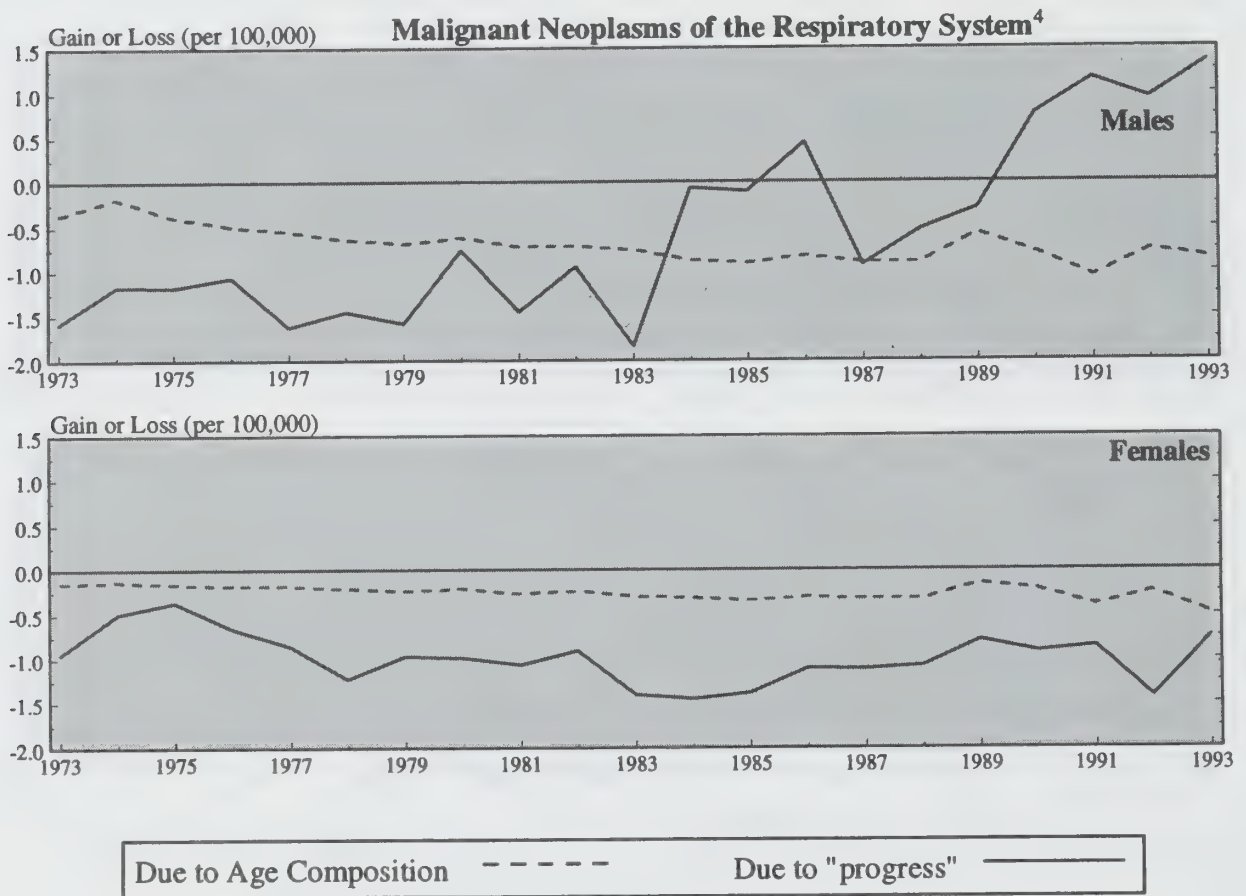
Source: See end of figure.

For diseases of the circulatory system, more important gains are observed from year to year until about the end of the 1970s, and at levels a little higher for men than for women. This period was followed by a number of years when the gains (but not the changes) were constant. Since 1990, they appear to have become weaker and weaker. Nevertheless, during the entire period studied, these net gains have been becoming smaller because of the progress of population aging.

For cerebrovascular diseases, the pattern of change is the same for men and women, but the gains overall are higher for women. From year to year, these gains were increasingly important until about 1976. Since then, it has not been possible to maintain this rhythm, and gains on the whole fell off to the point of practically vanishing by 1992.

In the case of cancers (malignant neoplasms) of all types, losses are observed. For men, losses continued up to about 1988, when gains were registered for the first time, although the aging effect more than offset them. Nevertheless, progress has been registered beginning in 1983 and it may be

Figure 4. Decomposition of the Annual Gain into that Due to "Progress" and that Due to Changes in Age Composition, Canada, 1973-1993 - Concluded



¹ Causes 390-459, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

² Causes 430-438, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

³ Causes 140-239, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

⁴ Causes 160-165, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

Note: The "progress" curve has been constructed using the three year moving average of annual gains.

Source: Table A10 in the Appendix.

observed that it is exactly at this time that the decline in death rates for cancer of the respiratory system began. The coincidence of the curves for all cancers and for those of the respiratory system underlines the importance of the latter. In the case of women, the evolution of the gains for all cancers does not present a clear picture. Over a period of 25 years, there are more years of losses than of gains. But for cancer of the respiratory system, the situation is crystal clear. The curve is practically horizontal, signifying that each year the fall experienced by the rate is equal to that of the preceding year. In other words, because of the cumulative effect, with the passage of time mortality due to cancer of the respiratory system increases. As for the curve of the age composition, its shape and position show that age composition has only a very weak effect except for the most recent years.

Decomposition of the Rates and Life Expectancy

What share of the gain in life expectancy between two dates can be attributed to progress in delaying death by cause?

The logic embodied in the method proposed by Das Gupta and used in the analysis of rates gives, when applied to the calculation of tables of mortality, satisfying results for interpreting the changes in the value of life expectancy and the role of the causes which are responsible for it.

In the course of the two last decades, there has evidently been some progress in the fight against the main causes of death, and it is possible to distinguish the part of it hidden by population aging. The beneficiaries of this progress have mainly been older people. In fact, the expectation of life at age 50 of men in Canada has increased by 3.28 years between 1971 and 1993, and that of women by 2.88 years (Table 24). For this reason, it is of interest to quantify the role played in the lengthening of this segment of life by progress in the principal areas of mortality. In the case of the mortality table, the question of standard population does not arise. Six major areas are considered:

- 1) ischaemic heart disease;
- 2) cerebrovascular diseases;
- 3) other diseases of the circulatory system;
- 4) malignant neoplasms and cancers, other than those of the respiratory system;
- 5) malignant neoplasms and cancers of the respiratory system;
- 6) other causes.

Only the end results of calculations, too extensive to be presented in their entirety, appear in Table 24. ***The considerable role played by the reduction in ischaemic heart disease is obvious. It has allowed 2.43 years of life to be gained, or 75% of the total gain for males, while the reduction in cerebrovascular diseases represent 17% of the total gain. On the other hand, the fight against cancer has produced insignificant gains. Cancers of the respiratory system, moreover, have increased to the point of reducing the gains due to all causes of death by a quarter of a year.***

The gain ***for women*** has been smaller than that for men, and ***it is the increase in deaths due to cancer of the respiratory system which is responsible for the poorer performance observed for them.*** If the expectation of life had not been reduced by half a year because of the growth of mortality due to this cause, women's total expectation of life would have grown as much as men's, with a smaller gain due to ischaemic heart disease and a larger one due to cerebrovascular diseases.

Table 24. Gain in Expectancy of Life at Age 50 from 1971 to 1993

Causes	Life Expectancy at Age 50		Gain (in years)	Gain (%)
	1993	1971		
Ischaemic Heart Diseases ¹ Cerebrovascular Diseases ² Other Diseases of the Circulatory System ³ Malignant Neoplasms except of the Mouth and Respiratory System ⁴ Malignant Neoplasms of the Mouth and Respiratory System ⁵ Other Causes Total	Males			
	27.55	25.13	2.43	74.0
	26.62	26.06	0.56	17.1
	26.43	26.26	0.17	5.0
	26.36	26.34	0.01	0.4
	26.23	26.48	-0.24	-7.4
	26.53	26.17	0.36	11.0
	28.01	24.73	3.28	100.0
	Females			
	32.42	30.54	1.88	65.3
	31.89	31.07	0.82	28.3
	31.65	31.32	0.33	11.3
	31.65	31.32	0.33	11.4
	31.25	31.76	-0.51	-17.8
31.52	31.47	0.04	1.5	
32.95	30.07	2.88	100.0	

¹ Causes 410-414.

² Causes 430-438.

³ Causes 390-409, 415-429 and 439-459.

⁴ Causes 150-159 and 170-239.

⁵ Causes 140-149 and 160-165.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, *Causes of Death*, 1971 and 1991 and calculations by the author.

Another Illustration of Difficult Comparisons

Demographic yearbooks generally present the reader with the crude death rate for different countries or different regions of a country. It rarely occurs to the reader that, for the reasons which have just been discussed, venturing upon comparisons must be done with the utmost caution. The necessary material to correct distortions caused by different population structures is not always available. When it is, simple standardization is usually resorted to. The example of general mortality for Quebec and Ontario in 1950 will be briefly presented.

The crude death rates for Ontario and Quebec in 1950 were respectively 10.60 and 9.50 per 1,000. The advantage seems thus to lie with Quebec, with an edge of 12%. But when the rates are standardized on the 1991 Canadian population, they are 13.99 per 1,000 for Ontario and 15.20 per 1,000 for Quebec. This gives Ontario a lead of 1.20 points per 1,000, or 7.9% over Quebec. In other words, eliminating the effect of population structure between the two provinces has reversed their standing. But the value of 1.20 represents nothing in itself. It has a meaning only as a "distance" in relation to the value it would have if the age structure for Quebec were that of Canada in 1991.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

The final totals of international immigrants in 1993 and 1994 were 256,000 and 224,000 respectively. These figures are slightly higher than the provisional figures published last year. *The number of immigrants in 1993 was the highest since 1913, but nowhere near the 400,000 of that record year.* Although 1995 figures (212,000) are still provisional, they are in keeping with a short-term downward trend that is usually followed by an upswing (Table 25 and

Table 25. Immigrants to Canada by Class, 1981-1995

Year		Family Class	Refugees ²	Designated Persons	Assisted Relatives	Independent Immigrants ³	Total
1981	No.	51,017	810	14,169	17,590	45,032	128,618
	%	39.7	0.6	11.0	13.7	35.0	100.0
1982	No.	49,980	1,791	15,134	11,948	42,294	121,147
	%	41.3	1.5	12.5	9.9	34.9	100.0
1983	No.	48,698	4,100	9,867	4,997	21,495	89,157
	%	54.6	4.6	11.1	5.6	24.1	100.0
1984	No.	43,814	5,625	9,717	8,167	20,916	88,239
	%	49.7	6.4	11.0	9.3	23.7	100.0
1985	No.	38,514	6,080	10,680	7,396	21,632	84,302
	%	45.7	7.2	12.7	8.8	25.7	100.0
1986	No.	42,197	6,490	12,657	5,890	31,985	99,219
	%	42.5	6.5	12.8	5.9	32.2	100.0
1987	No.	53,598	7,473	14,092	12,283	64,652	152,098
	%	35.2	4.9	9.3	8.1	42.5	100.0
1988	No.	51,331	8,741	18,095	15,567	68,195	161,929
	%	31.7	5.4	11.2	9.6	42.1	100.0
1989	No.	60,774	10,210	26,794	21,520	72,703	192,001
	%	31.7	5.3	14.0	11.2	37.9	100.0
1990	No.	73,457	11,398	28,291	23,393	77,691	214,230
	%	34.3	5.3	13.2	10.9	36.3	100.0
1991	No.	86,378	18,374	35,027	22,247	68,755	230,781
	%	37.4	8.0	15.2	9.6	29.8	100.0
1992	No.	99,960	28,699	23,176	19,880	81,127	252,842
	%	39.5	11.4	9.2	7.9	32.1	100.0
1993	No.	112,189	22,326	8,087	22,922	90,411	255,935
	%	43.8	8.7	3.2	9.0	35.3	100.0
1994	No.	93,893	17,952	1,120	27,461	83,485	223,911
	%	41.9	8.0	0.5	12.3	37.3	100.0
1995 ¹	No.	77,061	23,874	608	29,282	81,445	212,270
	%	36.3	11.2	0.3	13.8	38.4	100.0

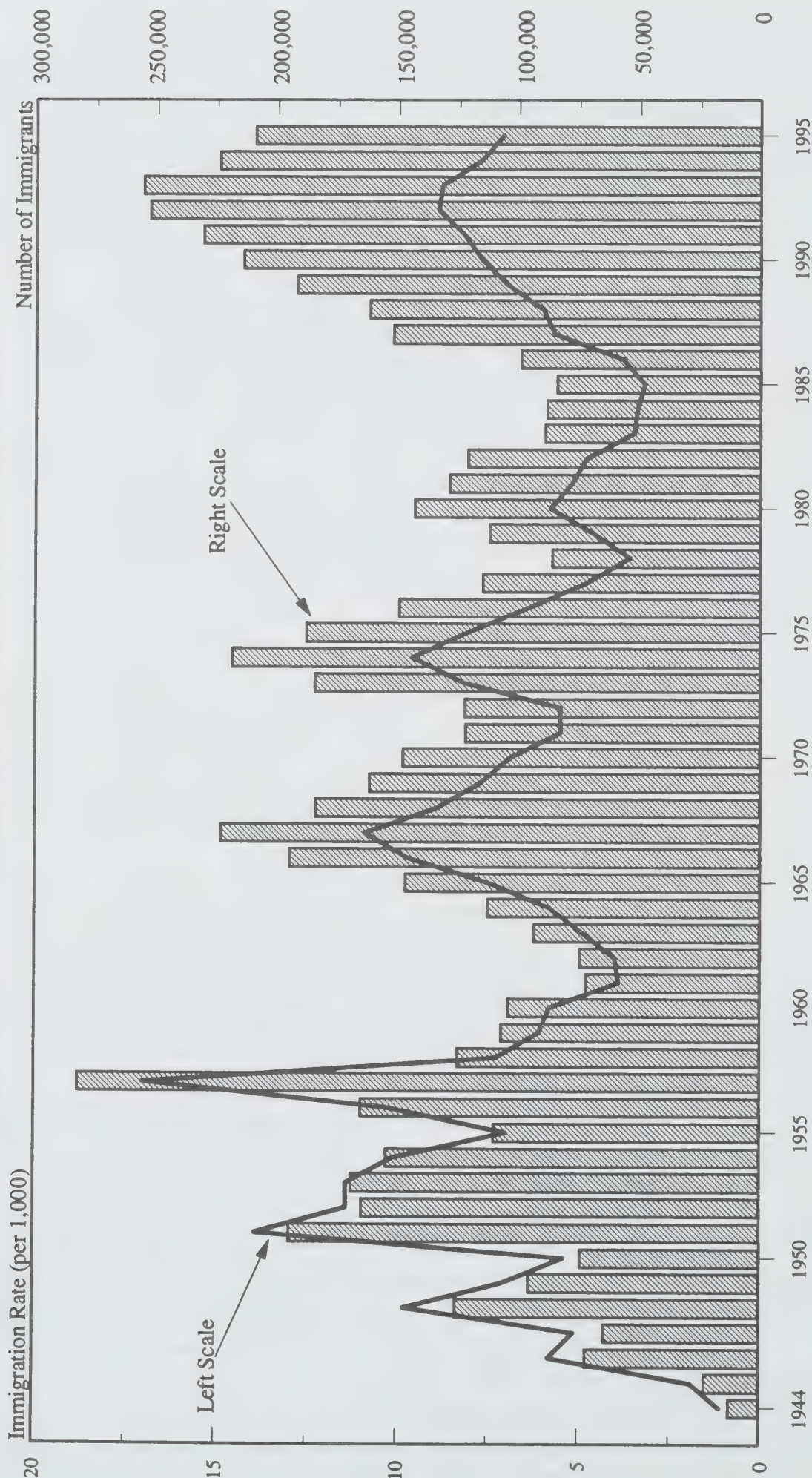
¹ Preliminary data as of October 15, 1996.

² Convention refugees.

³ Includes business, retirees and other independents.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

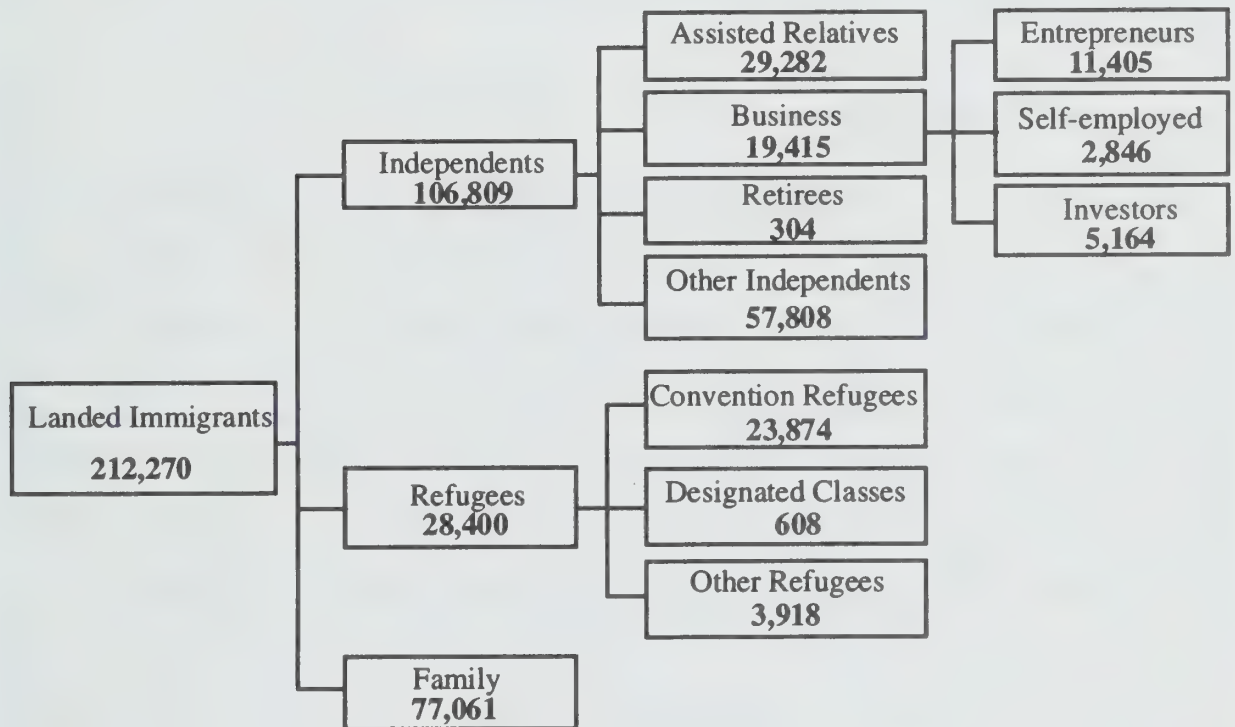
Figure 5. Number of Immigrants and Immigration Rate, Canada, 1944-1995



Note: Data for 1995 is preliminary as of July 18, 1996.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Figure 6. Distribution of Immigrants by Class and Category, 1995¹



¹ Preliminary data as of October 15, 1996.

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Figure 5); Canada has experienced several since World War II. The most significant decreases were in the family class. According to the country's citizenship and immigration plan for 1995-2000¹¹, 111,000 family-class immigrants had been anticipated in 1994, but in fact, there were only 94,000. Similarly, between 86,000 and 90,000 had been expected in 1995¹², but only 77,000 were admitted. The situation with regard to refugees is somewhat different: a total of 28,300 was anticipated for 1994 and 18,500 were admitted, but the 1995 number of 28,400 (Figure 6) was within the expected range of 24,000 to 32,000. It was predicted that so-called economic immigrants (independent immigrants in Figure 6) would make up 43% of all those admitted in 1994 and 1995, but in fact, this group accounted for 49% in 1994 and 50% in 1995.¹³ *It would appear that interest on the part of immigrants likely to contribute to the Canadian economy is growing more quickly than anticipated by the immigration strategy.* The annual report submitted to Parliament in 1996 states that, for this category of immigrant, the effects of improvements made to the program will begin to be felt in 1997.

¹¹ Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Immigration and Citizenship Plan, 1995-2000*, p.6.

¹² Ibid., p.15.

¹³ Ibid., p.15.

Total immigration for 1996 is expected to be between 195,000 and 220,000. If this proves true, it will confirm the downward trend observed since the high of 1993 (255,935).

Destination of Immigrants

Province of destination (Table 26) is only partly a matter of the immigrant's personal choice. Before the Department finalizes its immigration plan and presents it to Parliament, the governments concerned are consulted with regard to their ability to take in new residents, and influence can be exerted through government recruitment offices outside the country. Quebec is in a unique position in this regard because of the Canada-Quebec accords which give the province control over the selection of independent immigrants. *For a number of reasons, including the condition of the province's labour market, in the last two years Quebec has admitted fewer immigrants than allowed under the accords—fewer, in fact, than since they were signed.* This explains why the province received only 12.5% of all immigrants to Canada in 1994 and 1995, (28,000 and 26,500).¹⁴ In order to admit immigrants better adapted to the needs of the Quebec economy and keep them in the province, the government has modified its selection criteria. People with good employability qualities¹⁵ are now more likely to be accepted than those who can prove they have a job ready upon their arrival. A knowledge of French is also more important now, and a spouse's skills are taken into account in order to favour the arrival of families. Reducing the number of independent immigrants has an effect on those eligible to come in under family reunification. The fewer independent immigrants there are now, the fewer family members they will sponsor in future.

At the other end of the country, British Columbia remains the province of choice for an ever-increasing number of immigrants, although the number fell slightly from 49,000 in 1994 to 44,300 in 1995 (21.9% to 20.9%). As explained below, this is due to a decrease in the number of immigrants from Hong Kong.

The distribution of immigrants by category is very different in the three main destination provinces. In 1995—and this was not an exceptional year—*Quebec received 12.5% of all family-class immigrants to Canada, 11% of the entrepreneurs, 7% of the self-employed and 13% of the investors, but a full 21% of the 24,000 Convention refugees* (Table 27). In practically all categories of immigrant, Ontario received numbers fairly proportionate to the overall percentage of immigrants who settled in the province (54.7%), except for investors, of whom it received only 18%. *By contrast, British*

¹⁴ According to figures available on July 18, 1996.

¹⁵ Government of Quebec, Ministère des relations avec les citoyens et de l'immigration, Direction des communications, *La grille de sélection des travailleurs, pondération des facteurs et de certains critères, en vigueur le 1er octobre 1996.*

Table 26. Percentage Distribution of Landed Immigrants by Intended Province of Destination, Canada, 1961-1995

Province	Year												
	1961	1971	1981	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995 ¹
Newfoundland	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Prince Edward Island	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Nova Scotia	1.3	1.5	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.5	1.8
New Brunswick	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Quebec	23.6	15.8	16.4	19.6	17.6	15.9	17.8	19.1	22.4	19.1	17.6	12.5	12.5
Ontario	50.9	52.8	42.7	50.0	55.8	55.0	54.6	53.0	51.5	54.7	52.5	52.4	54.5
Manitoba	3.5	4.3	4.2	3.8	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.1	2.4	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.7
Saskatchewan	1.9	1.2	1.9	1.9	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.9
Alberta	6.7	7.1	15.0	9.7	7.9	8.7	8.4	8.8	7.4	7.0	7.3	8.0	7.0
British Columbia	10.2	15.5	17.1	12.7	12.4	14.3	13.2	13.4	13.9	14.5	17.9	21.9	20.9
Yukon and Northwest Territories	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Unknown	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number	71,689	121,900	128,618	99,219	152,098	161,929	192,001	214,230	230,781	252,842	255,747	223,911	212,154

¹ Preliminary data as of July 18, 1996.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Table 27. Distribution of International Immigrants by Selected Categories, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1995

Province	Refugees	Family	Independents other than Business	Business	Total
Number					
Newfoundland	202	127	262	12	603
Prince Edward Island	62	33	43	23	161
Nova Scotia	218	302	908	2,342	3,770
New Brunswick	173	161	243	53	630
Quebec	6,033	9,626	8,772	2,165	26,596
Ontario	16,950	44,537	48,554	5,551	115,592
Manitoba	653	1,329	1,364	195	3,541
Saskatchewan	571	447	824	86	1,928
Alberta	1,475	5,189	6,515	1,642	14,821
British Columbia	1,996	15,195	19,813	7,314	44,318
Yukon	—	49	54	2	105
Northwest Territories	8	31	24	26	89
Canada	28,341	77,026	87,376	19,411	212,154
Distribution by Category					
Newfoundland	33.5	21.1	43.4	2.0	100.0
Prince Edward Island	38.5	20.5	26.7	14.3	100.0
Nova Scotia	5.8	8.0	24.1	62.1	100.0
New Brunswick	27.5	25.6	38.6	8.4	100.0
Quebec	22.7	36.2	33.0	8.1	100.0
Ontario	14.7	38.5	42.0	4.8	100.0
Manitoba	18.4	37.5	38.5	5.5	100.0
Saskatchewan	29.6	23.2	42.7	4.5	100.0
Alberta	10.0	35.0	44.0	11.1	100.0
British Columbia	4.5	34.3	44.7	16.5	100.0
Yukon	—	46.7	51.4	1.9	100.0
Northwest Territories	9.0	34.8	27.0	29.2	100.0
Canada	13.4	36.3	41.2	9.1	100.0
Distribution by Province					
Newfoundland	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3
Prince Edward Island	0.2	—	—	0.1	0.1
Nova Scotia	0.8	0.4	1.0	12.1	1.8
New Brunswick	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3
Quebec	21.3	12.5	10.0	11.2	12.5
Ontario	59.8	57.8	55.6	28.6	54.5
Manitoba	2.3	1.7	1.6	1.0	1.7
Saskatchewan	2.0	0.6	0.9	0.4	0.9
Alberta	5.2	6.7	7.5	8.5	7.0
British Columbia	7.0	19.7	22.7	37.7	20.9
Yukon	—	0.1	0.1	—	—
Northwest Territories	—	—	—	0.1	—
Canada	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Columbia, which received 21% of all immigrants, had only 7% of refugees, but 57% of the 5,000 investors, 30.5% of the entrepreneurs, and one-third of the self-employed. These differences are highly indicative of the interest British Columbia holds for immigrants in categories that feature a high proportion of people with leadership qualities... and capital. Among the other provinces,

Table 28. Countries from Which more than 2,000 Immigrants Came to Canada in 1994 or 1995

	1994	1995	Difference
AFRICA			
Egypt	2,318	2,717	399
Republic of South Africa	2,461	1,479	-982
Somalia	1,728	2,057	329
AMERICA			
Guyana	4,261	3,972	-289
Haiti	2,121	2,040	-81
Jamaica	3,930	3,635	-295
Trinidad and Tobago	2,337	2,577	240
United States	5,128	4,317	-811
ASIA			
China	23,313	20,935	-2,378
Hong Kong	33,676	24,868	-8,808
India	18,533	18,227	-306
Iran	2,999	4,066	1,067
Iraq	2,250	2,403	153
Lebanon	2,717	2,153	-564
Pakistan	4,390	4,650	260
Philippines	19,456	15,804	-3,652
South Korea	3,004	3,494	490
Sri Lanka	7,078	9,354	2,276
Taiwan	7,003	7,425	422
Vietnam	6,494	4,143	-2,351
EUROPE			
France	2,516	3,024	508
Great Britain ¹	4,762	4,555	-207
Poland	3,552	2,436	-1,116
Romania	3,590	4,325	735
Ex USSR ²	5,283	6,882	1,599
Yugoslavia ³	9,982	10,461	479

¹ Includes England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Channel Islands.

² Includes Russian Federation, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova and Russia.

³ Includes Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

Note: Data for 1995 is preliminary as of October 15, 1996.

Sources: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Nova Scotia attracted a fair number of investors and entrepreneurs (18% of both), despite its small population and the somewhat depressed nature of the Atlantic economy. In fact, 54% of all the immigrants the province received were in the entrepreneur category.

International immigration was down in 1995 because emigration from several countries was considerably reduced. This was the case for Hong Kong (9,000 fewer than in 1994; see Table 28) and, to a lesser degree, for China and the Philippines (2,400 and 3,700, respectively). With regard to Hong Kong,

the migratory flow may be starting to dry up, given that most of those concerned about the return of the territory to China have likely already left. Also worth noting is that immigration from Poland hit a new low, with only 2,436 immigrants in 1995, compared to figures in the vicinity of 16,000 from 1989 to 1991 (Table A11 in the Appendix).

INTERNAL MIGRATION

The number of movements between provinces and territories rose slightly in 1995 compared to the previous year (331,000 instead of 285,000¹⁶), but on the whole internal migration patterns remained the same (Tables 29, 30 and 31). Quebec still lost the most people, while gains were highest in British Columbia. The only significant change was in Alberta, which recorded a gain of 3,200 people, compared to a loss of 2,600 in 1994. This is because the population flow from Alberta to British Columbia remained much the same while the flow in the opposite direction increased by nearly 4,500. Without knowing the characteristics of the arriving and departing migrants, it is impossible to advance a reason explaining this change. Minor internal policy changes by a province may by themselves attract or, conversely, discourage some categories of potential migrant.

Demographic phenomena are known for their inertia, and the most notable population exchanges are often between neighbouring provinces. Quebec-Ontario migration is not at all surprising. Exchanges are primarily between the Anglophone communities in the two provinces, and *Quebec's negative balance is not indicative of an exodus: it must be seen as part of the traditional east-to-west migration, just as Ontario loses people to the western provinces.*

Prince Edward Island again showed a net gain in 1995, although not as high as in 1994. This is most probably due to the jobs created by the construction of the bridge linking the island to the mainland. Newfoundland's negative balance was the same as the previous year, and as always, its population exchange was primarily with Ontario. There are many reasons for the outflow, which is invariably linked to a return flow. In Newfoundland, unemployment caused by the drastic reduction in fishing has led to emigration, while the Hibernia project is creating new jobs and attracting people from outside. Clearly, the two industries generally call for different skills and personnel.

As noted in the past, Ontario loses many people to British Columbia (-11,100), and some to Alberta (-2,000). In its exchanges with almost all other provinces, however, Ontario is either even or ahead (Newfoundland, 2,800; Nova Scotia, nil; New Brunswick, nil; Quebec, 7,200; Manitoba, nil; and Saskatchewan, 300).

¹⁶ The figure of 341,000 published in the 1995 Report has been revised.

**Table 29. Annual Number of Interprovincial Migrants from Revenue Canada Tax Files
January to December 1994**

Number of Migrants: 284,673

Province of Origin	Province of Destination											
	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.
Newfoundland	...	238	2,031	610	334	5,453	215	114	1,507	1,803	33	300
Prince Edward Island	80	...	477	358	105	486	26	79	194	204	3	14
Nova Scotia	1,201	704	...	2,450	942	6,507	477	218	1,877	3,099	45	209
New Brunswick	368	411	2,295	...	1,921	3,515	285	122	1,061	1,069	18	122
Quebec	316	112	1,052	1,892	...	20,906	544	326	1,718	5,282	52	139
Ontario	2,828	784	5,555	3,479	15,005	...	4,191	2,203	11,446	24,200	183	434
Manitoba	173	44	429	333	560	4,434	...	2,469	4,913	5,533	44	180
Saskatchewan	88	51	230	147	258	2,095	2,460	...	10,046	4,932	62	244
Alberta	687	157	1,493	696	1,564	9,778	3,887	8,027	...	25,499	473	1,057
British Columbia	369	137	1,401	650	1,993	11,797	2,956	3,197	16,410	...	794	365
Yukon	27	5	20	8	24	119	39	41	432	1,132	...	119
Northwest Territories	104	6	121	99	189	469	241	249	1,093	670	127	...
In	6,241	2,649	15,104	10,722	22,895	65,559	15,321	17,045	50,697	73,423	1,834	3,183
Out	12,638	2,026	17,729	11,187	32,339	70,308	19,112	20,613	53,318	40,069	1,966	3,368
Net Migration	-6,397	623	-2,625	-465	-9,444	-4,749	-3,791	-3,568	-2,621	33,354	-132	-185

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

**Table 30. Annual Number of Interprovincial Migrants from Revenue Canada Tax and Child Tax Credit Files
January to December 1995**

Number of Migrants: 331,131

Province of Origin	Province of Destination											
	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.
Newfoundland	...	240	2,238	713	268	7,243	374	103	2,487	2,007	154	234
Prince Edward Island	177	...	509	420	55	765	35	23	236	220	4	—
Nova Scotia	1,588	774	...	2,779	910	7,238	508	308	2,564	3,037	64	158
New Brunswick	693	419	2,549	...	2,552	4,524	342	226	1,462	1,279	22	72
Quebec	301	107	1,049	2,403	...	25,046	762	439	1,706	5,647	44	145
Ontario	4,440	835	7,236	4,584	17,862	...	6,335	2,191	12,243	25,320	249	369
Manitoba	116	43	448	331	530	6,185	...	3,043	5,177	5,359	89	326
Saskatchewan	92	63	259	179	297	2,500	3,032	...	11,190	5,076	156	259
Alberta	1,086	251	1,640	1,122	1,567	10,388	3,538	9,246	...	26,066	623	1,245
British Columbia	770	175	2,107	742	2,671	14,232	3,796	4,569	20,973	...	1,253	443
Yukon	2	9	22	6	47	124	55	141	441	1,019	...	89
Northwest Territories	216	—	130	82	115	469	293	424	1,485	724	99	...
In	9,481	2,916	18,187	13,361	26,874	78,714	19,070	20,713	59,964	75,754	2,757	3,340
Out	16,061	2,444	19,928	14,140	37,649	81,664	21,647	23,103	56,772	51,731	1,955	4,037
Net Migration	-6,580	472	-1,741	-779	-10,775	-2,950	-2,577	-2,390	3,192	24,023	802	-697

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Table 31. Net Migration for Provinces and Territories, 1970-1995

Year	Newfoundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon and Northwest Territories	Total
1970	-5,950	-29	-3,967	-2,373	-41,156	54,590	-7,707	-28,358	9,898	22,579	2,473	412,559
1971	733	-129	-755	1,798	-25,005	18,580	-7,251	-17,986	2,408	25,034	2,573	405,301
1972	-189	858	2,845	241	-19,891	8,227	-7,735	-17,296	6,538	24,927	1,475	375,184
1973	-2,510	478	2,107	2,841	-14,730	-5,275	-2,200	-13,261	2,698	30,537	-685	433,992
1974	-618	1,386	1,576	4,192	-11,852	-22,163	-5,400	-4,835	14,810	22,655	249	421,336
1975	915	814	4,454	7,572	-12,340	-25,057	-4,134	6,555	23,463	-2,864	622	385,330
1976	-2,732	309	361	1,640	-20,801	-10,508	-3,655	3,819	34,215	-1,490	-1,158	376,970
1977	-4,009	614	-1,277	-886	-46,536	8,596	-3,789	384	32,344	15,507	-948	366,918
1978	-3,540	25	-109	-1,644	-33,424	415	-9,557	-3,701	31,987	20,698	-1,150	348,929
1979	-4,217	-225	-1,840	-2,219	-30,025	-15,317	-13,806	-3,510	39,212	33,241	-1,294	370,862
1980	-3,082	-1,082	-2,494	-4,165	-24,283	-34,919	-11,342	-4,382	46,933	40,165	-1,349	372,167
1981	-6,238	-783	-2,465	-4,766	-22,549	-19,665	-3,621	-520	40,243	21,565	-1,201	380,041
1982	261	-6	1,591	2,183	-28,169	19,614	1,498	1,743	3,961	-2,019	-657	322,634
1983	-1,092	799	3,861	2,296	-19,080	32,825	950	2,501	-26,246	4,029	-843	285,599
1984	-3,585	524	2,963	812	-10,943	36,691	-49	733	-30,591	3,505	-60	273,323
1985	-5,019	-13	-234	-1,559	-6,023	33,414	-1,755	-5,014	-9,568	-3,199	-1,030	281,275
1986	-4,682	-493	-739	-2,897	-3,020	42,916	-3,039	-7,020	-20,293	910	-1,643	302,352
1987	-4,374	301	-2,183	-1,762	-7,410	40,278	-4,751	-9,043	-27,595	17,618	-1,079	318,890
1988	-2,154	424	71	-1,215	-7,003	14,898	-8,584	-16,338	-5,535	25,865	-429	323,685
1989	-2,606	-102	572	-21	-8,379	-1,205	-10,004	-18,589	3,366	37,367	-399	347,990
1990	-1,137	-273	-106	1,014	-9,567	-15,117	-8,613	-15,928	11,055	38,704	-32	332,637
1991	-1,086	-416	1,039	-79	-13,047	-9,978	-7,581	-9,498	5,510	34,572	564	315,419
1992	-2,731	482	138	-1,155	-9,501	-13,242	-6,152	-6,914	-73	39,458	-310	306,382
1993	-3,656	588	-1,682	-453	-7,177	-11,920	-4,737	-4,770	-2,738	37,455	-910	276,413
1994	-6,397	623	-2,625	-465	-9,444	-4,749	-3,791	-3,568	-2,621	33,354	-317	284,673
1995	-6,580	472	-1,741	-779	-10,775	-2,950	-2,577	-2,390	3,192	24,023	105	331,131
Total	-69,695	4,674	1,102	-1,070	-441,355	121,929	-136,805	-174,796	183,381	520,173	-7,538	8,620,861

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

THE AGING OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION

The aging of a population is commonly measured by comparing the size of the 65-and-over segment to the total population. Such a general measure takes into account all the factors that may cause an increase or decrease in the different parts of the population, such as increasing life expectancy, variations in the birth rate, and migration. Since migration is only a marginal factor for the elderly, instead of comparing those 65 and over to the total population, they can be compared to people under 65. This can serve to highlight the effects, if any, of migration and birth rate on the 0-64 group. Also, when the denominator does not include the older group, the comparison between the two groups allows the identification of which of them (or both of them) is responsible for the change, and the variation from one date to the next is magnified. Once the increase or decrease in the ratio has been noted, an explanation is sought by examining each group. *It must be kept in mind that using proportions produces a zero-sum game, so that an increase in one proportion leads to a decrease in the other.*

In a population that is neither aging nor being rejuvenated, the ratio of the 65-and-over segment to the under-65 segment does not change from one date to the next. An increase or a decrease in the ratio will thus indicate whether the population has aged or been rejuvenated, and the size of the change will reveal the pace at which it is occurring. In other words, the difference between two ratios reveals the speed of the aging process. If it is negative, it indicates rejuvenation. The ratio of the 65-and-over group to the under-65 group from 1921 to 1931 (Table 32) rose from 5.0% to 5.9%, indicating that the population of Canada aged during that period at an annual rate of 0.86 per 1,000. From 1931 to 1941, aging accelerated to 1.27 per 1,000.

An examination of the two groups shows that there was relatively modest growth (9.6%) in the population 0-64 from 1931 to 1941 because of a decline in net international migration and the drop in the birth rate caused by the Great Depression, while population growth among those 65 and over remained steady at 33.3% because the Canadian-born reaching that age were joined by immigrants from the turn of the century who were also turning 65. From 1941 to 1951, the annual rate of aging stayed the same (1.26 per 1,000). Indeed, while the increase in the 0-64 group was substantial due to the start of the baby boom, there was an even greater increase among the older population for much the same reason as in the previous period (the aging of the immigrants who had settled the Prairies). From 1951 to 1956, the increase among those under 65 was almost equal to the increase among those 65 and over (14.8% and 14.5%), due to the opposite effects of increased births and post-War immigration in the 0-64 group and the minimal increase in the number of older Canadians, whose ranks had been depleted by the death of many people who had immigrated at the turn of the century. In fact, there was even a slight negative change which continued into the following period (-0.04 and -0.25 per 1,000

Table 32. Aging of the Population, Canada, 1921-1991

Year	Age 0-64 (thousands)	65 and over (thousands)	Percent Increase 0-64	Percent Increase 65 and Over
1921	8,367.2	420.2	...	...
1931	9,800.7	576.1	17.1	37.1
1941	10,738.8	767.8	9.6	33.3
1951	12,923.2	1,086.3	20.3	41.5
1956	14,836.9	1,243.9	14.8	14.5
1961	16,847.1	1,391.2	13.5	11.8
1966	18,475.3	1,539.5	9.7	10.7
1971	19,823.9	1,744.4	7.3	13.3
1976	20,990.3	2,002.3	5.9	14.8
1981	21,982.2	2,361.0	4.7	17.9
1986	22,611.8	2,697.6	2.9	14.3
1991	24,126.9	3,170.0	6.7	17.5
	Age 0-64 (%)	65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change
1921	95.2	4.8	5.0	...
1931	94.4	5.6	5.9	0.86
1941	93.3	6.7	7.1	1.27
1951	92.2	7.8	8.4	1.26
1956	92.3	7.7	8.4	-0.04
1961	92.4	7.6	8.3	-0.25
1966	92.3	7.7	8.3	0.15
1971	91.9	8.1	8.8	0.93
1976	91.3	8.7	9.5	1.48
1981	90.3	9.7	10.7	2.40
1986	89.3	10.7	11.9	2.38
1991	88.4	11.6	13.1	2.42

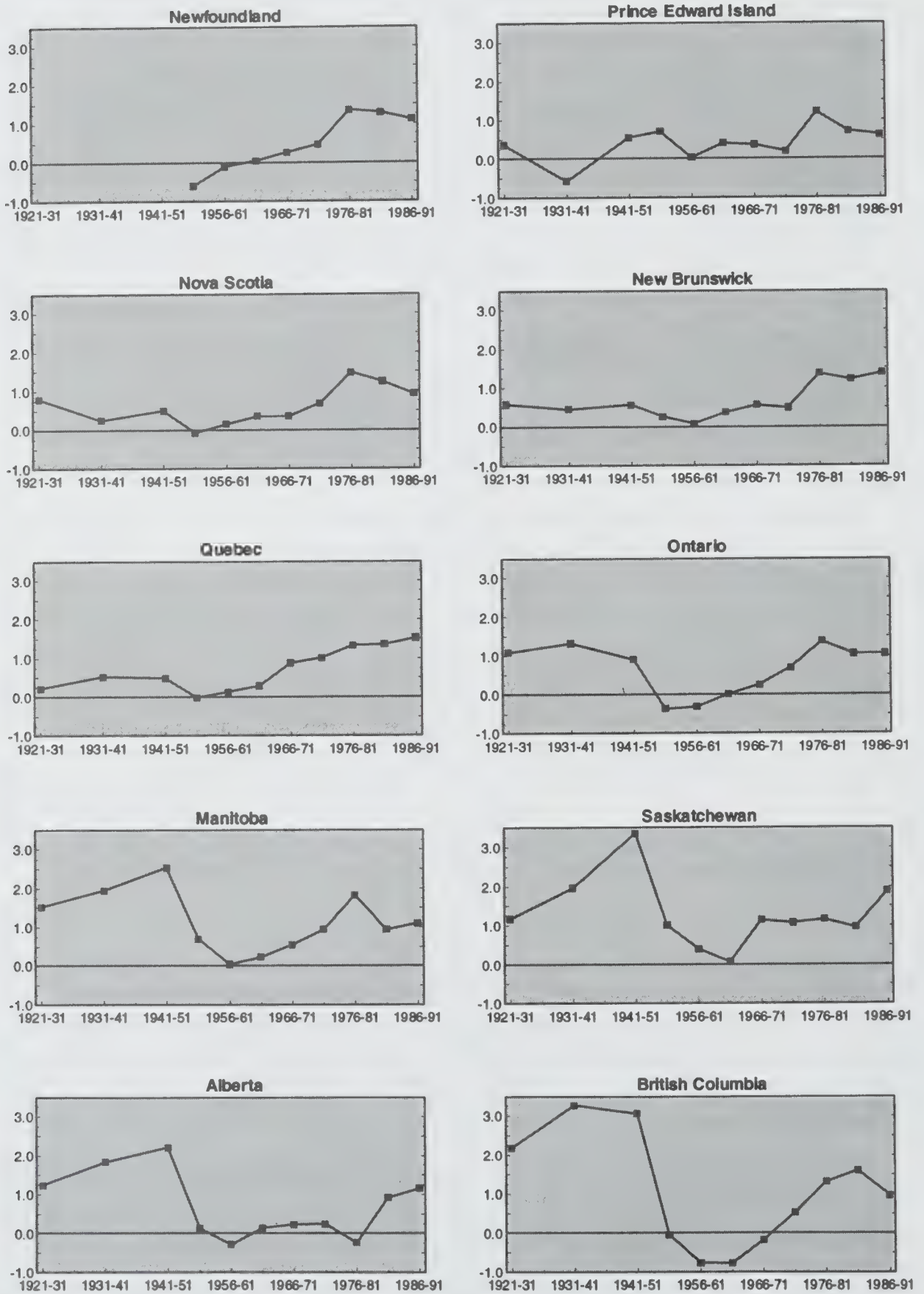
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1991, *Age, Sex and Matrimonial Status*, catalogue no. 93-310 and calculations by the author.

respectively). The Canadian population did not age during this period. However, in 1961, the aging process began again, progressing very slowly until 1966 and then more rapidly, reaching a maximum during 1986-1991. At 2.42 per 1,000 per year, it was almost twice as high as the aging provoked by the Great Depression.

Overall, from 1921 to 1991, the ratio of the population 65 and over to those under 65 increased from 5.0% to 13.1%, slowing from 1956 to 1966, primarily because of the baby boom, and then resuming its growth. The average pace for the whole period was 1.16 per 1,000 per year.

This brief history of the aging of the population presents an average for Canada as a whole. The situation differed considerably from one province to the next (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Differences in the Level of Aging, by Province and Period, 1921 to 1991¹



¹ The level of aging is understood as the ratio of the 65 and over group to the 0-64 group, expressed as a percentage.

Source: Table A12 in the Appendix.

The Western Provinces

The population of the Prairies (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta) and British Columbia aged rapidly from 1921 to 1951. The average annual rate for the 30-year period was 1.8 per 1,000 in Alberta, 2.8 in British Columbia, 2.0 in Manitoba and 2.2 in Saskatchewan, with peaks of 3.3 per 1,000 in British Columbia from 1931 to 1941 and in Saskatchewan from 1941 to 1951. There was an overall drop in the growth of the 0-64 age group throughout the region, caused by a reduction in immigration—Saskatchewan even experienced net negative migration—combined with a lower birth rate, and the fact that the older of the immigrants of the settlement period were now beginning to swell the ranks of the 65-and-over age group. In British Columbia, the older people already there were doubtless joined by wealthy retirees attracted by the more clement west coast. All four provinces were then affected by the baby boom to varying degrees. The 0-64 age group grew notably in Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia, while in Saskatchewan the increasing birth rate helped compensate for continuing emigration. In British Columbia from 1956 to 1966 the increase in the older population was so low that the province experienced a rejuvenation. Since then, however, aging has resumed throughout the west, more slowly in Manitoba and much more quickly in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. In British Columbia, the aging of the population slowed between 1986 and 1991 because of an increase in the 0-64 age group caused by domestic and international migration. *The Alberta population also aged more slowly, to the point of rejuvenation from 1976 to 1981, a period of economic prosperity that brought many new migrants to the province, the vast majority of whom were younger rather than older.*

Central Canada

Population changes in Quebec and Ontario tell two very different tales of population aging. Compared to Ontario, and even more strikingly to the western provinces, *the aging of the Quebec population has been slow until recently, but with no periods of rejuvenation.* From the end of World War II until 1986, the population 65 and over continued to increase as the proportion of those under 65 continued to drop. The latter phenomenon was due to a steady drop in the birth rate and consistently negative net migration. As the increase in the 65-and-over group has always been high and has fluctuated very little, the rate of aging has increased continuously. From nil in 1951-1956, it increased to 3.0 per 1,000 for 1986-1991, the second highest rate after Saskatchewan.

Aging in Ontario has been more erratic. While the population of Quebec aged at a rate of 0.4 per 1,000 from 1921 to 1951, the rate was almost three times higher in Ontario (1.1 per 1,000) because of a lower birth rate than Quebec's and an increase in the number of older immigrants from the Prairies, who had left for the factories of southern Ontario. The baby boom and high

post-War immigration helped maintain the high rate of increase among the 0-64 group, with as a result a slower increase in the percentage of older Ontarians, resulting in a rejuvenation of the population from 1951 to 1961 and no aging during the subsequent period. Since then, however, aging has been winning because of a drop in the birth rate that even high international migration cannot counter, and internal migration that is not always positive. From 1986 to 1991, the population aged at a rate of 2.0 per 1,000.

The Atlantic Provinces

Aside from Newfoundland, the proportion of the population 65 and over has always been higher here than in the Canadian population as a whole, although, because of its small numbers, its effect on the latter is slight. However, aging is not occurring rapidly in the region. All the provinces, except for New Brunswick, have even had short periods of slight rejuvenation. This must be seen as the effect of chronic internal migration. The many young people who leave the region are not there later to swell the ranks of the older age group; these same young people who leave keep growth down among the 0-64 age group. For many years, the ratio of the two groups has varied little from one period to the next. Since the 1970s, however, the ratio of older to younger has been increasing, and New Brunswick has the highest annual rate of aging at 2.8 per 1,000 from 1986 to 1991.

The above description shows that the aging of the Canadian population, particularly at the regional level, has been affected by two factors:

- 1) the fluctuation in the birth rate; and
- 2) migratory movements.

As far as the birth rate is concerned, the baby boom interrupted the slow long-term decline in fertility. All the provinces were affected but not all to the same degree. The baby boom caused minimal rejuvenation in Quebec, whereas the western provinces and Ontario felt its effects more strongly.

Migration has had a notable and complex effect. When it occurs in the form of arriving migrants, its influence on the population structure is first observed as an increase in the younger portion of the population, and then later as an increase in the older segment when the surviving migrants enter the 65-and-over group. As both the Atlantic provinces and the west bear witness, migration is extremely important in understanding changes in the rate of aging.

No province has ever had as high a proportion of older residents as that which now prevails in Saskatchewan, with 14.1% of its population 65 and over (Table A12 in the Appendix). Alberta is in last place with only 9.1%. As for the rate at which aging is occurring, Saskatchewan is in the lead again,

Table 33. Ratio in Percent of Persons Aged 65 and Over to Persons Aged 0-64 and Rapidity of Aging Over the Period, by Province, 1991, 2001, 2011 and 2016

Year	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)
1991	Newfoundland		Prince Edward Island	
	10.7	—	15.2	—
	12.8	2.1	15.8	0.6
	17.4	4.6	17.9	2.1
2001	Nova Scotia		New Brunswick	
	14.4	—	13.9	—
	15.7	1.3	15.2	1.4
	18.7	3.0	18.5	3.2
2011	Quebec		Ontario	
	12.6	—	13.3	—
	14.7	2.1	14.3	1.0
	17.6	2.9	15.7	1.3
2016	Manitoba		Saskatchewan	
	15.5	—	16.5	—
	15.9	0.4	17.7	1.2
	17.0	1.1	18.5	0.8
	Alberta		British Columbia	
	10.0	—	14.8	—
	11.7	1.8	15.3	0.5
	13.9	2.1	16.8	1.5
	16.4	5.0	19.4	5.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Projections Section and calculations by the author.

followed by Quebec, which nonetheless has a far smaller proportion of older people. *In recent years there has been a net slowdown in the rate at which the British Columbia population is aging, but the proportion aged 65 and over is still very high (12.9%),* suggesting that its very high rate of immigration should not be permitted to fall. In Canada as a whole, the aging of the population has occurred twice as quickly over the last two decades as during the periods following the Great Depression and World War II.

Looking Ahead

Statistics Canada's population projections make it possible to determine how aging is likely to evolve in the various regions of the country. These forecasts are based on hypotheses concerning the four major parameters of population growth: fertility, mortality, international migration and internal migration (Table 33).

From 1991 to 2001, the western provinces should see an important slowing of their rate of aging. Saskatchewan aside, all should certainly see the share of persons aged 65 and over grow over the decade compared to the growth of the previous five years, but the pattern should be just about the same for the under-65s so that the result is a weakened ratio and a smaller rate of aging. Ontario should slow its rate of aging, and Quebec should do likewise. In the Atlantic region, aging should be obviously slower in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, while there should be practically no change in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

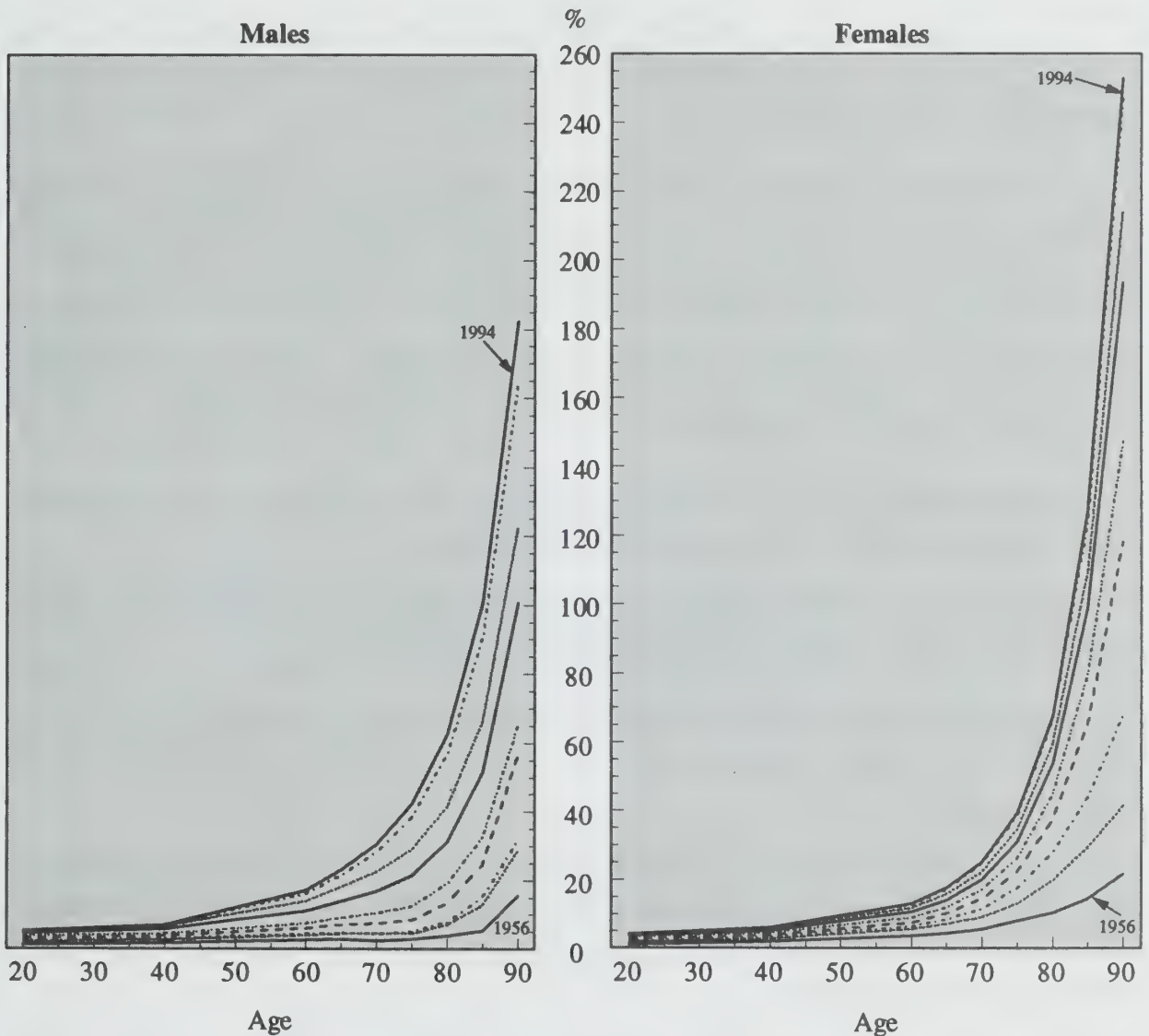
Over the following fifteen years, the rate of aging should show a distinct acceleration throughout the country, most obviously in the Atlantic provinces. *If the projections become reality, between 2011 and 2016, Newfoundland would see its annual rate of aging climb to 10.4 per 1,000, while New Brunswick's would be 8.6 per 1,000, rates well beyond any heretofore known.* In Quebec, the rate should double in comparison to that of the 1986-1991 period. Ontario's should also double, but the resulting rate would not be nearly as high. In the west, rates of aging should also double.

The Mortality Effect

Lower mortality has certainly also played a role in increasing the number of older persons. It would have been interesting to measure the number of lives saved in Canada as a result of the drop in mortality from the start to the end of the period under study (1951-1994), but the data required for such an analysis would need extensive manipulation before they could be used. Nevertheless, an idea of how important a factor this is can be obtained by comparing the survivor figures in the life tables for the first and last years of the period. Figure 8 shows the percentage increase at different ages of survivors among the population in the table, taking 1951 as the base year. Note that the increase is modest up to the age of 70. Indeed, *there are only 25% more women survivors in the 1994 table than in the 1951 table (83,363 instead of 66,667).* However, *the older the ages examined, the more important are the gains over time, so that there were three and a half times more women still alive at the age of 90 in 1994 compared to 1951 (27,992 instead of 7,933).* The phenomenon is similar for men, although the increase is slightly higher for ages 70 and 75, compared to women, and lower for the more advanced ages (an increase of 182% at age 90). Despite the weaknesses in the data, it can be suggested that the role of mortality is liable to be more important in the future than in the past. It is this that affects the population projections used to construct Table 33, which shows increasing aging.

The effect of regional differences in mortality on the aging of the population has probably been slight. Provincial life tables show that in 1951, in the province with the highest mortality, 192 out of a thousand men surviving at age 60 were still alive at age 90 compared to 235 in the province with the lowest

Figure 8. Increase in the Number of Survivors of the Table at various Ages as a Percentage of the Survivors of the Table of 1951



Note: The tables are established in 5-year periods except the last year.

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, unpublished data.

mortality, for a difference of 43. In 1994, the range was from 462 to 559, for a difference of 97. While these differences are not absolutely negligible, they are too small to have an effect on differences in aging.

Regions and Aging

It is difficult to paint a satisfactory geographical portrait of the aging of the Canadian population, and this for at least two reasons:

- 1) Canada in 1995 was divided into 290 census divisions of extremely different demographic weights, varying from fewer than 5,000 inhabitants (e.g., Stikine, British Columbia, with 1,436 inhabitants) to more than two million (e.g., Toronto, with 2,420,000), and within which the proportion of elderly people varies between 2% and 23%.

- 2) The number of divisions is not always the same and their boundaries are often changed from census to census.

Nevertheless, several observations are worth making because of their potential socioeconomic implications. Five regions, unequal in size and population, have aged considerably.

The first is a huge area in the Prairies, comprising 16 adjacent divisions in Manitoba and Saskatchewan¹⁷. In each division, more than 17% of the population is 65 or over. Moreover, this area is surrounded by divisions in which the proportion of older people is almost as high. This is a region of huge farms. The situation developed as agriculture became increasingly mechanized, reducing the number of jobs and resulting in a steady emigration of young people and young adults.

Second is the Okanagan Valley¹⁸, where five adjacent divisions have attracted older people, probably because of its mild climate.

Climate is also a factor in the Victoria-Vancouver region¹⁹ where aging immigrants have joined the aging established population.

In fourth place is a ring of townships surrounding the metropolitan Toronto region²⁰. Here again, these are rural counties that have attracted retired Torontonians.

Last is the block of counties that make up the southwestern portion of Nova Scotia²¹. Agriculture has declined because the area is far from the main cities, while subsistence farming and small mining enterprises have disappeared, resulting in emigration.

In short, migration—either the departure of the young or the attraction of the old—is primarily responsible for the creation of regions where the proportion of inhabitants 65 and over is clearly higher than the national average. Differences in fertility and mortality play only a minor role.

As there is little more to say with regard to the geography of aging, let us look at a more sociological aspect that is interesting for a number of reasons. If the census division is regarded as the social environment in which people live, which is not precisely true, ***3.6% of Canadians live in a society in which old people are rare, comprising less than 7% of the population; on the other hand, 5.5% live in societies where those 65 and over represent at least 17%***

¹⁷ In Manitoba, divisions 1, 4, 5, 6, 15, 16, 17 and 20. In Saskatchewan, divisions 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10.

¹⁸ Primarily Okanagan North, Centre and South, Similkameen and Kootenay Boundary.

¹⁹ Mainly Capital, Nanaimo and Sunshine Coast.

²⁰ Prince Edward, Victoria, Parry Sound, Muskoka, Huron, Peterborough, Grey and Northumberland.

²¹ Digby, Annapolis, Queens, Lunenburg, Yarmouth, Guysborough and Victoria.

Table 34. Distribution of Census Divisions by Aging Category and Age Group, Canada, 1995

Category ¹ (%)	Mean of the Category	Distribution by Large Age Groups of Persons in the Category						Population	Percent of the Total Population of Canada
		0-14	15-34	35-64	65-74	75+	Total		
		Percentage							
Less than 7	5.0	26.4	32.8	35.7	3.3	1.7	100.0	1,068,740	3.6
7 - 10	8.7	22.0	31.3	38.0	5.4	3.3	100.0	7,168,385	24.2
11 - 13	12.2	19.4	30.8	37.6	7.1	5.0	100.0	12,407,515	41.9
14 - 16	14.6	19.2	28.8	37.4	8.4	6.2	100.0	7,343,090	24.8
17 and Over	18.3	18.9	25.7	37.0	10.3	8.1	100.0	1,627,595	5.5
Total	12.0	20.2	30.2	37.6	7.1	5.0	100.0	29,615,325	100.0

¹ A category is defined according to the proportion of persons 65 and over.

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

of the population (Table 34). In between the two extremes, four in every ten Canadians are part of a community in which 11% to 13% of the people are 65 and over. One quarter of the population lives in a younger environment (7%-10% of the population 65 and over) and another quarter experiences an older one (14%-16%).

Appendices

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Newfoundland

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	545.2	4.2	8.5	0.5	0.3	0.1	13.0	15.5	-2.5	2.6
1974	549.4	4.5	7.0	0.5	0.2	0.0	12.4	13.0	-0.6	2.6
1975	553.9	7.3	8.0	0.6	0.2	0.1	12.3	11.4	0.9	2.6
1976	561.2	4.0	7.8	0.3	0.2	0.0	9.7	12.4	-2.7	1.6
1977	565.2	2.7	7.3	0.2	0.2	0.0	8.1	12.2	-4.0	1.0
1978	567.9	2.1	6.4	0.0	0.2	0.0	8.1	11.7	-3.5	1.0
1979	569.9	2.3	7.0	0.2	0.2	0.1	8.9	13.1	-4.2	1.0
1980	572.2	3.5	7.0	0.3	0.2	0.1	9.3	12.4	-3.1	1.0
1981	575.8	-0.6	6.9	0.1	0.2	0.1	8.5	14.8	-6.2	1.6
1982	575.1	4.2	5.8	-0.1	0.2	0.1	10.6	10.3	0.3	2.1
1983	579.4	2.0	5.4	-0.2	0.2	-0.2	7.6	8.7	-1.1	2.1
1984	581.4	-0.5	5.0	-0.1	0.2	0.1	5.7	9.3	-3.6	2.1
1985	580.9	-2.0	4.9	-0.1	0.2	0.0	6.0	11.0	-5.0	2.1
1986	578.8	-1.7	4.6	-0.2	0.2	0.2	7.7	12.4	-4.7	1.8
1987	577.1	-1.2	4.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	8.4	12.8	-4.4	1.5
1988	575.9	0.9	3.9	0.2	0.2	0.3	10.0	12.2	-2.2	1.5
1989	576.8	0.7	4.0	0.3	0.1	0.4	10.1	12.7	-2.6	1.5
1990	577.5	1.5	3.7	0.4	0.1	-0.1	10.2	11.4	-1.1	1.5
1991	578.9	2.5	3.4	0.3	0.1	0.4	9.9	10.9	-1.1	0.6
1992 (PD)	581.4	2.2	3.1	0.5	0.1	1.2	8.0	10.7	-2.7	...
1993 (PR)	583.6	-0.9	2.5	0.5	0.1	-0.5	6.6	10.3	-3.7	...
1994 (PR)	582.7	-4.1	2.3	0.3	0.1	-0.5	6.2	12.6	-6.4	...
1995 (PR)	578.5	-4.0	1.9	0.3	0.1	0.1	9.5	16.1	-6.6	...
1996 (PR)	574.5
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	545.2	7.7	15.5	-7.8	21.8	6.2	0.6	28.4	0.8	
1974	549.4	8.2	12.6	-4.4	18.6	6.0	0.6	23.6	0.9	
1975	553.9	13.1	14.3	-1.2	20.1	5.8	0.6	20.5	1.1	
1976	561.2	7.0	13.9	-6.8	19.8	5.9	0.4	22.1	0.5	
1977	565.2	4.7	12.8	-8.1	18.4	5.5	0.4	21.5	0.3	
1978	567.9	3.6	11.3	-7.6	16.7	5.5	0.4	20.5	-0.1	
1979	569.9	4.1	12.3	-8.2	17.8	5.5	0.4	23.0	0.4	
1980	572.2	6.1	12.2	-6.0	18.0	5.8	0.4	21.5	0.5	
1981	575.8	-1.1	12.0	-13.1	17.6	5.6	0.4	25.7	0.2	
1982	575.1	7.3	10.0	-2.7	15.9	5.9	0.4	17.9	-0.1	
1983	579.4	3.5	9.4	-5.9	15.4	6.0	0.3	14.9	-0.4	
1984	581.4	-0.9	8.7	-9.5	14.7	6.1	0.2	16.0	-0.2	
1985	580.9	-3.5	8.5	-12.1	14.7	6.1	0.2	18.9	-0.2	
1986	578.8	-3.0	7.9	-10.9	14.0	6.1	0.3	21.4	-0.4	
1987	577.1	-2.1	7.2	-9.3	13.5	6.3	0.3	22.2	0.2	
1988	575.9	1.5	6.8	-5.3	13.0	6.2	0.4	21.1	0.3	
1989	576.8	1.2	7.0	-5.8	13.4	6.4	0.4	22.0	0.5	
1990	577.5	2.6	6.4	-3.9	13.2	6.7	0.4	19.7	0.6	
1991	578.9	4.2	5.8	-1.6	12.4	6.5	0.4	18.9	0.6	
1992 (PD)	581.4	3.8	5.4	-1.6	11.9	6.5	0.3	18.4	0.9	
1993(PR)	583.6	-1.6	4.3	-5.9	11.0	6.7	0.2	17.6	0.9	
1994 (PR)	582.7	-7.1	3.9	-11.1	10.9	7.0	0.2	21.8	0.5	
1995 (PR)	578.5	-6.9	3.3	-10.3	10.2	6.8	0.3	27.9	0.6	
1996 (PR)	574.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Prince Edward Island

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	114.5	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.8	4.3	0.5	0.7
1974	115.4	1.8	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.0	5.2	3.8	1.4	0.7
1975	117.2	1.2	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.6	3.8	0.8	0.7
1976	118.4	1.1	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.3	4.0	0.3	0.2
1977	119.5	1.8	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	3.9	3.3	0.6	-0.1
1978	121.3	1.2	1.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	3.5	3.5	0.0	-0.1
1979	122.5	1.0	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.0	3.4	3.6	-0.2	-0.1
1980	123.5	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.0	4.1	-1.1	-0.1
1981	123.6	0.2	0.9	0.0	0.1	0.0	3.5	4.3	-0.8	0.0
1982	123.8	1.0	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	0.1
1983	124.8	1.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	2.5	0.8	0.1
1984	126.4	1.3	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.5	0.5	0.1
1985	127.8	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.8	0.0	0.1
1986	128.7	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.1	2.5	3.0	-0.5	0.4
1987	128.8	0.7	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.8	0.3	0.6
1988	129.6	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.5	3.1	0.4	0.6
1989	130.5	0.3	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.3	3.4	-0.1	0.6
1990	130.8	0.2	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.8	3.1	-0.3	0.6
1991	131.0	0.2	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	3.3	-0.4	0.2
1992 (PD)	131.1	1.3	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.7	2.3	0.5	...
1993 (PR)	132.5	1.4	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.1	2.5	1.9	0.6	...
1994 (PR)	133.9	1.3	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.6	2.0	0.6	...
1995 (PR)	135.2	1.4	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.2	2.9	2.4	0.5	...
1996 (PR)	136.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
	1973	114.5	7.7	7.5	0.2	16.4	8.9	0.2	37.7	1.3
1974	115.4	15.6	7.3	8.3	16.7	9.4	0.2	32.5	1.6	
1975	117.2	10.2	7.4	2.8	16.4	9.0	0.2	32.2	1.1	
1976	118.4	9.3	7.1	2.2	16.3	9.2	0.2	33.6	1.1	
1977	119.5	14.6	7.7	7.0	16.4	8.7	0.2	27.2	0.8	
1978	121.3	9.8	8.1	1.7	16.3	8.2	0.1	28.4	0.4	
1979	122.5	8.3	7.4	0.9	15.7	8.3	0.1	29.4	1.7	
1980	123.5	0.7	7.5	-6.7	15.8	8.4	0.1	33.3	1.0	
1981	123.6	2.0	7.3	-5.3	15.3	8.0	0.1	34.4	0.3	
1982	123.8	7.7	7.6	0.2	15.5	7.9	0.1	27.1	0.6	
1983	124.8	13.1	6.8	6.2	15.2	8.4	0.1	19.7	0.0	
1984	126.4	10.6	6.6	3.9	15.4	8.7	0.1	20.0	0.1	
1985	127.8	6.9	7.0	-0.1	15.7	8.7	0.1	22.2	0.2	
1986	128.7	1.2	6.3	-5.0	15.0	8.7	0.1	23.2	0.7	
1987	128.8	5.8	6.5	-0.7	15.1	8.6	0.1	21.5	0.9	
1988	129.6	6.8	6.7	0.2	15.2	8.6	0.1	23.5	0.7	
1989	130.5	2.6	6.5	-3.9	14.8	8.3	0.1	26.4	0.7	
1990	130.8	1.4	6.7	-5.2	15.4	8.7	0.1	23.7	1.1	
1991	131.0	1.2	5.3	-4.1	14.4	9.1	0.1	25.2	0.4	
1992 (PD)	131.1	10.2	5.6	4.6	14.0	8.5	0.1	17.1	0.5	
1993 (PR)	132.5	10.4	4.6	5.8	13.2	8.6	0.1	14.1	0.7	
1994 (PR)	133.9	10.0	4.5	5.5	12.8	8.3	0.1	15.1	0.7	
1995 (PR)	135.2	10.2	4.5	5.7	12.9	8.4	0.1	18.0	0.6	
1996 (PR)	136.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Nova Scotia

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	810.4	7.6	6.4	1.8	0.4	0.1	26.3	24.1	2.1	3.2
1974	818.1	6.6	6.0	1.9	0.3	-0.1	27.2	25.6	1.6	3.2
1975	824.7	9.6	6.3	1.5	0.3	0.1	25.6	21.1	4.5	3.2
1976	834.2	5.8	5.9	1.4	0.3	-0.1	23.0	22.6	0.4	2.1
1977	840.0	4.1	5.4	1.0	0.3	-0.1	19.9	21.2	-1.3	1.3
1978	844.2	4.9	5.7	0.4	0.3	-0.1	19.5	19.6	-0.1	1.3
1979	849.1	3.7	5.6	0.8	0.3	0.1	18.4	20.3	-1.8	1.3
1980	852.8	3.3	5.4	1.2	0.3	0.2	18.5	21.0	-2.5	1.3
1981	856.1	3.5	5.1	0.9	0.3	0.6	19.3	21.7	-2.5	0.9
1982	859.6	7.5	5.4	0.8	0.2	0.2	18.8	17.3	1.6	0.6
1983	867.1	9.4	5.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	18.3	14.5	3.9	0.6
1984	876.5	8.7	5.5	0.6	0.2	0.0	17.3	14.4	3.0	0.6
1985	885.2	4.8	5.1	0.5	0.2	-0.2	16.7	16.9	-0.2	0.6
1986	890.0	4.4	5.1	0.6	0.2	0.0	17.1	17.8	-0.7	0.8
1987	894.4	3.1	5.0	0.7	0.3	0.3	17.6	19.8	-2.2	1.0
1988	897.5	5.8	4.8	0.9	0.2	0.8	19.2	19.1	0.1	1.0
1989	903.2	6.5	5.0	1.0	0.2	0.7	20.4	19.8	0.6	1.0
1990	909.8	5.4	5.5	0.9	0.2	-0.2	18.6	18.7	-0.1	1.0
1991	915.2	6.1	4.8	0.5	0.3	-0.1	19.0	17.9	1.0	0.4
1992 (PD)	921.3	6.8	4.3	1.5	0.4	0.5	17.8	17.7	0.1	...
1993 (PR)	928.1	4.6	4.0	2.2	0.4	-0.3	14.8	16.5	-1.7	...
1994 (PR)	932.7	3.1	3.3	2.7	0.4	-0.7	15.1	17.7	-2.6	...
1995 (PR)	935.8	5.4	3.1	2.9	0.4	1.0	18.2	19.9	-1.7	...
1996 (PR)	941.2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
	1973	810.4	9.4	7.8	1.5	16.3	8.5	1.2	29.7	2.2
1974	818.1	8.1	7.4	0.7	15.8	8.4	1.2	31.2	2.3	
1975	824.7	11.5	7.6	3.9	15.8	8.2	1.2	25.5	1.8	
1976	834.2	6.9	7.0	-0.1	15.3	8.3	1.0	27.0	1.6	
1977	840.0	4.9	6.4	-1.5	14.7	8.3	0.9	25.2	1.2	
1978	844.2	5.8	6.7	-0.9	14.8	8.1	0.8	23.2	0.5	
1979	849.1	4.4	6.5	-2.2	14.6	8.0	0.8	23.8	1.0	
1980	852.8	3.9	6.3	-2.4	14.5	8.2	0.8	24.6	1.4	
1981	856.1	4.1	6.0	-1.9	14.1	8.1	0.8	25.3	1.0	
1982	859.6	8.7	6.2	2.5	14.3	8.0	0.8	20.0	0.9	
1983	867.1	10.8	6.1	4.6	14.2	8.1	0.8	16.6	0.4	
1984	876.5	9.8	6.2	3.6	14.1	7.8	0.7	16.3	0.7	
1985	885.2	5.4	5.8	-0.4	14.0	8.2	0.7	19.1	0.5	
1986	890.0	4.9	5.7	-0.8	13.9	8.1	0.7	20.0	0.7	
1987	894.4	3.5	5.6	-2.1	13.5	7.9	0.7	22.1	0.8	
1988	897.5	6.4	5.3	1.1	13.5	8.2	0.7	21.2	1.0	
1989	903.2	7.2	5.5	1.7	13.8	8.3	0.8	21.9	1.1	
1990	909.8	5.9	6.0	-0.1	14.1	8.1	0.7	20.5	1.0	
1991	915.2	6.7	5.2	1.5	13.1	7.9	0.7	19.5	0.6	
1992 (PD)	921.3	7.4	4.7	2.7	12.8	8.2	0.7	19.1	1.7	
1993 (PR)	928.1	4.9	4.3	0.6	12.4	8.1	0.5	17.7	2.4	
1994 (PR)	932.7	3.3	3.6	-0.3	11.9	8.3	0.5	19.0	2.8	
1995 (PR)	935.8	5.8	3.3	2.5	11.4	8.2	0.6	21.2	3.1	
1996 (PR)	941.2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

New Brunswick

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	654.4	8.5	6.3	0.4	0.7	0.1	22.7	19.9	2.8	1.8
1974	663.0	10.1	6.2	0.9	0.6	0.0	22.9	18.7	4.2	1.8
1975	673.1	14.0	6.6	0.9	0.6	0.1	24.2	16.6	7.6	1.8
1976	687.2	8.1	6.6	0.7	0.6	0.0	18.9	17.3	1.6	1.4
1977	695.3	5.0	6.3	0.1	0.5	0.0	15.5	16.4	-0.9	1.1
1978	700.4	3.0	5.6	-0.4	0.5	0.0	14.3	16.0	-1.6	1.1
1979	703.4	3.2	5.7	0.2	0.5	0.1	14.3	16.5	-2.2	1.1
1980	706.6	1.2	5.3	0.5	0.5	0.2	13.2	17.4	-4.2	1.1
1981	707.9	0.1	5.4	-0.1	0.5	0.4	13.8	18.6	-4.8	1.3
1982	708.0	6.0	5.3	-0.3	0.4	-0.2	14.8	12.7	2.2	1.4
1983	714.0	6.3	5.3	-0.2	0.4	0.0	13.2	10.9	2.3	1.4
1984	720.3	4.6	5.1	-0.3	0.4	-0.1	12.0	11.2	0.8	1.4
1985	724.9	2.0	4.9	-0.4	0.5	0.0	11.5	13.1	-1.6	1.4
1986	726.9	1.3	4.3	-0.3	0.4	0.1	11.4	14.3	-2.9	0.4
1987	728.1	3.0	4.2	-0.2	0.4	0.1	13.2	15.0	-1.8	-0.3
1988	731.2	4.1	4.2	-0.2	0.4	0.6	13.7	14.9	-1.2	-0.3
1989	735.2	4.9	4.2	0.0	0.4	0.1	15.0	15.0	0.0	-0.3
1990	740.1	5.9	4.4	0.0	0.4	-0.1	14.2	13.2	1.0	-0.3
1991	746.1	4.4	4.0	-0.2	0.4	0.1	12.8	12.9	-0.1	-0.1
1992 (PD)	750.5	3.3	3.8	-0.2	0.5	0.5	11.9	13.1	-1.2	...
1993 (PR)	753.8	2.9	3.2	-0.2	0.4	-0.2	10.8	11.2	-0.5	...
1994 (PR)	756.7	2.3	3.1	-0.3	0.5	-0.4	10.7	11.2	-0.5	...
1995 (PR)	759.0	2.6	2.6	-0.3	0.5	0.5	13.4	14.1	-0.8	...
1996 (PR)	761.5
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	654.4	13.0	9.6	3.3	17.3	7.7	1.0	30.1	0.6	
1974	663.0	15.2	9.3	5.8	17.1	7.8	1.0	28.0	1.3	
1975	673.1	20.7	9.8	10.9	17.3	7.6	1.1	24.4	1.3	
1976	687.2	11.8	9.6	2.2	17.1	7.5	0.8	25.0	1.0	
1977	695.3	7.2	9.1	-1.8	16.5	7.4	0.7	23.4	0.2	
1978	700.4	4.3	8.0	-3.7	15.4	7.4	0.6	22.8	-0.6	
1979	703.4	4.6	8.1	-3.4	15.4	7.3	0.6	23.4	0.3	
1980	706.6	1.8	7.5	-5.8	15.0	7.5	0.6	24.6	0.7	
1981	707.9	0.2	7.6	-7.4	14.8	7.3	0.6	26.3	-0.1	
1982	708.0	8.4	7.4	1.0	14.8	7.3	0.6	17.8	-0.4	
1983	714.0	8.8	7.4	1.4	14.7	7.3	0.5	15.2	-0.3	
1984	720.3	6.3	7.0	-0.7	14.3	7.3	0.5	15.5	-0.4	
1985	724.9	2.8	6.7	-4.0	13.9	7.2	0.5	18.0	-0.5	
1986	726.9	1.8	6.0	-4.2	13.5	7.5	0.5	19.6	-0.4	
1987	728.1	4.2	5.7	-1.6	13.1	7.4	0.5	20.5	-0.3	
1988	731.2	5.5	5.7	-0.2	13.1	7.4	0.5	20.3	-0.2	
1989	735.2	6.6	5.7	1.0	13.1	7.5	0.6	20.4	0.0	
1990	740.1	8.0	5.9	2.1	13.2	7.3	0.5	17.7	-0.1	
1991	746.1	5.9	5.4	0.5	12.7	7.3	0.5	17.3	-0.2	
1992 (PD)	750.5	4.4	5.0	-0.6	12.5	7.5	0.4	17.4	-0.3	
1993 (PR)	753.8	3.8	4.3	-0.5	12.0	7.7	0.4	14.8	-0.3	
1994 (PR)	756.7	3.1	4.0	-1.0	11.8	7.8	0.4	14.8	-0.4	
1995 (PR)	759.0	3.4	3.4	-0.1	11.3	7.8	0.5	18.6	-0.5	
1996 (PR)	761.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Quebec

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	6,210.8	50.7	41.4	13.4	6.7	1.7	39.6	54.4	-14.7	-2.3
1974	6,261.4	59.5	42.9	20.1	6.3	-0.3	39.3	51.2	-11.9	-2.3
1975	6,320.9	64.2	50.2	16.1	6.3	1.7	34.5	46.8	-12.3	-2.3
1976	6,385.1	52.2	53.3	18.4	6.2	-0.5	31.6	52.4	-20.8	4.5
1977	6,437.3	12.0	53.7	9.0	5.5	-0.3	24.4	71.0	-46.5	9.4
1978	6,449.3	17.6	51.8	3.8	5.4	-0.5	24.5	57.9	-33.4	9.4
1979	6,466.9	33.3	55.3	10.5	5.1	1.8	23.6	53.7	-30.0	9.4
1980	6,500.2	43.3	53.9	15.1	4.7	3.3	21.9	46.2	-24.3	9.4
1981	6,543.5	42.6	52.6	13.4	4.2	4.8	23.6	46.1	-22.5	9.8
1982	6,586.1	22.9	47.3	11.8	4.8	-2.8	19.9	48.1	-28.2	10.1
1983	6,609.0	27.6	43.9	7.0	4.3	1.6	22.3	41.4	-19.1	10.1
1984	6,636.6	33.0	43.4	5.8	4.3	0.6	25.2	36.2	-10.9	10.1
1985	6,669.6	40.5	40.6	7.2	4.1	4.6	25.4	31.4	-6.0	10.1
1986	6,710.1	60.0	37.7	12.4	4.0	13.9	26.0	29.0	-3.0	5.0
1987	6,770.1	59.0	36.2	21.1	3.5	7.1	26.0	33.4	-7.4	1.4
1988	6,829.1	77.0	38.8	20.7	3.0	22.9	27.8	34.8	-7.0	1.4
1989	6,906.0	73.0	44.1	28.7	2.9	7.2	29.5	37.8	-8.4	1.4
1990	6,979.0	69.4	49.6	35.5	2.6	-7.4	26.9	36.4	-9.6	1.4
1991	7,048.4	70.9	48.2	45.1	3.1	-11.9	24.5	37.6	-13.0	0.6
1992 (PD)	7,119.3	80.2	47.3	42.3	3.2	-3.1	25.4	34.9	-9.5	...
1993 (PR)	7,199.5	70.8	40.7	38.9	3.1	-4.7	23.5	30.7	-7.2	...
1994 (PR)	7,270.3	44.6	39.2	21.9	3.1	-10.2	22.9	32.3	-9.4	...
1995 (PR)	7,315.0	55.4	34.9	20.3	3.1	6.6	26.9	37.6	-10.8	...
1996 (PR)	7,370.4
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	6,210.8	8.1	6.6	1.5	13.5	6.8	2.5	8.7	2.1	
1974	6,261.4	9.5	6.8	2.6	13.6	6.8	2.4	8.1	3.2	
1975	6,320.9	10.1	7.9	2.2	14.7	6.8	2.1	7.4	2.5	
1976	6,385.1	8.1	8.3	-0.2	15.0	6.7	1.9	8.2	2.9	
1977	6,437.3	1.9	8.3	-6.5	15.1	6.7	1.4	11.0	1.4	
1978	6,449.3	2.7	8.0	-5.3	14.8	6.7	1.4	9.0	0.6	
1979	6,466.9	5.1	8.5	-3.4	15.2	6.7	1.3	8.3	1.6	
1980	6,500.2	6.6	8.3	-1.6	14.9	6.7	1.2	7.1	2.3	
1981	6,543.5	6.5	8.0	-1.5	14.5	6.5	1.3	7.0	2.0	
1982	6,586.1	3.5	7.2	-3.7	13.8	6.6	1.1	7.3	1.8	
1983	6,609.0	4.2	6.6	-2.5	13.3	6.7	1.2	6.3	1.1	
1984	6,636.6	5.0	6.5	-1.6	13.2	6.7	1.3	5.4	0.9	
1985	6,669.6	6.0	6.1	0.0	12.9	6.8	1.3	4.7	1.1	
1986	6,710.1	8.9	5.6	3.3	12.6	7.0	1.4	4.3	1.8	
1987	6,770.1	8.7	5.3	3.4	12.3	7.0	1.3	4.9	3.1	
1988	6,829.1	11.2	5.7	5.6	12.6	7.0	1.4	5.1	3.0	
1989	6,906.0	10.5	6.3	4.2	13.3	7.0	1.5	5.4	4.1	
1990	6,979.0	9.9	7.1	2.8	14.0	6.9	1.3	5.2	5.1	
1991	7,048.4	10.0	6.8	3.2	13.7	6.9	1.2	5.3	6.4	
1992 (PD)	7,119.3	11.2	6.6	4.6	13.4	6.8	1.2	4.9	5.9	
1993 (PR)	7,199.5	9.8	5.6	4.2	12.8	7.1	1.1	4.2	5.4	
1994 (PR)	7,270.3	6.1	5.4	0.7	12.4	7.0	1.1	4.4	3.0	
1995 (PR)	7,315.0	7.5	4.7	2.8	11.9	7.2	1.2	5.1	2.8	
1996 (PR)	7,370.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Ontario

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	8,032.5	126.1	63.9	65.5	18.1	4.1	104.2	109.4	-5.3	20.2
1974	8,158.7	120.1	63.7	82.6	17.3	-1.2	89.5	111.7	-22.2	20.2
1975	8,278.7	106.1	65.2	64.6	17.5	4.1	80.9	106.0	-25.1	20.2
1976	8,384.8	92.2	62.1	41.3	17.3	-1.7	88.7	99.2	-10.5	16.2
1977	8,477.0	98.2	61.3	27.3	15.4	-1.2	98.6	90.0	8.6	13.4
1978	8,575.2	72.6	59.8	12.3	15.2	-1.7	86.6	86.2	0.4	13.4
1979	8,647.8	76.0	60.2	26.1	14.4	4.0	83.5	98.9	-15.3	13.4
1980	8,723.9	74.0	60.6	41.1	13.0	7.6	74.2	109.1	-34.9	13.4
1981	8,797.9	96.3	59.3	32.2	11.9	17.5	80.6	100.2	-19.7	5.0
1982	8,894.1	120.4	61.2	25.4	13.4	-0.1	89.1	69.5	19.6	-1.0
1983	9,014.5	123.6	62.3	13.5	12.3	1.7	88.2	55.4	32.8	-1.0
1984	9,138.1	131.3	66.6	16.7	11.9	-1.6	89.1	52.4	36.7	-1.0
1985	9,269.4	132.2	65.5	16.6	12.4	3.4	88.4	54.9	33.4	-1.0
1986	9,401.7	174.1	66.0	27.9	11.4	24.7	100.1	57.1	42.9	-1.1
1987	9,575.8	206.4	66.5	65.4	10.8	22.2	104.7	64.4	40.3	-1.2
1988	9,782.2	235.2	67.4	72.2	9.5	70.0	91.4	76.5	14.9	-1.2
1989	10,017.4	218.6	74.4	87.3	9.3	47.6	87.3	88.5	-1.2	-1.2
1990	10,236.0	165.4	80.1	96.8	8.4	-6.0	75.2	90.3	-15.1	-1.2
1991	10,401.4	147.2	78.6	98.2	9.9	-30.0	71.2	81.2	-10.0	-0.5
1992 (PD)	10,548.6	175.6	77.4	119.2	9.9	-17.7	67.6	80.8	-13.2	...
1993 (PR)	10,724.2	148.2	72.0	115.5	9.6	-36.9	60.7	72.6	-11.9	...
1994 (PR)	10,872.4	132.5	69.6	98.1	9.7	-40.0	65.6	70.3	-4.7	...
1995 (PR)	11,004.9	181.2	67.8	95.9	9.6	13.0	78.7	81.7	-3.0	...
1996 (PR)	11,186.1
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	8,032.5	15.6	7.9	7.7	15.3	7.4	7.3	13.5	8.1	
1974	8,158.7	14.6	7.7	6.9	15.1	7.4	6.2	13.6	10.1	
1975	8,278.7	12.7	7.8	4.9	15.1	7.3	5.6	12.7	7.8	
1976	8,384.8	10.9	7.4	3.6	14.6	7.2	6.0	11.8	4.9	
1977	8,477.0	11.5	7.2	4.3	14.4	7.2	6.6	10.6	3.2	
1978	8,575.2	8.4	6.9	1.5	14.0	7.1	5.7	10.0	1.4	
1979	8,647.8	8.8	6.9	1.8	14.0	7.1	5.4	11.4	3.0	
1980	8,723.9	8.4	6.9	1.5	14.1	7.2	4.8	12.5	4.7	
1981	8,797.9	10.9	6.7	4.2	13.8	7.1	5.1	11.3	3.6	
1982	8,894.1	13.4	6.8	6.6	13.9	7.1	5.6	7.8	2.8	
1983	9,014.5	13.6	6.9	6.7	14.0	7.1	5.5	6.1	1.5	
1984	9,138.1	14.3	7.2	7.0	14.3	7.0	5.5	5.7	1.8	
1985	9,269.4	14.2	7.0	7.2	14.2	7.1	5.4	5.9	1.8	
1986	9,401.7	18.4	7.0	11.4	14.1	7.2	6.1	6.0	2.9	
1987	9,575.8	21.3	6.9	14.5	13.9	7.0	6.3	6.7	6.8	
1988	9,782.2	23.8	6.8	16.9	13.9	7.1	5.5	7.7	7.3	
1989	10,017.4	21.6	7.3	14.2	14.4	7.0	5.2	8.7	8.6	
1990	10,236.0	16.0	7.8	8.3	14.6	6.9	4.4	8.8	9.4	
1991	10,401.4	14.1	7.5	6.6	14.5	7.0	4.1	7.8	9.4	
1992 (PD)	10,548.6	16.5	7.3	9.2	14.2	6.9	3.9	7.6	11.2	
1993 (PR)	10,724.2	13.7	6.7	7.1	13.7	7.0	3.4	6.7	10.7	
1994 (PR)	10,872.4	12.1	6.4	5.8	13.4	7.1	3.6	7.5	9.0	
1995 (PR)	11,004.9	16.3	6.1	10.2	13.2	7.1	4.3	7.9	8.6	
1996 (PR)	11,186.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Manitoba

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	1,004.5	9.8	8.8	3.7	1.4	0.2	33.8	36.0	-2.2	2.1
1974	1,014.3	7.2	8.9	4.5	1.4	-0.1	30.2	35.6	-5.4	2.1
1975	1,021.5	8.6	8.8	4.5	1.4	0.2	28.4	32.5	-4.1	2.1
1976	1,030.1	6.4	8.5	3.2	1.3	-0.1	25.1	28.7	-3.7	2.9
1977	1,036.5	5.3	8.5	2.8	1.2	-0.1	21.6	25.3	-3.8	3.4
1978	1,041.8	-2.5	8.1	1.3	1.2	-0.1	18.7	28.2	-9.6	3.4
1979	1,039.3	-4.9	8.0	3.0	1.1	0.2	18.8	32.6	-13.8	3.4
1980	1,034.5	0.3	7.6	6.1	1.0	0.4	19.0	30.4	-11.3	3.4
1981	1,034.8	7.8	7.4	3.4	1.0	0.7	22.7	26.3	-3.6	1.2
1982	1,042.6	13.7	7.6	3.2	0.8	0.2	20.9	19.4	1.5	-0.4
1983	1,056.2	12.7	8.1	1.8	1.0	0.4	18.5	17.5	1.0	-0.4
1984	1,069.0	11.7	8.4	2.3	0.8	-0.2	17.2	17.2	0.0	-0.4
1985	1,080.7	9.4	8.3	1.6	0.9	-0.1	17.2	19.0	-1.8	-0.4
1986	1,090.1	7.0	8.1	1.9	0.9	0.2	17.4	20.5	-3.0	1.0
1987	1,097.0	5.3	8.2	2.8	0.9	0.1	18.1	22.9	-4.8	2.0
1988	1,102.3	1.8	7.9	3.0	0.8	0.7	16.1	24.7	-8.6	2.0
1989	1,104.1	1.4	8.5	3.7	1.0	0.2	17.1	27.1	-10.0	2.0
1990	1,105.6	3.5	8.5	4.6	0.9	0.2	16.9	25.5	-8.6	2.0
1991	1,109.1	5.0	8.3	3.5	1.2	0.4	16.1	23.6	-7.6	0.8
1992 (PD)	1,114.1	6.0	7.6	3.0	1.1	0.4	15.9	22.0	-6.2	...
1993 (PR)	1,120.0	6.1	7.4	2.7	1.0	-0.3	14.5	19.2	-4.7	...
1994 (PR)	1,126.1	5.7	7.3	1.9	1.1	-0.8	15.3	19.1	-3.8	...
1995 (PR)	1,131.8	7.9	6.5	1.2	1.1	1.3	19.1	21.6	-2.6	...
1996 (PR)	1,139.8
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	1,004.5	9.7	8.7	1.0	16.8	8.1	1.6	35.6	3.7	
1974	1,014.3	7.0	8.7	-1.7	17.0	8.3	1.4	35.0	4.5	
1975	1,021.5	8.4	8.5	-0.1	16.7	8.2	1.3	31.7	4.4	
1976	1,030.1	6.1	8.2	-2.0	16.2	8.0	1.1	27.8	3.1	
1977	1,036.5	5.1	8.2	-3.1	16.1	7.9	1.0	24.4	2.7	
1978	1,041.8	-2.4	7.8	-10.2	15.8	8.0	0.8	27.1	1.3	
1979	1,039.3	-4.7	7.7	-12.4	15.7	7.9	0.8	31.4	2.9	
1980	1,034.5	0.3	7.3	-7.0	15.5	8.2	0.8	29.4	5.9	
1981	1,034.8	7.5	7.1	0.3	15.5	8.3	1.0	25.3	3.3	
1982	1,042.6	13.0	7.3	5.8	15.4	8.1	0.9	18.5	3.1	
1983	1,056.2	12.0	7.6	4.4	15.6	8.0	0.8	16.5	1.7	
1984	1,069.0	10.9	7.8	3.1	15.5	7.7	0.7	16.0	2.2	
1985	1,080.7	8.7	7.7	1.0	15.8	8.1	0.7	17.5	1.5	
1986	1,090.1	6.4	7.4	-1.0	15.6	8.1	0.7	18.7	1.7	
1987	1,097.0	4.8	7.5	-2.7	15.4	7.9	0.7	20.8	2.5	
1988	1,102.3	1.7	7.2	-5.5	15.4	8.2	0.6	22.4	2.7	
1989	1,104.1	1.3	7.7	-6.4	15.7	8.0	0.7	24.5	3.4	
1990	1,105.6	3.2	7.7	-4.5	15.7	8.0	0.6	23.1	4.1	
1991	1,109.1	4.5	7.5	-3.0	15.5	8.0	0.6	21.3	3.1	
1992 (PD)	1,114.1	5.3	6.8	-1.5	14.9	8.0	0.6	19.7	2.7	
1993 (PR)	1,120.0	5.4	6.6	-1.2	14.9	8.3	0.5	17.1	2.4	
1994 (PR)	1,126.1	5.0	6.5	-1.4	14.6	8.1	0.6	16.9	1.6	
1995 (PR)	1,131.8	7.0	5.7	1.3	14.2	8.5	0.7	19.1	1.1	
1996 (PR)	1,139.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Saskatchewan

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	915.9	-6.1	7.2	0.4	0.7	0.1	26.2	39.4	-13.3	1.3
1974	909.8	2.7	7.3	0.8	0.7	0.0	28.0	32.8	-4.8	1.3
1975	912.5	15.3	7.6	1.6	0.7	0.1	30.0	23.4	6.6	1.3
1976	927.8	13.0	8.2	1.2	0.7	0.0	26.2	22.4	3.8	0.8
1977	940.7	10.6	9.0	1.1	0.6	0.0	22.2	21.8	0.4	0.4
1978	951.3	5.6	8.8	0.4	0.6	0.0	19.3	23.0	-3.7	0.4
1979	956.9	8.1	9.6	1.8	0.5	0.1	21.1	24.6	-3.5	0.4
1980	965.0	8.1	9.4	2.8	0.5	0.2	20.7	25.0	-4.4	0.4
1981	973.1	11.3	9.7	1.4	0.5	0.3	23.2	23.7	-0.5	0.1
1982	984.4	12.9	9.5	1.0	0.5	0.0	21.0	19.3	1.7	-0.1
1983	997.3	14.0	10.2	0.5	0.5	0.1	19.5	17.0	2.5	-0.1
1984	1,011.3	12.9	10.3	1.1	0.5	0.2	17.3	16.6	0.7	-0.1
1985	1,024.2	6.6	10.1	0.5	0.6	0.3	15.8	20.8	-5.0	-0.1
1986	1,030.8	2.8	9.5	1.0	0.5	0.4	15.9	22.9	-7.0	1.5
1987	1,033.6	-0.4	9.2	1.1	0.5	0.4	15.7	24.7	-9.0	2.6
1988	1,033.2	-8.1	8.7	1.3	0.5	0.4	13.6	30.0	-16.3	2.6
1989	1,025.1	-10.6	8.7	1.2	0.5	0.2	15.3	33.9	-18.6	2.6
1990	1,014.5	-8.4	8.0	1.5	0.5	0.1	16.1	32.0	-15.9	2.6
1991	1,006.1	-1.0	7.2	1.6	0.5	0.4	17.4	26.9	-9.5	1.1
1992 (PD)	1,005.1	2.8	7.2	1.6	0.5	0.5	17.4	24.3	-6.9	...
1993 (PR)	1,007.9	3.0	6.1	1.5	0.5	-0.2	15.8	20.6	-4.8	...
1994 (PR)	1,010.9	3.2	5.7	1.3	0.5	-0.7	17.0	20.6	-3.6	...
1995 (PR)	1,014.0	5.7	5.0	0.9	0.5	1.2	20.7	23.1	-2.4	...
1996 (PR)	1,019.8
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	915.9	-6.7	7.8	-14.5	16.2	8.4	1.2	43.2	0.5	
1974	909.8	3.0	8.0	-5.1	16.6	8.6	1.3	36.0	0.9	
1975	912.5	16.6	8.3	8.3	16.6	8.3	1.4	25.5	1.7	
1976	927.8	13.9	8.7	5.2	17.1	8.4	1.2	24.0	1.2	
1977	940.7	11.2	9.5	1.7	17.5	8.0	1.0	23.1	1.2	
1978	951.3	5.9	9.2	-3.3	17.3	8.1	0.8	24.1	0.4	
1979	956.9	8.4	10.0	-1.6	17.6	7.7	0.9	25.6	1.9	
1980	965.0	8.4	9.7	-1.3	17.6	7.9	0.9	25.8	2.9	
1981	973.1	11.5	9.9	1.6	17.6	7.7	1.0	24.2	1.5	
1982	984.4	13.0	9.6	3.4	17.9	8.3	0.9	19.5	1.1	
1983	997.3	14.0	10.2	3.8	17.8	7.6	0.8	16.9	0.5	
1984	1,011.3	12.7	10.1	2.6	17.7	7.6	0.7	16.3	1.1	
1985	1,024.2	6.4	9.9	-3.4	17.7	7.8	0.6	20.2	0.5	
1986	1,030.8	2.7	9.2	-6.4	17.0	7.8	0.6	22.2	1.0	
1987	1,033.6	-0.4	8.9	-9.3	16.5	7.6	0.6	23.9	1.1	
1988	1,033.2	-7.9	8.4	-16.3	16.3	7.9	0.5	29.1	1.3	
1989	1,025.1	-10.4	8.6	-19.0	16.3	7.8	0.6	33.2	1.1	
1990	1,014.5	-8.3	8.0	-16.3	15.9	8.0	0.6	31.7	1.5	
1991	1,006.1	-1.0	7.2	-8.1	15.2	8.1	0.7	26.8	1.6	
1992 (PD)	1,005.1	2.8	7.2	-4.4	14.9	7.7	0.6	24.2	1.6	
1993 (PR)	1,007.9	3.0	6.0	-3.1	14.1	8.1	0.6	20.4	1.4	
1994 (PR)	1,010.9	3.1	5.7	-2.5	13.9	8.2	0.6	20.4	1.2	
1995 (PR)	1,014.0	5.6	4.9	0.7	13.3	8.4	0.7	22.7	0.9	
1996 (PR)	1,019.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Alberta

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	1,716.6	28.8	18.5	2.2	4.6	0.7	70.5	67.8	2.7	-0.1
1974	1,745.5	42.4	18.6	4.6	4.4	-0.1	75.4	60.6	14.8	-0.1
1975	1,787.9	56.4	20.2	7.4	4.5	0.7	76.7	53.2	23.5	-0.1
1976	1,844.2	74.0	21.5	6.6	4.5	-0.2	83.5	49.3	34.2	-7.4
1977	1,918.2	76.2	22.8	4.6	4.1	-0.1	82.8	50.5	32.3	-12.5
1978	1,994.4	73.1	23.5	1.3	4.1	-0.2	82.6	50.6	32.0	-12.5
1979	2,067.5	86.5	24.9	5.2	4.0	0.7	96.1	56.9	39.2	-12.5
1980	2,154.1	103.9	27.0	12.4	3.7	1.2	106.7	59.8	46.9	-12.5
1981	2,257.9	90.0	29.8	11.6	3.6	2.5	107.6	67.3	40.2	-2.3
1982	2,347.9	43.4	32.1	8.8	4.1	-0.4	72.7	68.8	4.0	5.0
1983	2,391.4	7.2	33.0	1.5	4.0	0.0	45.9	72.1	-26.2	5.0
1984	2,398.6	2.2	31.4	2.3	3.9	0.2	39.3	69.9	-30.6	5.0
1985	2,400.8	22.1	30.6	0.5	4.3	1.2	49.9	59.5	-9.6	5.0
1986	2,422.9	14.5	30.2	2.4	3.7	2.5	49.5	69.8	-20.3	3.9
1987	2,437.4	11.2	28.8	4.6	3.8	4.6	45.3	72.9	-27.6	3.0
1988	2,448.6	35.3	28.2	7.5	3.6	4.7	54.8	60.3	-5.5	3.0
1989	2,483.9	44.8	29.5	9.8	3.3	1.9	64.7	61.3	3.4	3.0
1990	2,528.7	52.0	28.9	12.4	3.1	-0.4	67.4	56.3	11.1	3.0
1991	2,580.7	43.9	28.3	8.4	3.8	-0.8	61.2	55.7	5.5	1.3
1992 (PD)	2,624.6	42.9	27.4	10.2	3.8	1.6	55.6	55.7	-0.1	...
1993 (PR)	2,667.5	33.8	25.0	11.1	3.7	-3.2	48.5	51.2	-2.7	...
1994 (PR)	2,701.4	30.2	24.2	10.4	3.8	-5.5	50.7	53.3	-2.6	...
1995 (PR)	2,731.6	41.7	23.0	7.0	3.7	4.5	60.0	56.8	3.2	...
1996 (PR)	2,773.3
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	1,716.6	16.7	10.7	6.0	16.9	6.2	3.4	39.2	1.3	
1974	1,745.5	24.0	10.5	13.5	16.9	6.4	3.6	34.3	2.6	
1975	1,787.9	31.0	11.1	19.9	17.4	6.3	3.6	29.3	4.1	
1976	1,844.2	39.3	11.4	27.9	17.6	6.2	3.9	26.2	3.5	
1977	1,918.2	39.0	11.7	27.3	17.6	5.9	3.8	25.8	2.3	
1978	1,994.4	36.0	11.5	24.5	17.4	5.9	3.8	24.9	0.6	
1979	2,067.5	41.0	11.8	29.2	17.5	5.7	4.4	27.0	2.5	
1980	2,154.1	47.1	12.3	34.8	18.0	5.8	4.8	27.1	5.6	
1981	2,257.9	39.1	12.9	26.1	18.5	5.6	4.8	29.2	5.0	
1982	2,347.9	18.3	13.5	4.8	19.0	5.5	3.2	29.0	3.7	
1983	2,391.4	3.0	13.8	-10.8	19.0	5.3	2.0	30.1	0.6	
1984	2,398.6	0.9	13.1	-12.1	18.4	5.3	1.7	29.1	1.0	
1985	2,400.8	9.1	12.7	-3.5	18.2	5.5	2.1	24.7	0.2	
1986	2,422.9	6.0	12.4	-6.4	18.0	5.6	2.1	28.7	1.0	
1987	2,437.4	4.6	11.8	-7.2	17.2	5.5	1.9	29.8	1.9	
1988	2,448.6	14.3	11.4	2.9	17.1	5.6	2.3	24.5	3.0	
1989	2,483.9	17.9	11.8	6.1	17.3	5.5	2.6	24.5	3.9	
1990	2,528.7	20.3	11.3	9.0	16.8	5.5	2.7	22.1	4.8	
1991	2,580.7	16.9	10.9	6.0	16.4	5.6	2.4	21.4	3.2	
1992 (PD)	2,624.6	16.2	10.3	5.9	15.9	5.5	2.2	21.0	3.9	
1993 (PR)	2,667.5	12.6	9.3	3.3	15.0	5.7	1.9	19.1	4.1	
1994 (PR)	2,701.4	11.1	8.9	2.2	14.6	5.7	1.9	19.6	3.8	
1995 (PR)	2,731.6	15.2	8.4	6.8	14.1	5.8	2.3	20.6	2.6	
1996 (PR)	2,773.3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

British Columbia

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	2,348.3	72.1	16.3	17.6	4.8	0.8	87.1	56.6	30.5	-2.0
1974	2,420.4	69.5	16.3	24.0	4.7	-0.2	84.2	61.5	22.7	-2.0
1975	2,489.9	41.6	17.1	19.7	4.8	0.8	61.1	64.0	-2.9	-2.0
1976	2,531.5	32.1	17.1	11.8	4.8	-0.3	59.3	60.8	-1.5	-0.3
1977	2,563.6	43.8	18.1	7.1	4.3	-0.2	62.8	47.3	15.5	1.0
1978	2,607.5	45.6	18.2	3.8	4.3	-0.3	65.4	44.7	20.7	1.0
1979	2,653.1	65.5	19.2	9.2	4.1	0.8	76.6	43.4	33.2	1.0
1980	2,718.5	83.4	20.7	18.2	3.8	1.5	80.0	39.8	40.2	1.0
1981	2,801.9	65.3	21.6	15.5	3.4	3.3	70.4	48.8	21.6	0.1
1982	2,867.2	34.8	22.0	10.9	3.9	-0.6	45.9	47.9	-2.0	-0.6
1983	2,901.9	38.3	23.1	6.4	3.7	0.5	43.9	39.9	4.0	-0.6
1984	2,940.3	36.0	23.2	4.5	3.8	0.4	42.0	38.5	3.5	-0.6
1985	2,976.2	28.6	21.8	3.6	3.9	1.8	42.6	45.8	-3.2	-0.6
1986	3,004.8	33.9	20.8	4.3	4.0	4.5	49.5	48.6	0.9	0.6
1987	3,038.7	57.7	20.0	12.0	3.7	5.8	60.9	43.3	17.6	1.5
1988	3,096.4	74.0	20.4	17.5	3.2	8.5	67.5	41.6	25.9	1.5
1989	3,170.4	88.2	20.8	19.3	3.2	9.0	79.4	42.0	37.4	1.5
1990	3,258.6	87.7	22.0	22.5	3.1	2.8	78.4	39.7	38.7	1.5
1991	3,346.3	84.0	21.6	25.1	3.3	0.0	74.5	39.9	34.6	0.6
1992 (PD)	3,430.3	100.3	21.5	30.0	3.4	5.9	78.4	39.0	39.5	...
1993 (PR)	3,530.5	96.5	20.3	38.9	3.3	-3.5	74.2	36.7	37.5	...
1994 (PR)	3,627.0	94.2	21.1	42.1	3.4	-5.7	73.4	40.1	33.4	...
1995 (PR)	3,721.3	98.2	20.4	37.2	3.4	13.5	75.8	51.7	24.0	...
1996 (PR)	3,819.5
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	2,348.3	30.2	6.8	23.4	14.4	7.6	4.4	23.7	7.4	
1974	2,420.4	28.3	6.6	21.7	14.4	7.8	4.2	25.1	9.8	
1975	2,489.9	16.6	6.8	9.8	14.5	7.6	3.0	25.5	7.9	
1976	2,531.5	12.6	6.7	5.9	14.1	7.4	2.9	23.9	4.6	
1977	2,563.6	17.0	7.0	10.0	14.2	7.2	3.0	18.3	2.8	
1978	2,607.5	17.3	6.9	10.4	14.2	7.2	3.1	17.0	1.4	
1979	2,653.1	24.4	7.2	17.2	14.3	7.2	3.6	16.2	3.4	
1980	2,718.5	30.2	7.5	22.7	14.5	7.0	3.7	14.4	6.6	
1981	2,801.9	23.0	7.6	15.4	14.6	7.0	3.2	17.2	5.5	
1982	2,867.2	12.1	7.6	4.4	14.8	7.2	2.1	16.6	3.8	
1983	2,901.9	13.1	7.9	5.2	14.7	6.8	2.0	13.7	2.2	
1984	2,940.3	12.2	7.9	4.3	14.8	7.0	1.9	13.0	1.5	
1985	2,976.2	9.6	7.3	2.3	14.4	7.1	1.9	15.3	1.2	
1986	3,004.8	11.2	6.9	4.3	13.9	7.0	2.2	16.1	1.4	
1987	3,038.7	18.8	6.5	12.3	13.6	7.1	2.6	14.1	3.9	
1988	3,096.4	23.6	6.5	17.1	13.7	7.2	2.9	13.3	5.6	
1989	3,170.4	27.4	6.5	21.0	13.6	7.2	3.3	13.1	6.0	
1990	3,258.6	26.6	6.7	19.9	13.8	7.1	3.3	12.0	6.8	
1991	3,346.3	24.8	6.4	18.4	13.5	7.1	3.1	11.8	7.4	
1992 (PD)	3,430.3	28.8	6.2	22.6	13.3	7.1	3.2	11.2	8.6	
1993 (PR)	3,530.5	27.0	5.7	21.3	12.9	7.2	3.0	10.3	10.9	
1994 (PR)	3,627.0	25.6	5.7	19.9	12.8	7.1	2.9	10.9	11.5	
1995 (PR)	3,721.3	26.1	5.4	20.6	12.4	7.0	3.0	13.7	9.9	
1996 (PR)	3,819.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Yukon

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	20.9	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.6	-0.3	-0.1
1974	21.1	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.7	0.1	-0.1
1975	21.7	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	2.8	2.5	0.2	-0.1
1976	22.4	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	2.9	-0.4	-0.3
1977	22.7	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.7	0.1	-0.4
1978	23.5	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	2.8	-0.2	-0.4
1979	24.1	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	2.8	-0.4	-0.4
1980	24.5	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.7	-0.4	-0.4
1981	24.9	-0.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	4.1	-1.4	-0.3
1982	24.4	-0.5	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.6	2.8	-1.2	-0.3
1983	23.8	-0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.4	-0.8	-0.3
1984	23.8	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.7	-0.1	-0.3
1985	24.4	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.0	-0.4	-0.3
1986	24.6	0.8	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.0	0.2	-0.2
1987	25.4	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.2	0.1	-0.2
1988	26.1	1.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	2.1	0.3	-0.2
1989	27.1	0.6	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.3	0.0	-0.2
1990	27.8	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.2	0.0	-0.2
1991	28.4	1.1	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.1	2.4	1.9	0.5	-0.1
1992 (PD)	29.5	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.2	0.0	...
1993 (PR)	30.1	-0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	-0.1	1.6	2.4	-0.8	...
1994 (PR)	29.6	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	-0.1	1.8	2.0	-0.1	...
1995 (PR)	29.9	1.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.0	0.8	...
1996 (PR)	31.1
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	20.9	7.7	14.7	-7.0	20.0	5.3	0.1	121.5	-0.9	
1974	21.1	28.4	17.8	10.6	23.1	5.3	0.1	125.3	-0.3	
1975	21.7	30.9	13.4	17.5	18.5	5.1	0.1	113.7	0.0	
1976	22.4	12.7	14.4	-1.7	19.9	5.5	0.1	129.2	-0.7	
1977	22.7	35.2	14.2	21.0	18.8	4.5	0.1	119.1	-1.4	
1978	23.5	25.5	15.0	10.5	18.8	3.7	0.1	119.0	-1.3	
1979	24.1	15.8	15.4	0.5	20.6	5.2	0.1	116.3	-0.3	
1980	24.5	17.1	14.1	3.0	19.3	5.2	0.1	109.9	1.4	
1981	24.9	-21.8	16.0	-37.9	21.8	5.7	0.1	165.7	1.0	
1982	24.4	-21.9	16.9	-38.7	21.8	4.9	0.1	117.4	-1.7	
1983	23.8	-2.4	17.9	-20.4	22.7	4.7	0.1	99.3	0.5	
1984	23.8	25.6	17.1	8.6	21.5	4.5	0.1	70.6	-0.4	
1985	24.4	9.7	13.9	-4.2	18.9	5.0	0.1	82.6	-0.3	
1986	24.6	31.3	14.8	16.5	19.3	4.5	0.1	80.4	-0.2	
1987	25.4	28.1	14.3	13.8	18.5	4.2	0.1	85.7	0.8	
1988	26.1	36.0	14.5	21.6	19.6	5.1	0.1	78.9	1.0	
1989	27.1	23.6	14.0	9.5	17.5	3.5	0.1	85.5	2.1	
1990	27.8	22.9	15.7	7.2	19.8	4.1	0.1	80.1	0.9	
1991	28.4	39.1	15.7	23.4	19.6	3.9	0.1	64.6	0.3	
1992 (PD)	29.5	18.1	13.8	4.3	17.8	3.9	0.1	75.1	1.9	
1993 (PR)	30.1	-14.4	12.9	-27.3	17.0	4.1	0.1	78.3	1.3	
1994 (PR)	29.6	7.2	10.7	-3.5	14.9	4.2	0.1	78.4	2.9	
1995 (PR)	29.9	39.9	10.3	29.6	15.4	5.2	0.1	78.5	1.3	
1996 (PR)	31.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1973-1996
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Northwest Territories

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1973	40.3	0.8	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.6	4.0	-0.4	-0.1
1974	41.2	1.3	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	4.3	4.2	0.2	-0.1
1975	42.4	1.7	1.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	4.3	3.9	0.4	-0.1
1976	44.1	0.6	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.1	4.9	-0.8	-0.3
1977	44.7	0.4	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.4	5.4	-1.0	-0.3
1978	45.1	0.5	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.9	4.8	-1.0	-0.3
1979	45.6	0.7	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.7	4.6	-0.8	-0.3
1980	46.3	0.6	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.4	4.3	-0.9	-0.3
1981	46.9	1.8	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.2	4.1	0.2	-0.4
1982	48.6	2.2	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	3.2	0.6	-0.4
1983	50.8	1.7	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	-0.4
1984	52.5	1.7	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	3.5	0.1	-0.4
1985	54.2	1.1	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	4.0	-0.6	-0.4
1986	55.3	-0.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	4.9	-1.8	-0.4
1987	55.2	0.6	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	4.7	-1.2	-0.4
1988	55.8	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	3.5	4.3	-0.8	-0.4
1989	56.9	1.3	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	4.1	-0.4	-0.4
1990	58.3	1.9	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	3.8	3.8	0.0	-0.4
1991	60.1	1.8	1.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.7	3.6	0.1	-0.2
1992 (PD)	61.9	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	3.7	-0.3	...
1993 (PR)	63.0	1.3	1.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.9	3.1	-0.1	...
1994 (PR)	64.3	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	-0.1	3.2	3.4	-0.2	...
1995 (PR)	65.4	0.7	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	4.0	-0.7	...
1996 (PR)	66.1
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1973	40.3	20.5	23.4	-2.9	29.6	6.1	0.2	98.1	3.4	
1974	41.2	31.1	20.0	11.1	24.9	4.9	0.2	100.4	3.9	
1975	42.4	38.2	22.2	16.0	27.2	5.0	0.2	90.6	3.6	
1976	44.1	13.1	21.9	-8.8	26.6	4.8	0.2	110.5	3.2	
1977	44.7	9.8	22.1	-12.3	26.5	4.5	0.2	119.7	2.0	
1978	45.1	10.3	22.0	-11.7	26.5	4.5	0.2	106.4	1.8	
1979	45.6	15.3	23.5	-8.1	27.9	4.5	0.2	99.1	2.4	
1980	46.3	12.2	22.8	-10.7	28.0	5.1	0.1	92.4	1.5	
1981	46.9	37.5	23.2	14.4	27.3	4.1	0.2	84.9	1.5	
1982	48.6	44.0	22.7	21.3	27.4	4.7	0.2	65.2	0.6	
1983	50.8	31.9	24.2	7.7	28.9	4.7	0.1	66.5	0.4	
1984	52.5	32.1	22.6	9.5	27.1	4.4	0.1	65.5	0.6	
1985	54.2	19.5	22.3	-2.9	26.3	3.9	0.1	73.1	-0.2	
1986	55.3	-1.8	23.0	-24.8	27.3	4.3	0.1	88.9	-0.2	
1987	55.2	11.5	23.9	-12.4	27.4	3.6	0.1	84.5	0.1	
1988	55.8	19.6	23.7	-4.1	27.6	3.9	0.1	76.4	0.4	
1989	56.9	23.4	21.4	2.0	25.7	4.3	0.1	71.2	-0.2	
1990	58.3	31.8	22.9	8.9	26.8	3.8	0.1	63.5	-0.4	
1991	60.1	29.1	22.9	6.2	26.8	3.9	0.1	58.5	1.1	
1992 (PD)	61.9	17.2	20.8	-3.6	24.9	4.1	0.1	59.1	0.8	
1993 (PR)	63.0	20.1	20.4	-0.3	24.5	4.1	0.1	48.2	1.5	
1994 (PR)	64.3	17.6	20.7	-3.0	24.4	3.7	0.1	51.9	0.5	
1995 (PR)	65.4	10.9	21.1	-10.1	24.5	3.5	0.1	61.4	0.1	
1996 (PR)	66.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

¹ Immigration: From Employment and Immigration Canada and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Emigration: Estimates based on Family Allowance and Income Tax files. Net: Emigrants subtracted from immigrants.

² The residual is the distribution over five years of the error of closure at the end of the census period. This error is equal to the difference between the number expected in the census by the components method and the enumeration corrected for net under-enumeration. This "error" encompasses errors on the components and on the net under-enumeration of the censuses.

³ Takes into account non-permanent residents, returning Canadians and the residual.

(PD) Final postcensal estimates based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.

(PR) Updated postcensal estimates based on 1991, as of September 19, 1996.

Note: All other data are based on final intercensal estimates. Calculations made on unrounded numbers.

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210, *Deaths*, Catalogue No. 84-211 and calculations by the author.

Table A2. Nuptiality

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Number of Marriages													
1978	3,841	939	6,560	5,310	45,936	67,491	8,232	7,139	18,277	21,388	194	216	185,523
1979	3,737	893	6,920	5,355	46,341	67,980	7,769	7,272	18,999	22,087	181	277	187,811
1980	3,783	939	6,791	5,321	44,848	68,840	7,869	7,561	20,818	23,830	200	269	191,069
1981	3,758	849	6,632	5,108	41,005	70,281	8,123	7,329	21,781	24,699	235	282	190,082
1982	3,764	855	6,486	4,923	38,354	71,595	8,264	7,491	22,312	23,831	225	260	188,360
1983	3,778	937	6,505	5,260	36,144	70,893	8,261	7,504	21,172	23,692	243	286	184,675
1984	3,567	1,057	6,798	5,294	37,433	71,922	8,393	7,213	20,052	23,397	212	259	185,597
1985	3,220	956	6,807	5,312	37,026	72,891	8,296	7,132	19,750	22,292	185	229	184,096
1986	3,421	970	6,445	4,962	33,083	70,839	7,816	6,820	18,896	21,826	183	257	175,518
1987	3,481	924	6,697	4,924	32,616	76,201	7,994	6,853	18,640	23,395	189	237	182,151
1988	3,686	965	6,894	5,292	33,519	78,533	7,908	6,767	19,272	24,461	209	222	187,728
1989	3,905	1,019	6,828	5,254	33,325	80,377	7,800	6,637	19,888	25,170	214	223	190,640
1990	3,791	996	6,386	5,044	32,060	80,097	7,666	6,229	19,806	25,216	218	228	187,737
1991	3,480	876	5,845	4,521	28,922	72,938	7,032	5,923	18,612	23,691	196	215	172,251
1992	3,254	850	5,623	4,313	25,841	70,079	6,899	5,664	17,871	23,749	221	209	164,573
1993	3,163	885	5,403	4,177	25,021	66,575	6,752	5,638	17,860	23,446	180	216	159,316
1994	3,318	850	5,374	4,219	24,985	66,694	6,585	5,689	18,096	23,739	169	241	159,959
1995	3,404	877	5,329	4,257	24,238	67,583	6,703	5,799	18,044	23,597	207	218	160,256

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Marriages*, catalogue no. 84-212.

Table A3.1 Age-Specific First Marriage Rates (per 1,000) for Male Cohorts, 1946-1978, Canada

Age	Year of Birth																																
	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946
	Year of 17th Birthday																																
17	0.3																																
18		0.3																															
19			0.3																														
20				0.3																													
21					0.3																												
22						0.3																											
23							0.3																										
24								0.3																									
25									0.3																								
26										0.3																							
27											0.3																						
28												0.3																					
29													0.3																				
30														0.3																			
31															0.3																		
32																0.3																	
33																	0.3																
34																		0.3															
35																			0.3														
36																				0.3													
37																					0.3												
38																						0.3											
39																							0.3										
40																								0.3									
41																									0.3								
42																										0.3							
43																											0.3						
44																												0.3					
45																													0.3				

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A3.2 Age-Specific First Marriage Rates (per 1,000) for Female Cohorts, 1946-1980, Canada

Age	Year of Birth																			
	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961
	Year of 15th Birthday																			
15	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
16	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4
17		2.4	2.4	2.6	2.7	3.1	3.8	4.7	4.6	4.8	5.5	6.0	7.5	8.3	9.4	10.9	12.5	14.9	16.7	19.2
18			9.2	9.5	10.4	11.0	13.3	15.2	16.0	16.5	18.0	21.5	24.0	25.3	29.1	33.6	37.8	43.8	48.3	52.9
19				17.1	18.6	18.2	21.2	23.5	26.2	29.1	31.2	32.3	37.3	39.9	43.1	48.0	54.5	61.3	67.6	71.4
20					26.1	28.5	29.0	31.3	35.8	40.7	44.9	45.6	47.7	50.3	56.1	59.2	64.2	72.3	77.3	82.9
21						36.8	38.5	39.3	42.1	47.0	53.7	57.1	63.0	64.6	65.8	64.3	66.6	69.6	70.9	71.9
22							44.6	46.9	47.4	50.9	55.6	63.0	64.6	66.3	66.6	66.8	64.6	62.7	66.1	65.6
23								50.9	52.9	56.2	54.6	57.3	61.3	58.7	64.6	62.1	58.5	56.4	57.4	55.9
24									56.2	54.6	54.2	57.0	57.0	58.7	54.2	57.2	56.5	54.4	50.4	47.2
25										53.3	53.2	51.7	51.7	53.9	54.2	54.5	54.5	45.9	43.6	39.0
26											47.6	47.1	47.1	44.4	45.0	46.6	48.4	45.9	43.6	37.9
27												40.1	40.1	39.9	36.8	37.9	38.0	39.4	36.0	35.1
28														32.4	31.4	30.4	31.4	30.3	31.2	29.4
29															26.6	25.6	25.5	24.3	23.8	24.7
30																21.3	20.3	19.7	19.9	19.0
31																	16.5	15.9	15.7	15.5
32																		13.8	13.2	12.4
33																			10.9	10.1
34																				9.0
35																				
36																				
37																				
38																				
39																				
40																				
41																				
42																				
43																				
44																				
45																				

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A4. Divorce

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Number of Divorces													
1980	555	163	2,314	1,326	13,898	22,441	2,282	1,836	7,580	9,464	82	76	62,017
1981	569	187	2,285	1,334	19,193	21,680	2,399	1,932	8,418	9,533	75	66	67,671
1982	625	205	2,281	1,663	18,579	23,640	2,392	1,815	8,882	10,164	117	67	70,430
1983	711	215	2,340	1,942	17,364	23,073	2,642	2,000	8,758	9,347	88	85	68,565
1984	590	195	2,263	1,427	16,845	21,635	2,611	1,988	8,454	8,988	100	74	65,170
1985	561	213	2,337	1,360	15,814	20,851	2,313	1,927	8,102	8,330	96	72	61,976
1986	687	199	2,609	1,729	19,026	27,549	2,982	2,479	9,556	11,299	94	95	78,304
1987	1,117	275	2,759	1,995	22,098	39,095	3,923	2,968	9,535	12,184	142	109	96,200
1988	906	269	2,494	1,673	20,340	32,524	3,102	2,501	8,744	10,760	82	112	83,507
1989	1,005	248	2,527	1,649	19,829	31,298	2,912	2,460	8,237	10,658	82	93	80,998
1990	1,016	281	2,419	1,699	20,474	28,977	2,798	2,364	8,489	9,773	81	92	78,463
1991	912	269	2,280	1,652	20,274	27,694	2,790	2,240	8,388	10,368	67	86	77,020
1992	867	227	2,304	1,633	19,695	30,463	2,657	2,325	8,217	10,431	117	98	79,034
1993	930	227	2,376	1,606	19,662	28,903	2,586	2,239	8,612	10,889	94	103	78,227
1994	933	249	2,286	1,570	18,224	30,718	2,746	2,354	8,174	11,437	97	92	78,880
Mean Duration of Marriage for Persons Divorced in the Year ¹													
1980	12.1	12.8	11.1	11.7	11.8	11.8	10.8	11.1	10.5	11.8	11.8	12.6	11.5
1981	11.8	12.4	11.3	11.8	11.8	11.9	11.0	10.5	10.5	11.7	11.2	9.0	11.5
1982	11.7	12.3	11.0	11.8	11.6	11.9	11.2	10.7	10.5	11.8	11.8	11.1	11.5
1983	11.1	12.6	11.0	11.8	11.4	11.9	10.9	10.4	10.6	11.8	11.5	11.2	11.4
1984	11.9	13.2	11.5	12.3	11.5	11.9	10.9	10.9	10.8	12.4	12.3	10.4	11.6
1985	11.4	12.8	11.4	11.9	11.7	12.0	10.7	10.7	11.0	12.3	11.5	10.3	11.6
1986	11.7	12.5	11.3	11.8	11.5	11.7	11.1	10.7	10.9	12.1	11.8	10.9	11.5
1987	11.3	11.7	11.1	11.7	11.3	11.6	10.5	10.4	10.9	11.8	11.7	11.0	11.4
1988	11.7	12.4	11.0	11.7	11.1	11.5	10.6	10.6	11.0	11.7	11.4	10.4	11.3
1989	11.7	11.5	11.3	11.5	11.0	11.3	10.3	10.8	11.0	11.5	11.5	10.5	11.2
1990	11.3	11.9	11.3	11.1	10.8	11.2	10.5	10.6	11.0	11.5	11.4	10.1	11.1
1991	11.5	13.0	11.0	11.5	11.0	10.9	10.3	10.9	10.8	11.3	11.2	9.0	11.0
1992	11.0	12.1	11.2	11.0	10.8	10.9	10.5	10.7	10.8	11.2	10.8	9.7	10.9
1993	11.7	11.8	10.9	11.5	10.5	10.8	10.4	10.6	10.6	11.0	10.6	10.1	10.8
1994	11.3	12.6	11.0	11.2	10.6	10.6	10.4	10.5	10.6	10.7	10.9	10.7	10.7

¹ Excludes divorces for marriages of a duration greater than 25 years.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Divorces*, catalogue no. 84-213 and calculations by the author.

Table A5. Births and Fertility

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Live Births													
1980	10,332	1,958	12,369	10,636	97,421	123,316	15,989	17,057	39,749	40,104	476	1,302	370,709
1981	10,130	1,897	12,079	10,503	95,322	122,183	16,073	17,209	42,638	41,474	536	1,302	371,346
1982	9,173	1,924	12,325	10,489	90,800	124,856	16,123	17,722	45,036	42,747	525	1,362	373,082
1983	8,929	1,907	12,401	10,518	88,154	126,826	16,602	17,847	45,555	42,919	540	1,491	373,689
1984	8,560	1,954	12,378	10,360	87,839	131,296	16,651	18,014	44,105	43,911	519	1,444	377,031
1985	8,500	2,008	12,450	10,121	86,340	132,208	17,097	18,162	43,813	43,127	464	1,437	375,727
1986	8,100	1,928	12,358	9,788	84,634	133,882	17,009	17,518	43,739	41,967	483	1,507	372,913
1987	7,769	1,955	12,110	9,588	83,791	134,617	16,953	17,034	42,110	41,814	478	1,523	369,742
1988	7,487	1,977	12,182	9,617	86,612	138,066	17,030	16,763	42,055	42,930	521	1,555	376,795
1989	7,762	1,937	12,533	9,667	92,373	145,338	17,321	16,651	43,351	43,769	480	1,479	392,661
1990	7,604	2,014	12,870	9,824	98,048	150,923	17,352	16,090	43,004	45,617	556	1,584	405,486
1991	7,166	1,885	12,016	9,497	97,310	151,478	17,282	15,304	42,776	45,612	568	1,634	402,528
1992	6,918	1,850	11,874	9,389	96,146	150,593	16,590	15,004	42,039	46,156	529	1,554	398,642
1993	6,421	1,754	11,568	9,049	92,391	147,848	16,709	14,269	40,292	46,026	508	1,559	388,394
1994	6,337	1,716	11,099	8,978	90,578	147,068	16,480	14,038	39,796	46,998	442	1,580	385,110
1995	5,859	1,754	10,726	8,563	87,416	146,257	16,113	13,499	38,914	46,821	470	1,613	378,005
Age-Specific Fertility Rates (per 1,000)													
1992: 15-19	30.0	30.2	30.7	33.7	17.7	22.2	42.4	44.5	36.3	24.0	36.1	94.5	25.4
20-24	74.7	81.3	78.9	82.5	76.5	64.4	92.2	109.4	89.9	73.9	106.9	161.9	75.0
25-29	99.2	135.2	109.6	109.9	128.2	115.9	127.2	139.0	121.1	110.2	115.0	138.2	119.4
30-34	58.1	88.5	70.5	61.3	80.3	92.1	86.5	83.4	88.4	85.4	79.5	95.0	85.3
35-39	15.0	24.2	23.1	16.9	23.9	33.6	29.3	24.6	30.5	31.4	37.4	40.0	28.9
40-44	2.0	4.0	3.1	2.5	3.3	4.9	4.7	3.7	4.5	4.8	8.4	7.8	4.2
45-49	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
1993: 15-19	26.5	30.7	30.4	31.1	17.2	22.3	43.4	44.0	33.2	22.5	41.5	99.4	24.7
20-24	66.9	83.4	74.8	80.1	75.1	62.8	92.5	104.6	87.6	70.9	100.9	167.3	73.0
25-29	96.5	121.5	108.7	107.6	121.8	110.7	128.9	134.3	118.4	106.7	117.0	138.1	114.7
30-34	54.7	79.5	71.0	60.9	80.0	92.5	90.4	79.0	84.7	84.2	76.3	91.3	84.9
35-39	15.0	26.2	23.7	17.5	24.2	34.5	29.4	25.8	29.9	32.7	41.3	28.0	29.5
40-44	1.9	3.4	2.9	2.5	3.6	5.2	4.0	3.8	4.4	5.3	3.0	6.4	4.4
45-49	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	1.5	0.1
1994: 15-19	25.8	29.1	30.2	32.7	17.4	22.4	43.0	46.3	33.0	22.2	44.0	104.5	24.8
20-24	67.5	82.8	73.6	78.8	74.5	62.3	93.6	104.6	84.9	70.9	86.3	154.2	72.2
25-29	93.9	112.8	105.1	110.2	120.5	110.3	127.4	131.3	120.0	106.4	96.9	137.0	114.0
30-34	60.4	78.1	70.3	61.3	80.9	93.2	89.9	81.7	86.3	86.4	70.7	94.8	86.0
35-39	14.1	29.1	23.3	17.3	25.3	35.3	29.8	24.3	30.9	34.2	38.7	47.0	30.4
40-44	1.6	4.2	2.5	2.1	3.7	5.6	4.7	3.5	4.7	5.7	8.9	6.6	4.7
45-49	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.7	0.1

Table A5. Birth and Fertility - concluded

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Fertility Rates by Birth Order (per 1,000 women)													
1992: 1	21.3	23.1	24.1	23.5	25.6	25.6	26.9	24.4	25.7	24.5	26.5	32.0	25.3
2	17.4	21.3	19.3	18.5	20.4	20.4	20.4	22.9	22.4	19.9	21.3	25.8	20.7
3	6.4	11.4	7.5	7.1	7.8	8.6	10.6	12.6	10.4	8.4	12.4	17.6	8.7
4	1.7	3.9	2.1	1.8	2.0	2.5	4.2	5.1	3.8	2.5	2.7	11.7	2.6
5 +	0.6	1.7	1.0	0.7	0.8	1.2	3.1	3.4	2.3	1.1	1.6	11.0	1.3
1993: 1	20.3	22.1	23.5	22.7	24.1	25.1	26.8	23.7	24.6	24.7	28.2	34.1	24.6
2	15.9	20.0	18.6	18.2	19.8	20.5	20.7	21.4	21.3	19.0	17.6	24.5	20.0
3	5.9	10.8	7.5	6.5	7.5	8.3	10.4	11.6	10.0	7.8	9.9	17.5	8.3
4	1.3	3.5	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.5	4.5	4.9	3.5	2.3	4.6	10.5	2.6
5 +	0.4	1.3	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.7	1.8	1.9	1.2	0.7	2.1	4.9	0.8
1994: 1	20.4	21.3	22.9	22.9	23.2	24.7	26.9	24.0	24.8	24.9	22.9	31.6	24.2
2	16.2	19.7	18.2	18.2	19.6	20.5	20.5	20.6	20.9	19.1	19.7	26.0	19.9
3	5.6	10.1	6.9	6.4	7.6	8.2	10.3	11.3	9.7	7.6	8.3	17.6	8.2
4	1.3	3.3	2.1	1.8	2.2	2.5	4.0	4.7	3.4	2.3	3.2	10.2	2.6
5 +	0.6	1.7	0.9	0.7	0.9	1.3	3.3	3.5	2.0	1.1	2.2	11.1	1.4
Total Fertility Rate (Women Aged 15-49) ¹													
1981	..	1.87	1.62	1.67	1.57	1.57	1.82	2.11	1.86	1.63	2.06	2.83	1.65
1982	..	1.89	1.64	1.66	1.48	1.59	1.80	2.14	1.89	1.65	1.96	2.81	1.64
1983	..	1.83	1.63	1.65	1.43	1.59	1.83	2.10	1.90	1.65	2.16	3.00	1.62
1984	..	1.84	1.60	1.61	1.43	1.62	1.82	2.08	1.86	1.68	2.07	2.80	1.63
1985	..	1.86	1.60	1.57	1.40	1.60	1.85	2.08	1.86	1.65	1.83	2.66	1.61
1986	..	1.78	1.58	1.53	1.37	1.60	1.83	2.02	1.85	1.61	1.92	2.81	1.60
1987	1.53	1.82	1.55	1.51	1.37	1.58	1.83	1.98	1.82	1.60	1.88	2.82	1.58
1988	1.47	1.85	1.57	1.53	1.43	1.59	1.85	1.99	1.84	1.64	1.98	2.90	1.60
1989	1.53	1.83	1.62	1.55	1.53	1.63	1.92	2.05	1.90	1.65	1.85	2.70	1.66
1990	1.52	1.93	1.68	1.58	1.64	1.67	1.95	2.07	1.88	1.68	2.16	2.79	1.71
1991	1.44	1.85	1.58	1.54	1.65	1.66	1.97	2.03	1.88	1.67	2.13	2.85	1.70
1992	1.39	1.82	1.58	1.53	1.65	1.67	1.91	2.02	1.85	1.65	1.92	2.69	1.69
1993	1.31	1.72	1.56	1.50	1.61	1.64	1.94	1.96	1.79	1.61	1.90	2.66	1.66
1994	1.32	1.68	1.53	1.51	1.61	1.65	1.94	1.96	1.80	1.62	1.73	2.72	1.66
1995 (P)	1.25	1.72	1.50	1.46	1.58	1.65	1.92	1.90	1.77	1.60	1.84	2.78	1.64

(P) Preliminary.

¹ Number of children per woman.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A6. Number of Abortions by Age, Canada, 1975-1994

Year	Less than 15	15-17	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44 ¹	Total
1975	651	8,097	8,073	15,636	10,437	5,730	3,447	1,632	53,703
1976	717	8,511	8,810	17,395	11,628	6,397	3,568	1,686	58,712
1977	697	8,646	9,092	18,137	11,602	6,702	3,453	1,535	59,864
1978	642	9,179	10,208	20,916	12,873	7,501	3,803	1,588	66,710
1979	694	9,498	10,988	22,017	13,447	7,887	3,789	1,425	69,745
1980	613	9,500	11,273	22,927	14,114	8,371	3,831	1,470	72,099
1981	605	8,821	10,912	23,263	14,324	8,638	3,936	1,412	71,911
1982	585	8,310	11,223	24,660	15,300	9,141	4,393	1,459	75,071
1983	560	7,003	9,711	23,129	14,426	8,719	4,467	1,353	69,368
1984	503	6,766	9,122	23,268	14,834	8,810	4,774	1,372	69,449
1985	554	6,422	8,764	23,131	14,949	9,079	4,866	1,451	69,216
1986	431	6,552	8,630	22,789	15,227	9,502	5,055	1,386	69,572
1987	442	6,352	8,636	22,345	15,699	9,781	5,208	1,560	70,023
1988	415	6,230	9,066	22,872	16,626	10,311	5,510	1,663	72,693
1989	453	6,353	9,893	24,143	18,536	11,587	6,445	1,905	79,315
1990	600	7,248	11,072	27,895	21,815	14,289	7,809	2,173	92,901
1991	494	7,532	10,649	28,649	21,975	14,974	8,375	2,411	95,059
1992	580	8,112	11,112	30,536	23,295	16,357	9,250	2,843	102,085
1993	664	8,306	11,378	31,226	23,323	17,015	9,544	2,947	104,403
1994	561	8,486	12,540	31,868	23,026	16,723	9,978	3,073	106,255

¹ Includes voluntary interruption of pregnancies performed on women aged 44 and older.

Source : Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Therapeutic Abortions 1994*, catalogue no. 82-219.

Table A7. Mortality

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Deaths													
1980	3,345	1,035	7,004	5,297	43,512	62,746	8,436	7,651	12,710	19,371	128	238	171,473
1981	3,230	992	6,958	5,139	42,684	62,838	8,648	7,523	12,823	19,857	141	196	171,029
1982	3,385	980	6,941	5,197	43,497	63,696	8,490	8,202	12,968	20,707	118	232	174,413
1983	3,498	1,050	7,047	5,206	44,275	64,507	8,521	7,611	12,588	19,827	113	241	174,484
1984	3,520	1,109	6,913	5,272	44,449	64,703	8,290	7,710	12,730	20,686	108	237	175,727
1985	3,557	1,110	7,315	5,230	45,707	66,747	8,756	8,031	13,231	21,302	123	214	181,323
1986	3,540	1,121	7,255	5,458	46,892	67,865	8,911	8,061	13,560	21,213	113	235	184,224
1987	3,629	1,116	7,112	5,408	47,616	68,119	8,710	7,808	13,316	21,814	108	197	184,953
1988	3,591	1,112	7,412	5,450	47,771	70,679	9,100	8,100	13,894	22,546	136	220	190,011
1989	3,718	1,089	7,516	5,496	48,305	70,907	8,819	7,920	13,854	22,997	95	249	190,965
1990	3,884	1,143	7,388	5,426	48,420	70,818	8,863	8,044	14,068	23,577	115	227	191,973
1991	3,798	1,188	7,255	5,469	49,121	72,917	8,943	8,098	14,451	23,977	114	237	195,568
1992	3,798	1,114	7,544	5,609	48,824	73,206	8,980	7,793	14,679	24,615	117	256	196,535
1993	3,890	1,145	7,559	5,806	51,711	75,853	9,299	8,164	15,338	25,764	123	260	204,912
1994	4,050	1,114	7,770	5,917	51,366	77,487	9,148	8,308	15,613	25,939	124	241	207,077
1995	3,936	1,138	7,649	5,947	52,560	78,464	9,659	8,495	15,895	26,375	157	227	210,502
Infant Deaths (age less than 1 year)													
1980	110	22	135	116	953	1,175	184	193	500	442	9	29	3,868
1981	98	25	139	114	807	1,073	191	203	452	424	8	28	3,562
1982	99	15	106	110	800	1,041	146	186	442	423	11	22	3,401
1983	95	16	116	112	676	1,013	173	180	383	377	10	31	3,182
1984	79	16	97	81	645	992	144	169	425	378	7	25	3,058
1985	92	8	98	97	626	961	170	200	352	349	5	24	2,982
1986	65	13	104	81	604	969	157	157	393	355	12	28	2,938
1987	59	13	90	67	594	888	142	155	315	359	5	19	2,706
1988	70	14	79	69	563	910	132	140	347	362	3	16	2,705
1989	64	12	73	69	632	985	115	134	325	360	2	24	2,795
1990	70	12	81	71	612	946	138	123	346	344	4	19	2,766
1991	56	13	69	58	578	953	111	126	285	298	6	20	2,573
1992	49	3	71	59	522	886	113	110	304	286	2	26	2,431
1993	50	16	82	65	529	922	118	115	268	264	4	15	2,448
1994	52	11	67	48	512	884	115	125	294	297	1	23	2,429

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Deaths*, catalogue no. 84-211.

**Table A8. Death Rates by Suicide (per 100,000) by Age Group,
Canada, 1951, 1976, 1981, 1985 and 1994**

Age Group	Sex	Year ¹				
		1951	1976	1981	1985	1994
15-19	Males	3.9	18.6	20.3	20.1	19.9
	Females	1.8	4.5	3.8	3.5	4.8
20-24	Males	8.8	33.6	32.1	31.4	28.3
	Females	3.2	7.7	6.5	4.7	5.2
25-29	Males	7.6	28.1	28.9	27.7	25.9
	Females	3.9	8.6	7.5	6.3	4.9
30-34	Males	10.4	24.3	26.6	26.5	27.3
	Females	3.8	10.4	8.0	7.2	6.4
35-39	Males	13.2	25.2	24.7	23.9	29.3
	Females	4.6	10.9	8.6	7.5	8.3
40-44	Males	19.6	27.3	26.2	25.3	27.9
	Females	6.4	10.8	10.4	9.6	7.9
45-49	Males	21.6	29.3	29.1	24.9	28.0
	Females	7.2	14.0	12.4	9.6	8.0
50-54	Males	26.4	32.7	29.7	30.2	25.1
	Females	8.3	13.4	13.6	9.9	8.9
55-59	Males	27.2	26.6	29.6	29.5	24.8
	Females	7.3	13.7	12.3	9.8	8.3
60-64	Males	30.8	24.1	27.2	25.1	22.4
	Females	9.0	11.9	11.2	8.8	6.0
65-69	Males	28.2	24.3	26.8	24.2	22.0
	Females	9.3	9.9	10.3	8.8	5.5
70-74	Males	29.5	26.3	30.1	29.2	21.3
	Females	6.3	8.4	9.3	7.0	5.1
75-79	Males	32.8	24.9	34.4	28.1	26.7
	Females	5.9	5.8	7.1	5.8	5.6
80-84	Males	25.1	21.2	41.7	32.4	30.1
	Females	2.0	7.3	6.9	5.0	5.9
Standardized Rate ²	Males	15.7	26.5	27.5	26.3	20.7
	Females	5.2	9.6	8.7	7.1	5.3

¹ Average of years 1950 and 1951, 1975 and 1976, 1980 and 1981, 1984 and 1985, 1993 and 1994 respectively.

² Structure of the population of Canada in 1976.

Note: The rates for 1976, 1981 and 1985 were calculated from old population estimates.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, *Causes of Death*, catalogue no. 84-203 and calculations by the author.

Table A9. Life Expectancy at Different Ages, Canada, 1993 and 1994

Age	1993 Table (triennial) ¹		1994 Table (preliminary) ²	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0	74.96	81.09	75.12	81.17
1	74.48	80.54	74.64	80.62
5	70.58	76.63	70.75	76.71
10	65.64	71.68	65.81	71.76
15	60.72	66.74	60.88	66.82
20	55.96	61.85	56.13	61.92
25	51.24	56.96	51.40	57.03
30	46.51	52.06	46.67	52.13
35	41.80	47.19	41.96	47.26
40	37.14	42.37	37.30	42.44
45	32.53	37.61	32.69	37.68
50	28.01	32.95	28.16	33.02
55	23.68	28.44	23.82	28.49
60	19.65	24.12	19.77	24.17
65	15.97	20.01	16.08	20.06
70	12.68	16.15	12.79	16.22
75	9.79	12.61	9.88	12.67
80	7.41	9.52	7.50	9.59
85	5.55	6.96	5.65	7.02
90	4.36	5.07	4.43	5.13

¹ Calculated by using the average of deaths in 1992, 1993 and 1994.

² Calculated by using, to set an average, the deaths in 1993 and twice the deaths in 1994.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, catalogue no. 84-210, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A10. Standardization and Decomposition of Mortality Rates for Certain Causes, by Sex, Canada, 1971-1994¹

Year	Males			Females		
	Crude Rates (per 100,000)	Adjusted for Rates	Adjusted for Age	Crude Rates (per 100,000)	Adjusted for Rates	Adjusted for Age
Diseases of the Circulatory System²						
1971	400.2	301.0	447.4	305.3	216.7	383.7
1972	405.0	303.4	449.8	310.6	222.2	383.5
1973	401.3	305.8	443.7	310.6	228.4	377.3
1974	403.7	307.3	444.6	314.5	233.5	376.1
1975	390.5	309.9	428.9	305.8	239.4	361.5
1976	389.5	313.0	424.7	303.5	245.9	352.7
1977	384.2	317.0	415.4	299.7	252.8	342.0
1978	372.7	321.1	399.8	296.6	259.9	331.8
1979	364.0	326.2	385.9	290.9	267.7	318.2
1980	360.2	329.8	378.6	296.0	274.1	317.0
1981	350.2	334.2	364.2	288.7	281.8	302.0
1982	346.8	338.7	356.3	291.0	288.6	297.6
1983	338.0	343.4	342.8	283.2	295.2	283.2
1984	328.0	348.9	327.3	280.9	302.5	273.5
1985	325.1	354.5	318.8	280.4	310.1	265.4
1986	321.5	359.5	310.2	283.7	316.9	261.8
1987	310.9	365.4	293.7	275.2	323.4	246.9
1988	307.8	370.5	285.5	275.3	328.7	241.7
1989	299.4	374.6	273.0	268.2	333.2	230.1
1990	281.7	379.4	250.5	258.9	338.1	215.9
1991	280.7	385.6	243.2	260.3	344.4	211.0
1992	277.7	390.3	235.5	256.5	349.8	201.8
1993	282.3	395.7	234.8	262.9	356.0	202.1
1994	275.2	401.3	222.0	262.2	362.5	194.8
Ischaemic Heart Diseases³						
1971	272.8	198.3	304.2	171.4	118.9	214.6
1972	275.2	200.0	305.0	174.1	121.9	214.3
1973	271.7	201.7	299.7	176.2	125.1	213.3
1974	273.5	202.8	300.4	179.3	127.9	213.5
1975	264.6	204.7	289.7	171.2	131.5	201.8
1976	264.4	206.9	287.2	171.2	134.9	198.3
1977	261.7	209.5	281.9	169.8	138.8	193.1
1978	251.8	212.4	269.1	169.2	142.6	188.7
1979	240.2	215.9	254.0	159.8	147.3	174.6
1980	237.8	218.3	249.2	162.4	150.9	173.5
1981	232.8	221.1	241.5	158.4	155.0	165.5
1982	229.4	224.1	235.1	159.8	158.7	163.2
1983	222.8	227.1	225.4	154.3	162.3	154.1
1984	216.0	230.7	215.1	155.4	166.3	151.2
1985	213.8	234.2	209.3	152.1	170.3	143.9
1986	208.7	237.3	201.1	153.9	174.0	142.0
1987	202.1	241.0	190.9	149.2	177.4	133.8
1988	199.3	244.1	184.9	147.2	180.1	129.2
1989	190.7	246.5	173.9	142.1	182.4	121.7
1990	177.8	249.3	158.2	138.0	185.0	115.1
1991	175.8	253.1	152.4	137.5	188.3	111.3
1992	173.1	256.0	146.8	132.6	190.9	103.8
1993	174.9	259.3	145.4	134.9	193.9	103.0
1994	169.1	262.6	136.3	133.2	197.1	98.1

See notes at the end.

Table A10. Standardization and Decomposition of Mortality Rates for Certain Causes, by Sex, Canada, 1971-1994¹ - Continued

Year	Males			Females		
	Crude Rates (per 100,000)	Adjusted for Rates	Adjusted for Age	Crude Rates (per 100,000)	Adjusted for Rates	Adjusted for Age
Cerebrovascular Diseases⁴						
1971	68.8	46.5	76.9	77.1	49.3	96.3
1972	70.3	46.8	78.1	78.6	50.6	96.5
1973	68.1	47.3	75.4	75.8	52.5	91.9
1974	67.7	47.5	74.9	76.4	53.6	91.3
1975	65.1	47.9	71.9	76.3	54.8	90.0
1976	62.5	48.5	68.6	73.1	56.7	85.0
1977	60.2	49.2	65.6	70.2	58.4	80.3
1978	58.3	49.8	63.1	70.4	60.2	78.7
1979	57.0	50.7	60.9	68.3	62.0	74.9
1980	54.7	51.3	58.0	66.7	63.6	71.6
1981	53.2	52.0	55.8	65.9	65.4	69.1
1982	50.5	52.8	52.3	64.6	66.9	66.3
1983	48.2	53.6	49.2	62.4	68.4	62.5
1984	47.7	54.5	47.8	60.5	70.1	58.9
1985	46.0	55.5	45.2	60.9	71.9	57.5
1986	45.2	56.3	43.6	61.7	73.4	56.8
1987	45.1	57.3	42.5	59.1	74.9	52.7
1988	43.9	58.2	40.4	60.6	76.2	52.9
1989	45.1	59.0	40.7	59.9	77.4	51.0
1990	44.0	59.9	38.7	56.8	78.5	46.8
1991	43.3	61.0	36.9	57.5	80.0	46.1
1992	42.8	61.8	35.6	58.5	81.5	45.6
1993	45.1	62.8	36.9	61.3	83.0	46.8
1994	44.5	63.9	35.2	60.1	84.5	44.1
Neoplasms⁵						
1971	158.4	168.0	179.5	125.9	128.1	149.3
1972	161.2	169.2	181.0	130.9	129.7	152.8
1973	163.9	170.2	182.7	131.7	131.4	151.8
1974	164.0	171.1	182.0	133.7	132.9	152.4
1975	165.5	172.1	182.4	130.5	134.7	147.4
1976	167.3	173.6	182.7	131.4	136.6	146.3
1977	171.2	175.4	184.9	134.6	138.8	147.3
1978	174.9	177.3	186.7	137.0	141.0	147.6
1979	179.1	179.4	188.7	142.0	143.3	150.3
1980	182.6	181.3	190.3	142.6	145.5	148.7
1981	182.5	183.4	188.2	145.4	147.9	149.1
1982	188.4	185.7	191.7	147.9	150.2	149.2
1983	189.9	188.0	191.0	150.3	152.5	149.3
1984	196.6	190.8	194.9	155.5	155.1	151.9
1985	199.8	193.7	195.2	161.2	157.9	154.8
1986	203.0	196.3	195.8	163.6	160.4	154.8
1987	205.0	199.2	194.9	165.7	162.8	154.5
1988	212.4	202.1	199.3	169.5	164.9	156.2
1989	211.1	204.0	196.2	168.9	166.3	154.1
1990	211.7	206.7	194.0	170.8	168.0	154.3
1991	215.6	210.3	194.4	174.2	170.5	155.2
1992	215.4	212.9	191.6	175.0	172.5	154.0
1993	215.8	215.6	189.3	179.6	175.0	156.1
1994	217.3	218.8	187.5	181.7	177.3	155.9

See notes at the end.

Table A10. Standardization and Decomposition of Mortality Rates for Certain Causes, by Sex, Canada, 1971-1994¹ - Concluded

Year	Males			Females		
	Crude Rates (per 100,000)	Adjusted for Rates	Adjusted for Age	Crude Rates (per 100,000)	Adjusted for Rates	Adjusted for Age
	Malignant Neoplasm of Respiratory System⁶					
1971	44.5	55.6	51.1	7.9	18.7	10.0
1972	45.8	56.0	51.9	9.5	18.7	11.6
1973	47.9	56.4	53.8	10.3	18.8	12.1
1974	50.2	56.6	55.9	11.1	19.0	12.8
1975	50.2	57.0	55.5	11.4	19.1	13.0
1976	52.5	57.5	57.3	11.8	19.3	13.3
1977	54.9	58.0	59.1	13.6	19.5	14.8
1978	56.8	58.6	60.4	14.6	19.7	15.6
1979	58.8	59.3	61.7	16.1	19.9	16.9
1980	61.6	60.0	63.8	17.1	20.2	17.7
1981	61.1	60.7	62.6	18.3	20.4	18.6
1982	65.3	61.4	66.1	20.1	20.7	20.1
1983	66.6	62.2	66.7	20.7	21.0	20.4
1984	69.0	63.0	68.1	23.4	21.3	22.8
1985	68.0	63.9	66.3	25.4	21.6	24.5
1986	69.6	64.8	67.0	25.8	21.9	24.6
1987	70.3	65.7	66.8	27.7	22.3	26.1
1988	73.5	66.6	69.1	29.8	22.6	27.9
1989	73.5	67.1	68.6	29.9	22.8	27.8
1990	73.4	67.9	67.7	30.7	23.0	28.5
1991	73.6	69.0	66.8	33.3	23.4	30.7
1992	72.7	69.8	65.2	33.3	23.6	30.4
1993	73.3	70.6	64.9	36.2	24.1	32.8
1994	72.1	71.5	62.8	36.6	24.4	32.9

¹ Rate per 100,000.

² Causes 390-459, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

³ Causes 410-414, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

⁴ Causes 430-438, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

⁵ Causes 140-239, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

⁶ Causes 160-165, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

Note: By following the values of the rates adjusted for age, changes due to changes in the rates may be seen. By following the values of the rates adjusted for the rates, changes due to changes in age structure may be seen. The "due to progres" curves in Figure 4 were constructed using the three-year moving average of annual gains.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Causes of Death*, catalogue no. 84-208, annual, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A11. Landed Immigrants in Canada by Country of Birth, 1981-1995

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995 ³
EUROPE	44,784	44,356	23,664	20,581	18,530	22,518	36,486	39,187	50,844	50,561	46,651	43,338	45,487	37,985	40,151
British Isles ¹	18,912	14,525	4,945	4,657	3,998	4,612	7,650	7,906	7,358	6,897	6,383	5,831	5,928	4,762	4,555
Portugal	3,292	2,308	1,373	869	917	1,981	5,904	6,294	7,952	7,740	5,837	2,700	1,563	770	788
France	1,681	1,821	1,237	970	994	1,124	1,486	1,819	2,128	1,996	2,619	3,105	3,347	2,516	3,024
Greece	924	884	617	578	579	555	750	595	798	604	618	593	537	338	243
Italy	2,057	1,496	879	892	733	785	1,123	961	1,204	1,066	775	663	690	533	497
Poland	4,093	9,259	5,374	4,640	3,642	5,283	7,132	9,360	16,042	16,536	15,737	11,918	6,924	3,552	2,436
Other	13,825	14,063	9,239	7,975	7,667	8,178	12,441	12,252	15,362	15,722	14,682	18,528	26,498	25,514	28,608
AFRICA	5,901	5,196	3,913	3,851	3,912	5,189	9,047	9,604	12,482	13,845	16,530	20,113	17,515	14,184	15,449
ASIA	50,759	43,863	38,183	42,730	39,438	42,417	69,081	83,283	95,292	113,978	122,228	141,816	149,343	142,997	130,298
Philippines	5,978	5,295	4,597	3,858	3,183	4,203	7,420	8,651	11,907	12,590	12,626	13,737	20,488	19,456	15,804
India	9,415	8,858	7,810	6,082	4,517	7,481	10,635	11,942	10,738	12,572	14,248	14,228	21,668	18,533	18,227
Hong Kong (B.C.C.)	4,039	4,452	4,238	5,013	5,121	4,318	12,618	18,355	15,694	23,134	16,425	27,927	27,242	33,676	24,868
China	9,798	6,295	5,321	5,769	5,166	4,178	6,611	7,903	9,001	14,193	20,621	22,160	19,689	23,313	20,935
Middle East ²	5,409	5,321	3,964	4,951	5,239	6,947	10,904	12,325	17,697	23,826	25,561	21,816	18,798	18,797	18,794
Other	16,120	13,642	12,253	17,057	16,212	15,290	20,893	24,107	30,255	27,663	32,747	41,948	41,458	29,222	31,670
NORTH AMERICA and CENTRAL AMERICA	10,183	10,030	10,200	10,223	10,898	12,412	13,691	11,495	11,899	13,042	18,899	18,676	14,371	8,734	7,251
United States	8,695	7,841	6,136	5,727	5,614	6,094	6,547	5,571	5,814	5,067	5,270	5,891	6,446	5,128	4,317
CARIBBEAN, BERMUDA	8,797	8,717	7,258	5,696	6,240	8,948	11,210	9,481	10,967	11,784	13,046	15,142	16,699	10,030	10,075
AUSTRALASIA	1,020	758	394	430	399	449	539	528	634	725	735	918	1,013	739	675
SOUTH AMERICA	6,114	6,892	4,825	4,046	4,273	6,546	10,833	7,210	8,595	8,602	10,468	10,240	9,511	7,941	7,507
OCEANIA	1,024	1,183	720	599	612	740	1,144	1,140	1,186	1,692	2,213	2,479	1,808	1,265	864
Other	36	152	—	83	—	—	67	1	102	1	11	120	—	—	—
Total	128,618	121,147	89,157	88,239	84,302	99,219	152,098	161,929	192,001	214,230	230,781	252,842	255,747	223,875	212,270

¹ Includes England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Channel Islands.

² Includes Turkey, Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Arab Emirates, Yemen Arab Republic and the Democratic Republic of Yemen.

³ Preliminary data as of October 15, 1996.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Table A12. Aging of the Population by Province, 1921-1991

Year	Newfoundland				Prince Edward Island			
	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over
1921	..	..	..	..	80,107	8,508	...	...
1931	..	..	..	..	79,328	8,710	-1.0	2.4
1941	..	..	..	..	86,091	8,956	8.5	2.8
1951	337,926	23,490	..	..	88,722	9,707	3.1	8.4
1956	390,285	24,789	15.5	5.5	88,935	10,350	0.2	6.6
1961	430,958	26,895	10.4	8.5	93,699	10,930	5.4	5.6
1966	464,224	29,172	7.7	8.5	96,846	11,689	3.4	6.9
1971	490,030	32,075	5.6	10.0	99,295	12,345	2.5	5.6
1976	521,195	36,530	6.4	13.9	104,975	13,255	5.7	7.4
1981	523,900	43,780	0.5	19.8	107,615	14,895	2.5	12.4
1986	518,400	49,950	-1.0	14.1	110,560	16,085	2.7	8.0
1991	513,315	55,160	-1.0	10.4	112,685	17,080	1.9	6.2
	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)
1921	..	..	..	..	90.4	9.6	10.6	...
1931	..	..	..	..	90.1	9.9	11.0	0.4
1941	..	..	..	..	90.6	9.4	10.4	-0.6
1951	93.5	6.5	7.0	..	90.1	9.9	10.9	0.6
1956	94.0	6.0	6.4	-1.1	89.6	10.4	11.6	1.2
1961	94.1	5.9	6.2	-0.2	89.6	10.4	11.7	-
1966	94.1	5.9	6.3	-	89.2	10.8	12.1	1.0
1971	93.9	6.1	6.5	0.5	88.9	11.1	12.4	0.8
1976	93.5	6.5	7.0	0.9	88.8	11.2	12.6	0.2
1981	92.3	7.7	8.4	2.8	87.8	12.2	13.8	2.6
1986	91.2	8.8	9.6	2.6	87.3	12.7	14.5	1.3
1991	90.3	9.7	10.7	2.2	86.8	13.2	15.2	1.3

Year	Nova Scotia				New Brunswick			
	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over
1921	485,906	37,931	...	...	363,873	24,003	...	...
1931	472,197	40,649	-2.8	7.2	380,880	27,339	4.7	13.9
1941	530,936	47,026	12.4	15.7	424,967	32,434	11.6	18.6
1951	587,659	54,925	10.7	16.8	476,664	39,033	12.2	20.3
1956	635,810	58,907	8.2	7.2	511,424	43,192	7.3	10.7
1961	673,590	63,417	5.9	7.7	551,019	46,917	7.7	8.6
1966	688,760	67,279	2.3	6.1	566,470	50,318	2.8	7.2
1971	716,490	72,470	4.0	7.7	579,850	54,710	2.4	8.7
1976	747,840	80,730	4.4	11.4	616,180	61,070	6.3	11.6
1981	754,890	92,555	0.9	14.6	625,850	70,555	1.6	15.5
1986	769,345	103,835	1.9	12.2	630,705	78,740	0.8	11.6
1991	786,540	113,405	2.2	9.2	635,760	88,140	0.8	11.9
	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)
1921	92.8	7.2	7.8	...	93.8	6.2	6.6	...
1931	92.1	7.9	8.6	0.8	93.3	6.7	7.2	0.6
1941	91.9	8.1	8.9	0.2	92.9	7.1	7.6	0.5
1951	91.5	8.5	9.3	0.5	92.4	7.6	8.2	0.6
1956	91.5	8.5	9.3	-	92.2	7.8	8.4	0.5
1961	91.4	8.6	9.4	0.2	92.2	7.8	8.5	-
1966	91.1	8.9	9.8	0.7	91.8	8.2	8.9	0.9
1971	90.8	9.2	10.1	0.7	91.4	8.6	9.4	1.0
1976	90.3	9.7	10.8	1.2	91.0	9.0	9.9	1.0
1981	89.1	10.9	12.3	3.0	89.9	10.1	11.3	2.7
1986	88.1	11.9	13.5	2.6	88.9	11.1	12.5	2.5
1991	87.4	12.6	14.4	1.8	87.8	12.2	13.9	2.8

Source : See end of table.

Table A12. Aging of the Population by Province, 1921-1991 - Continued

Year	Quebec				Ontario			
	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over
1921	2,251,723	108,787	...	...	2,761,411	172,251	...	...
1931	2,736,419	138,243	21.5	27.1	3,197,522	234,161	15.8	35.9
1941	3,155,927	175,955	15.3	27.3	3,486,330	301,325	9.0	28.7
1951	3,823,584	232,097	21.2	31.9	4,197,179	400,363	20.4	32.9
1956	4,364,355	264,023	14.1	13.8	4,950,558	454,375	17.9	13.5
1961	4,952,910	306,301	13.5	16.0	5,728,019	508,073	15.7	11.8
1966	5,429,191	351,654	9.6	14.8	6,393,148	567,722	11.6	11.7
1971	5,614,750	413,015	3.4	17.4	7,058,695	644,410	10.4	13.5
1976	5,753,090	481,355	2.5	16.5	7,525,550	738,915	6.6	14.7
1981	5,869,020	569,380	2.0	18.3	7,756,920	868,190	3.1	17.5
1986	5,881,825	650,635	0.2	14.3	8,108,995	992,700	4.5	14.3
1991	6,125,040	770,920	4.1	18.5	8,901,410	1,183,475	9.8	19.2
	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)
1921	95.4	4.6	4.8	...	94.1	5.9	6.2	...
1931	95.2	4.8	5.1	0.2	93.2	6.8	7.3	1.1
1941	94.7	5.3	5.6	0.6	92.0	8.0	8.6	1.4
1951	94.3	5.7	6.1	0.4	91.3	8.7	9.5	0.8
1956	94.3	5.7	6.0	-	91.6	8.4	9.2	-0.7
1961	94.2	5.8	6.2	0.2	91.9	8.1	8.9	-0.7
1966	93.9	6.1	6.5	0.7	91.8	8.2	8.9	0.2
1971	93.1	6.9	7.4	1.8	91.6	8.4	9.1	0.5
1976	92.3	7.7	8.4	1.9	91.1	8.9	9.8	1.2
1981	91.2	8.8	9.7	2.6	89.9	10.1	11.2	2.9
1986	90.0	10.0	11.1	2.9	89.1	10.9	12.2	2.0
1991	88.8	11.2	12.6	3.0	88.3	11.7	13.3	2.0

Year	Manitoba				Saskatchewan			
	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over
1921	591,123	18,995	...	...	740,360	17,150	...	...
1931	668,523	31,616	13.1	66.4	890,763	31,022	20.3	80.9
1941	684,093	45,651	2.3	44.4	849,740	46,252	-4.6	49.1
1951	711,073	65,468	3.9	43.4	764,515	67,213	-10.0	45.3
1956	773,473	76,567	8.8	17.0	802,019	78,646	4.9	17.0
1961	838,398	83,288	8.4	8.8	839,611	85,570	4.7	8.8
1966	874,208	88,858	4.3	6.7	866,462	88,882	3.2	3.9
1971	892,695	95,555	2.1	7.5	831,440	94,805	-4.0	6.7
1976	914,950	106,555	2.5	11.5	819,150	102,175	-1.5	7.8
1981	904,425	121,820	-1.2	14.3	852,140	116,170	4.0	13.7
1986	929,130	133,885	2.7	9.9	881,015	128,600	3.4	10.7
1991	945,335	146,605	1.7	9.5	849,005	139,925	-3.6	8.8
	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)
1921	96.9	3.1	3.2	...	97.7	2.3	2.3	...
1931	95.5	4.5	4.7	1.5	96.6	3.4	3.5	1.2
1941	93.7	6.3	6.7	2.0	94.8	5.2	5.4	2.0
1951	91.6	8.4	9.2	2.5	91.9	8.1	8.8	3.3
1956	91.0	9.0	9.9	1.4	91.1	8.9	9.8	1.9
1961	91.0	9.0	9.9	-	90.8	9.2	10.2	0.7
1966	90.8	9.2	10.2	0.5	90.7	9.3	10.3	0.2
1971	90.3	9.7	10.7	1.2	89.8	10.2	11.4	2.2
1976	89.6	10.4	11.6	1.7	88.9	11.1	12.5	2.3
1981	88.1	11.9	13.5	3.8	88.0	12.0	13.6	2.3
1986	87.4	12.6	14.4	1.8	87.3	12.7	14.6	1.8
1991	86.6	13.4	15.5	2.1	85.9	14.1	16.5	3.7

Source : See end of table.

Table A12. Aging of the Population by Province, 1921-1991 - Concluded

Year	Alberta				British Columbia			
	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over	Aged 0-64	Aged 65 and Over	Rate of Growth 0-64	Rate of Growth 65 and Over
1921	574,649	13,805	...	...	506,187	18,395	...	...
1931	705,945	25,660	22.8	85.9	656,160	38,103	29.6	107.1
1941	754,928	41,241	6.9	60.7	749,789	68,072	14.3	78.7
1951	872,558	66,943	15.6	62.3	1,039,073	126,137	38.6	85.3
1956	1,041,789	81,327	19.4	21.5	1,247,685	150,779	20.1	19.5
1961	1,238,866	93,078	18.9	14.4	1,463,466	165,616	17.3	9.8
1966	1,359,193	104,010	9.7	11.7	1,695,008	178,666	15.8	7.9
1971	1,509,130	118,745	11.0	14.2	1,979,610	205,010	16.8	14.7
1976	1,700,115	137,925	12.7	16.2	2,224,555	242,050	12.4	18.1
1981	2,074,330	163,395	22.0	18.5	2,446,295	298,175	10.0	23.2
1986	2,174,500	191,325	4.8	17.1	2,533,890	349,480	3.6	17.2
1991	2,315,000	230,550	6.5	20.5	2,860,055	422,010	12.9	20.8
	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)	Aged 0-64 (%)	Aged 65 and Over (%)	Ratio of 65 and Over to 0-64 (%)	Average Annual Change (per 1,000)
1921	97.7	2.3	2.4	...	96.5	3.5	3.6	...
1931	96.5	3.5	3.6	1.3	94.5	5.5	5.8	2.2
1941	94.8	5.2	5.5	1.9	91.7	8.3	9.1	3.3
1951	92.9	7.1	7.7	2.2	89.2	10.8	12.1	3.1
1956	92.8	7.2	7.8	0.2	89.2	10.8	12.1	-
1961	93.0	7.0	7.5	-0.5	89.8	10.2	11.3	-1.5
1966	92.9	7.1	7.7	0.2	90.5	9.5	10.5	-1.7
1971	92.7	7.3	7.9	0.5	90.6	9.4	10.4	-0.2
1976	92.5	7.5	8.1	0.5	90.2	9.8	10.9	1.0
1981	92.7	7.3	7.9	-0.5	89.1	10.9	12.2	2.7
1986	91.9	8.1	8.8	1.9	87.9	12.1	13.8	3.1
1991	90.9	9.1	10.0	2.4	87.1	12.9	14.8	2.1

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1991, *Age, Sex and Marital Status*, catalogue no. 93-310 and calculations by the author.

**Table A13. Canadian Population as of July 1st, 1994 and 1995, by Age and Sex
(in thousands)**

Age	1994		1995	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0	198.8	189.1	195.9	185.6
1	201.8	191.3	199.8	190.5
2	207.8	198.1	203.0	192.6
3	209.5	198.5	209.3	199.6
4	210.4	200.3	211.2	200.1
5	203.1	193.7	212.1	201.9
6	197.8	189.4	204.5	195.0
7	198.5	191.0	199.2	190.6
8	204.6	196.5	199.7	192.1
9	205.1	196.5	205.8	197.6
10	203.1	194.7	206.3	197.7
11	201.9	193.3	204.3	195.7
12	202.3	193.4	203.2	194.5
13	204.2	194.9	204.0	194.9
14	204.3	193.4	206.1	196.6
15	200.8	190.1	206.0	195.0
16	198.5	188.1	202.5	191.7
17	199.6	190.6	200.3	189.9
18	202.5	193.3	201.4	192.6
19	203.7	195.2	204.6	195.9
20	198.1	191.5	205.6	197.9
21	201.7	194.7	200.1	194.3
22	207.3	201.0	203.5	197.3
23	216.7	212.6	208.9	203.4
24	219.8	215.1	218.3	214.7
25	218.2	214.3	221.5	217.4
26	219.7	215.7	219.9	216.6
27	226.1	221.4	221.6	217.9
28	240.3	234.1	228.0	223.5
29	259.4	252.4	242.1	236.4
30	268.7	260.3	261.2	254.6
31	273.6	265.6	270.6	262.6
32	271.7	264.0	275.4	267.6
33	274.5	267.6	273.0	265.8
34	270.7	265.1	275.7	269.3
35	265.2	260.4	271.6	266.7
36	263.6	258.6	266.1	261.7
37	257.6	255.2	264.5	260.0
38	248.2	246.5	258.4	256.5
39	246.3	246.4	249.0	247.6
40	237.8	239.6	247.0	247.5
41	228.5	230.5	238.3	240.5
42	223.6	223.0	228.9	231.4
43	220.9	219.5	224.0	223.7
44	217.9	215.1	221.3	220.2
45	214.3	212.7	218.4	215.7
46	214.3	211.0	214.5	213.1

**Table A13. Canadian Population as of July 1st 1994 and 1995, by Age and Sex
(in thousands) - Concluded**

Age	1994		1995	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
47	214.4	211.8	214.4	211.3
48	186.0	183.5	214.5	212.1
49	173.3	171.1	185.7	183.7
50	167.8	166.4	173.0	171.1
51	162.8	161.3	167.4	166.5
52	151.9	150.6	162.4	161.4
53	145.7	145.8	151.5	150.9
54	137.2	137.1	145.3	145.9
55	133.2	133.6	136.8	137.3
56	128.1	128.7	132.6	133.9
57	123.6	125.5	127.4	128.9
58	124.4	126.2	122.9	125.6
59	121.8	124.0	123.6	126.2
60	119.4	121.1	120.9	123.9
61	121.2	124.2	118.4	120.9
62	121.4	124.8	119.8	123.8
63	119.2	125.2	120.0	124.4
64	116.1	123.2	117.7	124.7
65	109.8	119.0	114.4	122.5
66	107.8	119.1	107.9	118.1
67	103.7	117.2	105.6	118.1
68	100.9	118.2	101.4	116.0
69	96.9	115.8	98.4	116.7
70	92.2	113.3	94.2	114.2
71	87.2	109.8	89.2	111.5
72	85.0	109.2	84.2	108.0
73	79.2	103.9	81.9	107.0
74	73.3	97.9	76.3	101.9
75	60.8	84.3	70.4	95.8
76	55.9	78.5	57.7	81.8
77	52.1	75.4	52.6	75.9
78	49.1	72.9	48.6	72.6
79	47.2	71.7	45.7	69.9
80	42.1	66.4	43.8	68.5
81	37.1	59.9	38.8	63.4
82	32.0	54.0	34.0	56.7
83	27.8	49.3	28.9	50.8
84	23.9	43.7	25.0	46.2
85	19.9	38.5	21.2	40.4
86	16.8	33.9	17.5	35.4
87	13.6	29.4	14.6	30.9
88	10.8	25.1	11.5	26.2
89	8.8	21.3	9.0	22.1
90 +	29.4	80.1	30.8	84.4
Total	14,494.1	14,757.2	14,664.3	14,941.8

1994: Revised postcensal estimates.

1995: Revised postcensal estimates.

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Part II

Common-Law Unions in Canada at the end of the 20th Century

*“Why pledge our troth before a minister?
Let’s not be inscribed in a register!”*

Georges Brassens

(freely translated from the French)

INTRODUCTION

The course of the average individual’s conjugal life has become far more complex than it used to be. The common-law union is increasingly challenging legal marriage and remarriage as a viable alternative, while divorce and the break-up of common-law relationships continue adding to the ranks of candidates for conjugal life. Changes in ways of thinking have rendered commonplace what was once the exception.

There are many reasons why people choose to live together without being married. In some cases, religious considerations or the inability to obtain a divorce from a previous marriage may make marriage impossible. In others, the financial implications of marriage (including the potential benefits of not marrying) may influence the decision. Today, however, most people who choose to live as common-law partners do so because of personal convictions. Some women, for example, feel alienated because of their perceived subordination in the couple. Instead of “husband and wife,” the members of the common-law couple are called cohabitants, partners, mates or friends.

Unions not sanctioned by marriage have always existed, in Canada and elsewhere, although until relatively recently, they were the exception to the rule. For a long time, the only union accepted by society was the kind that began with a marriage ceremony and ended with the death of a spouse, or more rarely, in divorce. Few children were born to unmarried mothers. Children born to single women —historically known as bastards— heaped shame and dishonour upon the unmarried mother and her whole family. The conjugal life of individuals “living in sin” was known to be less stable than that of the married couple: because the union was not legally recognized, there were no obligations binding the partners. Such non-conformist couples were widely looked down upon. Furthermore, because there were so few of them, there was little interest in studying the characteristics of these people who, for one reason or another, had chosen to live as husband and wife without actually being married.

Common-law unions first became widespread in Northern Europe during the mid-1960s and later spread to Western Europe and to this side of the Atlantic. However, it was not until the 1970s that the phenomenon was sufficiently

widespread in Canada for statistical studies to be possible and considered useful. The 1981 census did not ask a direct question about common-law relationships, but for the first time it recognized the phenomenon statistically by allowing respondents living in such unions to indicate this in the question dealing with the relationship to the reference person.¹ Nevertheless, to ensure the continuity in series, people were asked to consider themselves married in the question concerning marital status. This probably resulted in a slight underestimation of the number of persons living in common-law unions, since not all such unions between two persons other than the reference person were identified by this method. This initial estimate revealed the magnitude of the phenomenon: a minimum of 704,300 Canadians were living together without being legally married. That number has continued to grow. According to the 1995 General Social Survey (GSS), it had practically tripled since 1981, and nearly two million Canadians—one in every seven couples—were living in common-law unions.

This report, using data on common-law unions from the censuses and the most recent General Social Surveys, presents an update of our knowledge on the number and characteristics of people who choose to live in common-law unions. As a report, it remains incomplete, and represents but a few more pages in a continuing story.

MARRIAGE AND COMMON-LAW UNIONS UNDER THE LAW

An analysis of the evolution of the number of common-law unions and the characteristics of those who choose this conjugal option is not the proper place for a detailed examination of the legal implications of the choice. However, a brief description of the legal differences between marriage and common-law union seems appropriate. The discussion shall be limited to the differences with the most significant impact, taking into consideration that there are two legal systems operating in Canada: civil law in Quebec and common-law in the rest of the country.

In Quebec: Strangers before the Law

Given the growth of the phenomenon, one would tend to believe that persons in common-law unions have the same rights, obligations and privileges as married persons. Not at all. *Contrary to what many may think, the rights and obligations of legally married spouses and common-law partners are very different under the Civil Code.* While married people owe each other respect, fidelity, aid and assistance, and must share the household expenses (food, lodging and home maintenance, and other costs related to the family's

¹ The concept of "reference person" was also introduced in the 1981 census and has since replaced "head of household," which is now considered inequalitarian.

welfare) according to their respective capacity (Art. 392 and 396), the partners in a common-law union have no such mutual legal obligations, regardless of how long they have lived together or whether children have been born of their union. When a break-up occurs, only married people are entitled to protection of the family residence, alimony for themselves, and a share of the family patrimony.

Married people have private property and community property (acquêts) that is to be shared between them in case of divorce or death. If the marriage is dissolved, the family assets are shared between the former spouses; if one of the spouses dies, the family assets are divided between the surviving spouse and the estate of the deceased. Spouses therefore have ipso facto status as legal heirs. Married people also have protection with regard to the family residence, since no spouse may sell or mortgage the property without the other's consent.

Common-law partners have no community property unless a deed of purchase clearly specifies joint ownership. If the relationship ends, each partner retains possession of his or her own assets, and in the case of a dispute, the person who paid is considered the owner. Take the example of a common-law union in which one of the partners pays the mortgage on the house and the other pays the household bills. Should the relationship end, the former would retain full possession of the house and the latter would be left with nothing, unless joint ownership was clearly specified in writing. Should one of the partners die, the survivor would inherit the deceased's assets only if he or she were specifically designated in the will as heir. Similarly, the surviving partner would not be entitled to the deceased's life insurance benefits, unless specifically named as beneficiary.

In short, the Civil Code offers no protection to the partners in a common-law union. The only way they can protect their share of the common assets is to ensure that anything acquired together is clearly identified as joint property at the time of purchase or by contract. The conclusion of *Vivre à deux*² offers a succinct summary of the legal differences between the two types of unions, along with the reason underlying the principle:

Marriage imposes many obligations but they are always reciprocal. It grants both spouses rights which are not accorded to concubines. There is therefore greater financial risk and uncertainty in a common-law union than in a marriage. The Civil Code (of Quebec) does not recognize the common-law union. The reason for this is simple. The law has regulated one type of union; in the eyes of the law, if you wish to avoid the inconveniences of marriage, then naturally you will enjoy none of the privileges.

² Government of Quebec, Department of Justice (1995). *Vivre à deux*, Les publications du Québec, 69 pages. Unofficial translation.

Persons living in common-law unions may as well be strangers to each other, as far as the Quebec Civil Code is concerned.

In the Rest of Canada: Common-Law and Relevant Laws

Generally speaking, in the case of a dispute, common-law partners currently have more difficulty than married couples when it comes to the recognition of their rights in court. Again, they would be wise to sign a contract with regard to their residence, mortgage payments, responsibility for debts, mutual assistance and arrangements concerning children, if any.

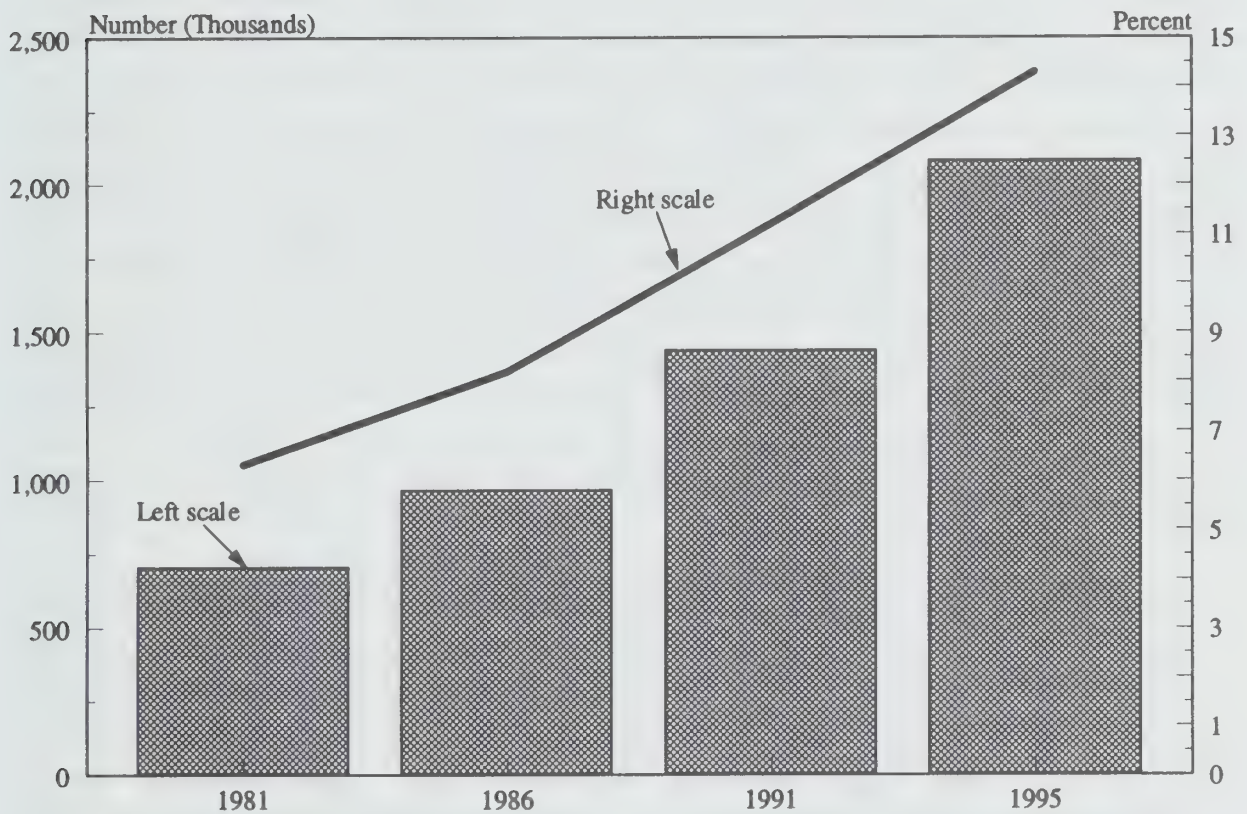
The legal system becomes involved only when the union is dissolved, not when it is established. In the past, it was clear that, due to the nature of their union, cohabitants did not enjoy any of the rights and privileges of married people. The law has been modified since the 1980s, and in some cases legal recognition of the union has been guaranteed. The most important protection has been the monitoring of unjustified enrichment of one of the partners, when such enrichment has occurred as the result of a common-law union.

In many provinces, statutory rights and support obligations have been established for cohabitants, but they are still significantly different from those that apply to married people. Provincial legislation has enhanced the property rights of married women through regimes governing the sharing of acquests, but the law does not apply to female cohabitants, who must protect themselves with contracts of ownership. The same is true with regard to the estate of a deceased partner. However, a woman may claim dependence if she is not specifically designated in the will as heir.

Some provincial laws grant cohabitants of the opposite sex the right to draw up cohabitation and separation contracts that stipulate provisions agreed to by both parties. The specific conditions governing such contracts vary from one province to another. All contracts under provincial jurisdiction must be in writing and signed by the parties before a witness. However, the courts have considerable discretionary power to render such contracts invalid by invoking prevailing aspects of the law. As for support and other obligations, British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Ontario, Saskatchewan and the Yukon have enacted legislation governing unmarried heterosexual cohabitants, but the minimum mandatory duration of the union varies between provinces (from one to five years) and partners must live as husband and wife. The fact that two people have regular sexual relations is not sufficient to constitute a common-law union, and many other criteria apply.

These few points merely serve to indicate how the legal approach varies from one province to the next when common-law partners seek to settle their

Figure 1. Number of Persons in Common-Law Unions and Percentage of Couples in Common-Law Unions, Canada, 1981-1995



Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada, special tabulations, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

differences in court. Judges and courts have more freedom to invoke and interpret other portions of the law, and it would be incorrect to assume that common-law unions in these provinces are equivalent to marriage.³

THE SPREAD OF A NEW CONJUGAL OPTION

Since 1981, Canadian censuses have been counting the number of people living in common-law unions. To be more precise, in the 1991 census, Statistics Canada asked Canadians a question about their common-law conjugal status. In the 1981 and 1986 censuses, people living in common-law unions had been asked to call themselves married. The census forms did not contain specific questions about the union, and the number of persons living in common-law relationships was estimated based on answers to the questions concerning the relationship of household members to the reference person.

In Figure 1, the estimate based on the 1995 General Social Survey has been added to data from the three censuses. There are definite conceptual

³ J. Payne and M. Payne (1994). *Canadian Family Law*. Carswell, Toronto.

differences between the census and the GSS, not to mention that in the 1981 and 1986 censuses the estimates were obtained indirectly. In the 1991 census, each individual was asked to indicate whether he or she was living in a common-law union, defined in the respondent's guide as a situation in which two persons live together as husband and wife but are not legally married to each other. This question immediately followed the one asking the person's legal marital status in order to minimize the possibility of confusing legal marriage with common-law union. In the 1995 GSS, the question was simply: Are you now living with a common-law partner? This question followed the one concerning legal marital status but was separated from it by the series of questions pertaining to the respondent's marital history. If the respondent asked for a definition of the term "common-law partner," the interviewer answered that a common-law partnership meant having a sexual relationship while sharing the same usual address. This definition seems both less abstract and less restrictive than the census definition.

In addition to the conceptual difference there is the difference in collection method. The census is a self-enumeration of the entire population, but the validity of the responses is controlled only by the logical consistency with responses given to other questions, whereas the GSS is a telephone survey of a relatively small sample by an interviewer who may provide clarification, if needed, in accordance with strict rules. The Survey should therefore measure the phenomenon better than the census, but the latter has the advantage of a complete enumeration in which sampling errors disappear while, as for the Survey, it estimates numbers using a weighting⁴ of respondents determined by the sample design. Nevertheless, even though the link between the two sources may not be entirely satisfactory, we can assess the growth in the number of common-law unions and the characteristics of the partners involved over a 15-year period.

In 1981, when the number of persons living in common-law unions in Canada was first estimated, the phenomenon was already quite widespread: **more than 700,000 Canadians, or 6.3% of all couples, were living together without being legally married.** In the next census, in 1986, nearly one million Canadians were living in common-law unions, and unmarried couples made up 8.2% of all couples. From one date to the next, the average annual increase in the number of persons living in common-law unions was 65 per 1,000, or nearly six times that of the population aged 15 and over, and more than twelve times that of the married population (Table 1).

The phenomenon spread even more rapidly from 1986 to 1991. The average annual rate of increase rose to 83 per 1,000, and in the latest census for which

⁴ The weights used are constructed on the basis of estimates of the population by age, sex and province of residence. Contrary to census data, a correction is added to the population estimates to take into account net undercount and non-permanent residents. The Survey population is comparable to these estimates and so is slightly larger than that of the census.

Table 1. Population Aged 15 and Over by Marital Status, Showing Average Annual Increase, Canada and Regions, 1981 to 1995

Individual Marital Status	Number (Thousands)				Average Annual Increase (per 1,000)			
	1981	1986	1991	1995	1981-1986	1986-1991	1991-1995	1981-1995
Atlantic								
Total	1,619	1,709	1,785	1,914	10.9	8.8	17.5	12.0
Married	949	976	996	1,079	5.8	4.0	20.2	9.3
Common-Law	38	56	95	136	81.5	108.6	95.0	95.0
Single	632	676	694	698	13.5	5.4	1.4	7.2
Quebec								
Total	4,907	5,056	5,374	5,837	6.0	12.3	20.9	12.5
Married	2,687	2,621	2,617	2,719	-5.0	-0.3	9.6	0.8
Common-Law	239	376	612	906	94.6	102.5	103.0	99.8
Single	1,981	2,059	2,145	2,213	7.7	8.2	7.9	7.9
Ontario								
Total	6,576	7,065	7,852	8,773	14.5	21.3	28.1	20.8
Married	3,855	4,042	4,410	4,984	9.5	17.6	31.0	18.5
Common-Law	202	267	359	547	57.6	61.1	111.3	73.9
Single	2,519	2,757	3,083	3,242	18.2	22.6	12.6	18.2
Manitoba and Saskatchewan								
Total	1,467	1,541	1,553	1,649	9.8	1.6	15.0	8.4
Married	867	891	875	979	5.3	-3.6	28.5	8.7
Common-Law	43	57	77	75	61.2	61.0	-7.3	41.1
Single	558	593	601	595	12.3	2.9	-2.6	4.7
Alberta								
Total	1,644	1,755	1,890	2,096	13.1	15.0	26.2	17.5
Married	939	996	1,051	1,162	12.0	10.8	25.4	15.4
Common-Law	78	90	118	161	28.5	55.8	80.5	52.9
Single	627	668	720	772	12.8	15.1	17.7	15.0
British Columbia								
Total	2,139	2,288	2,614	2,996	13.5	27.0	34.7	24.3
Married	1,220	1,269	1,417	1,588	7.9	22.3	29.0	19.1
Common-Law	105	118	178	255	24.7	85.4	94.3	65.8
Single	815	901	1,019	1,152	20.2	25.1	31.1	25.0
Canada								
Total	18,353	19,412	21,067	23,264	11.3	16.5	25.1	17.1
Married	10,517	10,795	11,366	12,511	5.2	10.4	24.3	12.5
Common-Law	704	964	1,439	2,080	64.9	83.2	96.6	80.4
Single	7,132	7,653	8,263	8,673	14.2	15.5	12.2	14.1
Canada less Quebec								
Total	13,445	14,357	15,694	17,427	13.2	18.0	26.5	18.7
Married	7,829	8,174	8,749	9,792	8.6	13.7	28.6	16.1
Common-Law	465	589	827	1,174	48.3	70.2	91.7	68.4
Single	5,150	5,594	6,118	6,460	16.7	18.1	13.7	16.3

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada, special tabulations, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

data is available⁵, common-law couples represented 11.2% of all couples. *The 1995 General Social Survey found that nearly two million persons, or 14.3% of all couples, were living in common-law unions.* The popularity of this conjugal choice clearly continued to grow during the first half of the 1990s. The survey data indicate that the annual rate of growth rose slightly

⁵ Data from the 1996 census will not be available until the autumn of 1997.

Table 2. Percentage of the Population Living as a Couple and of Couples in a Common-Law Union, Canada and Regions, 1981 to 1995

Regions	Living as a Couple				Couples in a Common-Law Union			
	1981	1986	1991	1995	1981	1986	1991	1995
Atlantic	61.0	60.4	61.1	63.5	3.9	5.5	8.7	11.2
Quebec	59.6	59.3	60.1	62.1	8.2	12.5	19.0	25.0
Ontario	61.7	61.0	60.7	63.0	5.0	6.2	7.5	9.9
Manitoba and Saskatchewan	62.0	61.5	61.3	63.9	4.7	6.0	8.1	7.1
Alberta	61.9	61.9	61.9	63.2	7.7	8.3	10.1	12.2
British Columbia	61.9	60.6	61.0	61.5	7.9	8.5	11.2	13.8
Canada less Quebec	61.7	61.0	61.0	62.9	5.6	6.7	8.6	10.7
Canada	61.1	60.6	60.8	62.7	6.3	8.2	11.2	14.3

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada, special tabulations, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

to almost 10% from 1991 to 1995. Such growth could not be sustained over a long period, for it would mean that the number of persons in common-law unions would double every eight years.

In summary, from 1981 to 1995 the number of people in common-law unions increased at an annual rate of 80.4 per 1,000, or 6.5 times more quickly than the married population, among whom the average annual increase was 12.5 per 1,000. To illustrate this remarkable 15-year growth, consider that if the relative growth rates were maintained for the two groups, by the year 2022 there would be as many common-law couples as married couples. Thus, in half a century (1970 to 2020), marriage would have relinquished its place as the conjugal norm in Canada. Such a projection may seem extravagant, but in Quebec, where common-law unions are more widespread, common-law couples now constitute 25% of all couples; and the percentage is even higher among younger people (42% of Canadians under 30 living as a couple, 64% of Quebecers in the same age group).

Regional Variations

The prevalence of common-law unions is not increasing at the same rate everywhere. Major regional differences could already be noted in 1981. Such unions were less in vogue in the Atlantic Provinces, Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where they made up no more than 5.0% of all couples (Table 2). Quebec was not yet notably different from the two westernmost provinces: 8.2% of couples were not married, compared to 7.7% in Alberta and 7.9% in British Columbia. Things would change quickly.

From 1981 to 1986, while regional differences in Canada outside Quebec diminished, the gap between Quebec and the rest of the country widened. The phenomenon is clearly visible in the column in Table 1 showing the average annual rate of increase. The highest mean annual rate of increase (95 per 1,000) is in Quebec, where persons in common-law unions are proportionately

more numerous at the beginning of the period. By comparison, Alberta and British Columbia have the lowest rates of increase, with 29 and 25 per 1,000, respectively; this is well below the rates of increase in regions where common-law unions were less widespread. In the Atlantic Provinces, for example, the number of persons in common-law unions increased at a rate of 82 per 1,000 for the same period.

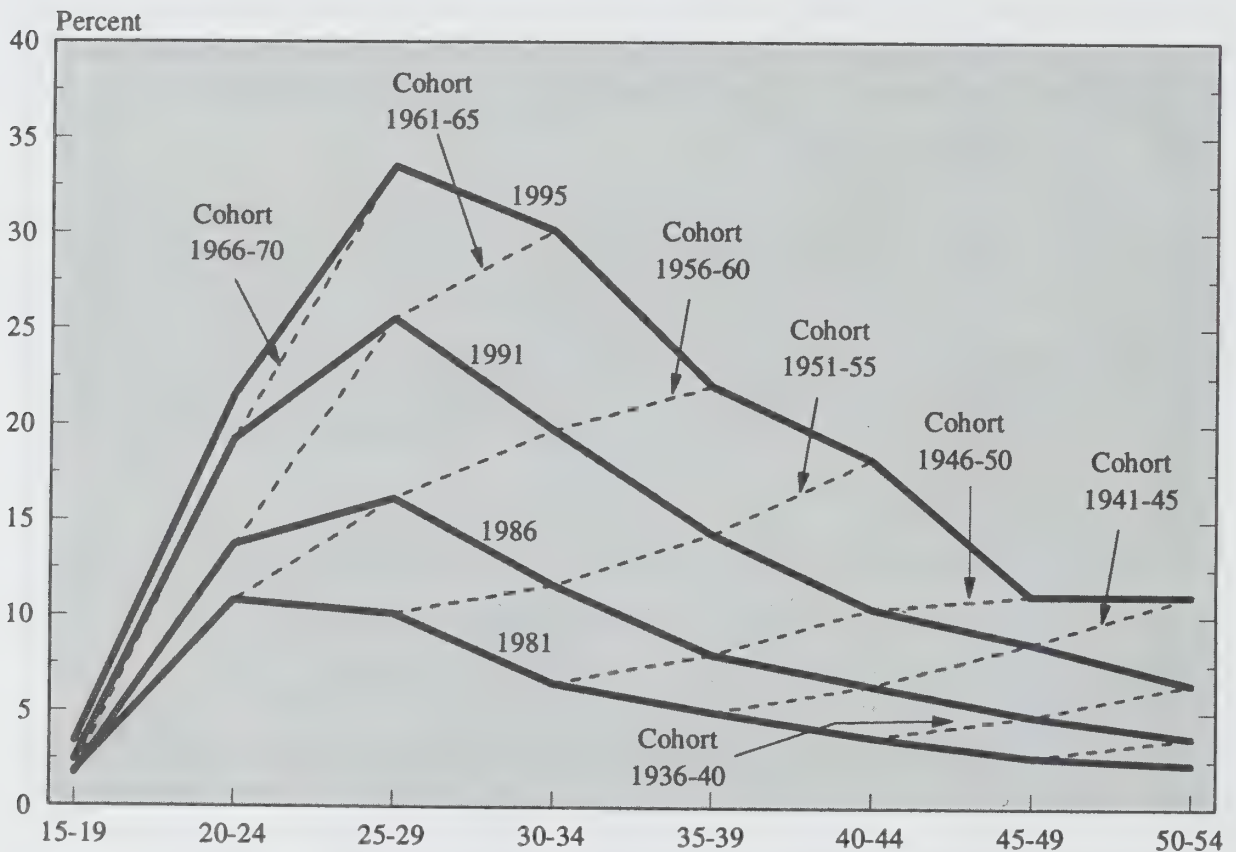
In all three periods, the gap between Quebec and the rest of the country grew, while regional differences between the other provinces were reduced. In fact, in each period, the region with the lowest proportion of unmarried couples at the start of the period is also the one with the greatest increase, and conversely, the provinces (other than Quebec) in which common-law unions are most widespread at the start have the lowest rates of increase. Since, at the same time, Quebec continues to show a very high rate of increase compared to the national average, it stands out increasingly over the years. *In 1995, the proportion of common-law couples was two and a half times higher in Quebec (25.0%) than in the rest of Canada (10.7%).* Not counting Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where there is some doubt about the decline in the number of common-law couples from 1991 to 1995, which may be attributable to sampling error, in 1995, a mere four percentage points separate Ontario, the province slowest to embrace common-law unions, from British Columbia, the province second to Quebec, but by a wide margin.

Propensity to Live as a Couple Remains Stable

The decline in nuptiality notwithstanding, people are still definitely choosing to live as couples. From 1971 to 1994, the number of marriages occurring during the year dropped by more than 31,000 (16%), despite a considerable increase (49%) in the population of marriageable age and an age structure favourable to the establishment of a union. The crude marriage rate thus dropped dramatically, from 12.1 per 1,000 to 6.8 per 1,000. The first-marriage rate fell from 50.8 per 1,000 in 1981 to 38.1 per 1,000 in 1991. The drop in the first-marriage rate is expressed in a considerable decline in marriage probability and a remarkable increase in the proportion of those never married. In the early 1980s, the proportion never married was 20% for men and 17% for women. In 1991, it had risen to 30% and 25%, respectively. In Quebec, where common-law unions are more numerous, 44% of women and 50% of men would never marry if the rates in the 1991 first-marriage table continue to hold (Nault and Bélanger, 1996).

In all regions of Canada the average annual growth rate of the married population is lower than that of the overall population 15 and over, with the exception of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where both increased at the same rate. In Quebec, which is the atypical province in this area, the married population increased by less than 1 per 1,000 per year from 1981 to 1995, whereas the

Figure 2. Proportion of Persons Living in a Common-Law Union by Age Group, Quebec, 1981-1995



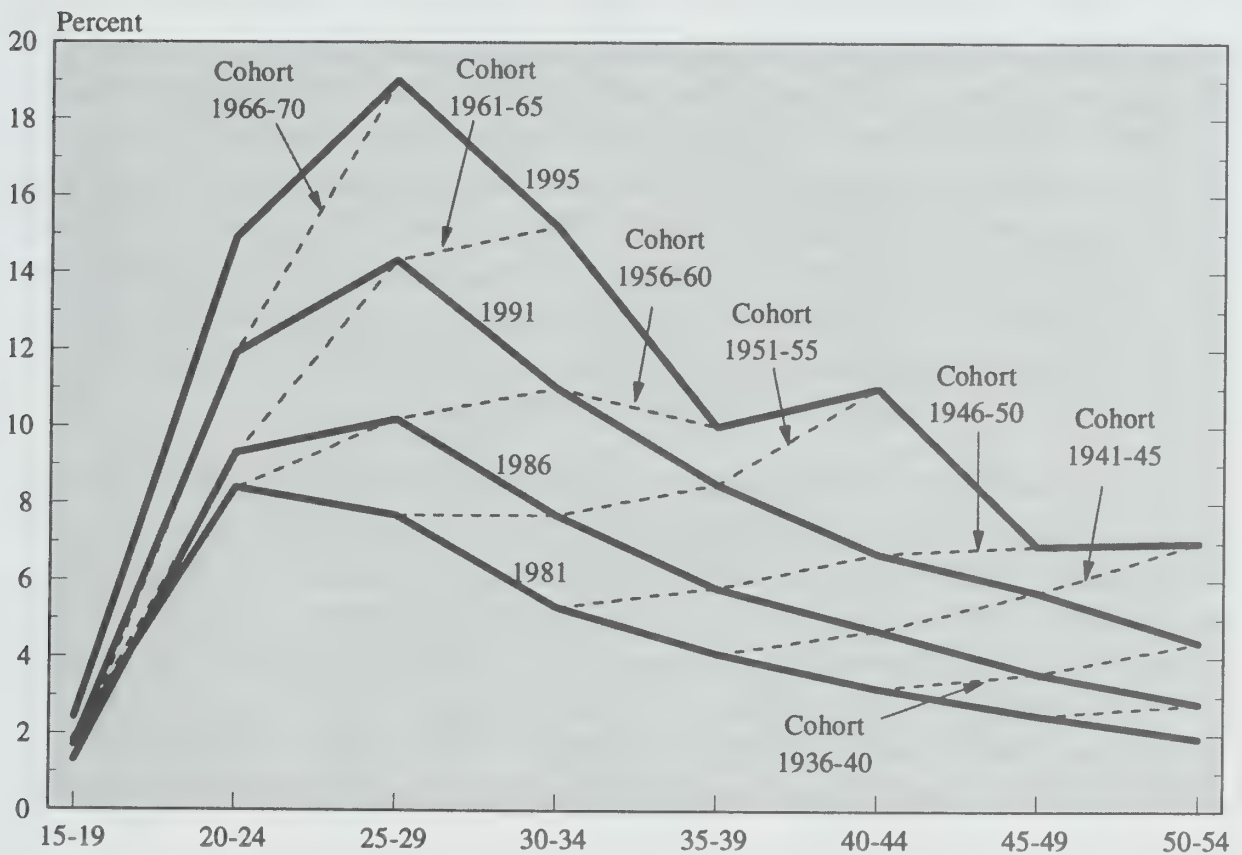
Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada, special tabulations, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

population 15 and over increased at a rate of 12 per 1,000 (see Table 1). Nevertheless, across Canada, the tendency to live as a couple has remained stable. In all regions and for all periods between 1981 and 1995, nearly two-thirds of the population 15 and over lived in a couple. The rapid growth in the number of common-law unions is compensating for the relatively modest increase in the married population. But if for now common-law unions are growing at an average annual rate of 10% in Quebec and 7% in the rest of Canada, legally-married persons still represent 54% of the Canadian population aged 15 and over.

Growth from Period to Period, but Also from One Group of Cohorts to Another

Ever since census figures have allowed the measurement of such data, it has been shown that non-married couples are more common among younger people (Figure 2), but over time, younger cohorts tend to stay longer in common-law unions as a conjugal choice. In 1981, the proportion of common-law unions was higher among those aged 20-24, but since 1986, it is most prevalent among those aged 25-29. Thus, from 15 to 30 years of age, the

Figure 3. Proportion of Persons Living in a Common-Law Union by Age Group, Canada, 1981-1995



Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981, 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada, special tabulations, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

number of newly created common-law unions surpasses the number that disappear, and the phenomenon becomes more prevalent from one five-year age group to the next. *According to the 1995 GSS, one-third (33.5%) of Quebecers aged 15-30 lived in common-law unions, compared to 14.5% in the rest of the country.* The rate then drops by successive five-year age groups to about 5% for 55-59 year-olds in 1995, partly due to the break-up of common-law unions or their conversion into marriages, but also because older segments of the population are less likely to choose this type of conjugal arrangement or contracted their present marriage before living in a common-law union became an everyday occurrence.

Across Canada, with only one exception⁶, the proportion of persons in common-law unions in each cohort group is higher than observed in the previous census, for that same group. This is a period effect, since the

⁶ The proportion of Canadians outside Quebec aged 35-39 living in common-law unions is estimated at 5.9%, according to the 1995 GSS. This seems too low, compared to both the percentages for the 30-34 and 40-44 age groups in the survey and the percentages for this cohort in previous censuses.

prevalence of common-law unions increases with time for all groups, as indicated by the dotted lines linking groups from one census to the next (Figure 3). For example, *if we follow the cohort of Quebecers born between 1951 and 1955, we see that with time, while the age of the individuals increases, the proportion of persons within the group living in common-law unions increases steadily: from 10.1% at 25-29 in the 1981 census, to 11.6% at 30-34 in the 1986 census, to 14.3% at 35-39 in the 1991 census and, to 18.2% at 40-44, according to the 1995 GSS.* Within this cohort, despite the fact that it went from 25-29 (where common-law unions are more prevalent) in 1981, to 40-44 in 1995, the proportion of persons in common-law unions increased 8 percentage points in less than 15 years. Similar results can be observed for all groups of cohorts, even the oldest.

To explain the notable increase in common-law unions from one period to the next, it is necessary to add to the increasing prevalence of such unions within each group of cohorts the fact that this form of conjugal life is being chosen increasingly by members of younger cohorts, as indicated by the growing gap between each group of cohorts (dotted lines) and the replacement of older cohorts by younger ones. The increase therefore results from both a period effect and a cohort effect. At the same age within each group of cohorts, common-law unions are more prevalent than in the preceding cohort, and the propensity increases within each cohort as time passes.

Other Means of Measurement

A census offers an instant snapshot of the phenomenon—an enumeration of individuals according to conjugal status at a specific moment in time. The ratio of the number of persons in common-law unions to the population at risk measures the prevalence of the phenomenon. But insofar as such unions tend to be of short duration, this measure underestimates the proportion of persons implicated by the phenomenon during their adult life. Furthermore, since the changes in status that transform the population structure fluctuate more rapidly than the resulting numbers, it is clear that the prevalence of common-law unions is not a sufficient measure.

In addition to a prevalence measurement comparable to that obtained from censuses, other measurements calculated with GSS data, although they may be less precise because of the size of the sample, can shed light on various aspects of how Canadian society is responding to this conjugal choice and its proliferation. We can estimate, to an acceptable degree of accuracy, the number of persons who have been in a common-law union, or distinguish which first unions were common-law and which were marriages, or determine how many persons who are now married previously lived common-law with their spouse.

Table 3. Number (in Thousands) of Persons Entering their First Union and Proportion Which Common-Law Unions Make of All First Unions, by Period of Union Formation, Quebec, Canada less Quebec, and Canada, 1995

Period	Common-Law	Marriage	Total	Percent Common-Law
Quebec				
< 1970	64	1,725	1,789	3.6 *
1970-1974	120	441	561	21.4
1975-1979	301	335	636	47.4
1980-1984	318	183	500	63.5
1985-1989	446	190	636	70.1
1990-1994	416	104	519	80.0
Total	1,665	2,977	4,641	35.9
Canada less Quebec				
< 1970	122	5,331	5,452	2.2 *
1970-1974	223	1,280	1,503	14.9
1975-1979	439	908	1,347	32.6
1980-1984	524	1,056	1,580	33.2
1985-1989	700	904	1,604	43.6
1990-1994	840	832	1,673	50.2
Total	2,849	10,310	13,159	21.7
Canada				
< 1970	186	7,055	7,241	2.6
1970-1974	343	1,721	2,065	16.6
1975-1979	741	1,243	1,983	37.3
1980-1984	842	1,238	2,080	40.5
1985-1989	1,146	1,093	2,239	51.2
1990-1994	1,256	936	2,192	57.3
Total	4,514	13,287	17,801	25.4

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Given the convergence of conjugal behaviour in provinces outside Quebec, the growing gap between Quebec and the other provinces, and the sample size of the GSS, our analysis will compare Quebec and the rest of the country.

Share of Common-Law Unions in All First Unions Increases Rapidly

The first union occupies a special place in people's lives. It often takes place at the end of schooling, when a person begins to work and leaves the parental home. While people's lives are increasingly complicated by the growing number of dissolved unions, the first union remains a singular life event. Table 3 shows the number of first unions entered for each five-year period since 1970, as estimated using the General Social Survey, with a distinction made between

marriages and common-law unions. The first marriages of those who begin their conjugal life with a common-law union are not taken into account, nor are the first common-law unions of those who are married.

The number of persons establishing first unions for each five-year period has remained relatively stable in Canada since 1970. According to the conjugal histories gathered by the GSS, every five years, an average of 2.1 million persons formed their first union. This relative numerical stability nevertheless masks significant changes in the type of union chosen. Since 1970, the number of first unions which are common-law unions has been growing, compensating for the fall by half in the number of first unions which are marriages. There is thus an extremely rapid rise in the proportion of first unions that are common-law unions, certainly the most striking information in this table. *In Quebec in particular, the ratio reversed in 20 years. From 1970 to 1974, there were four first unions which were marriages for each first union which was a common-law union; in 1990-94, there were four first unions which were common-law unions for each first union which was a marriage.* Elsewhere in Canada the change occurs a little less quickly, but is still impressive. During the first half of the 1970s, less than one first union in every five was a common-law union; 20 years later, there were as many common-law unions as marriages among first unions. Like Dumas and Péron (1992), *we can conclude that marriage is being displaced as the first union of choice.*

Number of People Ever in a Common-Law Union

The proportion of people who are or have been in a common-law union reveals more about this conjugal choice than the prevalence of the phenomenon at any given moment. Indeed, if the common-law union is accepted as a conjugal option but remains limited to a trial marriage or a deliberately temporary union, the proportion of people who have lived in a common-law relationship at least once in their lives should be greater than the number of people living in a common-law union at any given moment. If, however, the common-law union has become a substitute for marriage, the average duration should rise and a greater proportion of persons who have chosen this option should still be in the union at the time of the survey. A comparison of these two percentages offers an indication of how acceptable common-law unions are in Quebec and the rest of the country.

According to the General Social Survey, *more than six million Canadians had been or still were in a common-law union in 1995* (Table 4). *They represented more than one-quarter (26%) of the population 15 and over.* In Quebec, 35% of the population had been or still were in a common-law union in 1995; this compares to 23% for the rest of Canada. The 905,000 or so Quebecers living in a common-law union at the time of the survey represented just under half (44.3%) of the two million who had been or still were in such relationships. Overall, in the other provinces, 2.9 million persons

Table 4. Proportion of the Population Who Have Ever Lived in a Common-Law Union by Cohort, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995

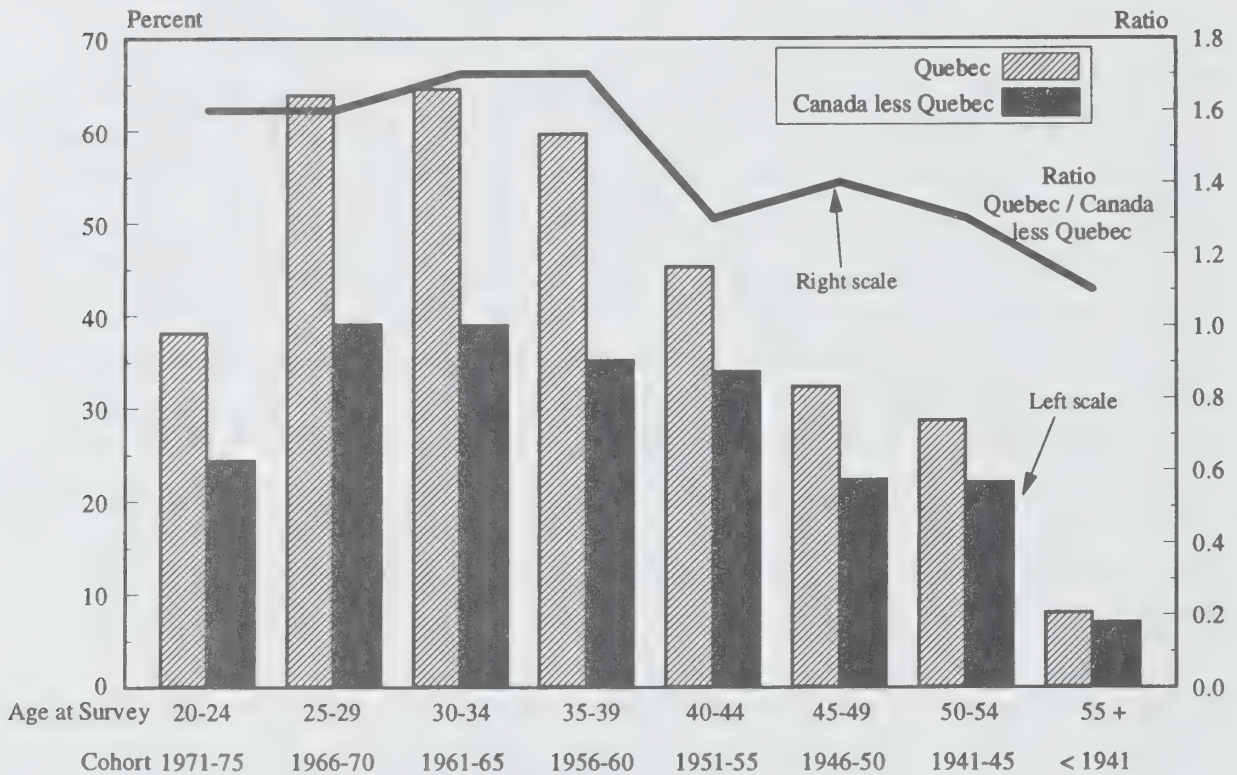
Age in 1995	Cohort	Number of Persons (Thousands)					Percent			
		Previously Lived Common-Law (1)	Never Lived Common-Law (2)	Now in Common-Law Union (3)	Ever Lived Common-Law (4 = 1 + 3)	Total Population (5)	Previously Lived Common-Law (6 = 1 / 5)	Now in Common-Law Union (7 = 3 / 5)	Ever Lived Common-Law (8 = 4 / 5)	Still Living Common-Law (9 = 3 / 4)
Quebec										
20-24	1971-1975	78	293	102	180	473	16.6	21.5	38.1	56.5
25-29	1966-1970	161	192	178	339	530	30.4	33.5	63.9	52.5
30-34	1961-1965	225	233	197	422	655	34.4	30.1	64.5	46.6
35-39	1956-1960	248	265	146	393	658	37.6	22.1	59.7	37.0
40-44	1951-1955	160	325	108	269	593	27.0	18.3	45.3	40.3
45-49	1946-1950	113	363	60 *	173	536	21.1	11.2 *	32.3	34.5 *
50-54	1941-1945	76	308	48 *	124	432	17.6	11.1 *	28.7	38.6 *
55 +	<1941	46	1,340	**	116	1,457	3.2	**	8.0	**
Total		1,139	3,786	906	2,045	5,830	19.5	15.5	35.1	44.3
Canada less Quebec										
20-24	1971-1975	177	1,170	202	378	1,548	11.4	13.0	24.4	53.3
25-29	1966-1970	412	1,025	247	659	1,684	24.5	14.7	39.1	37.5
30-34	1961-1965	567	1,214	208	775	1,989	28.5	10.4	39.0	26.8
35-39	1956-1960	560	1,239	114 *	674	1,913	29.3	6.0 *	35.2	16.9
40-44	1951-1955	432	1,124	145	577	1,701	25.4	8.5	33.9	25.1
45-49	1946-1950	256	1,179	83 *	339	1,518	16.9	5.5 *	22.3	24.4 *
50-54	1941-1945	190	901	64 *	254	1,155	16.5	5.5 *	22.0	25.2 *
55 +	<1941	219	4,009	50	301	4,310	5.1	1.2	7.0	16.6
Total		2,848	13,265	1,174	4,022	17,287	16.5	6.8	23.3	29.2

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.

** Estimate is too variable to be published.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Figure 4. Proportion of the Population Having Ever Lived in a Common-Law Union by Cohort, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

had been but were no longer in a common-law union, and 1.2 million others were in common-law unions at the time of the survey, for a total of just over four million persons who had lived as a couple without being married. Persons living in common-law unions at the time of the survey thus make up less than one-third (29.2%) of all those who had been or still were in such unions, compared to 44.3% in Quebec. While the percentage of persons in common-law unions at the time of the survey is thus twice as high in Quebec (15.5%) as in the rest of Canada (6.8%), the percentage of those who have ever been in a common-law union is only 50% higher. This and other indicators support the hypothesis that the common-law union is replacing marriage in Quebec, whereas for many Canadians in the other provinces, it is an intermediary stage between the parental home and a legal union.

In Quebec, as in the rest of Canada, the proportion of persons who have lived in a common-law union varies significantly from one group of cohorts to the next. It increases from the 1971-1975 group to the 1961-1965 group, in which it reaches nearly 65% in Quebec and 40% elsewhere in the country, because the younger group have not yet had the opportunity to establish themselves in couples. It remains at this level for the two following groups

of cohorts. *Among those born between 1951 and 1970 (persons aged 25-44 in 1995), more than two Canadians in five (42%) had already been in a common-law union.* In Quebec, the figure is 58%. The percentage is lower for older cohorts because people established their unions at a time when marriage was the norm.

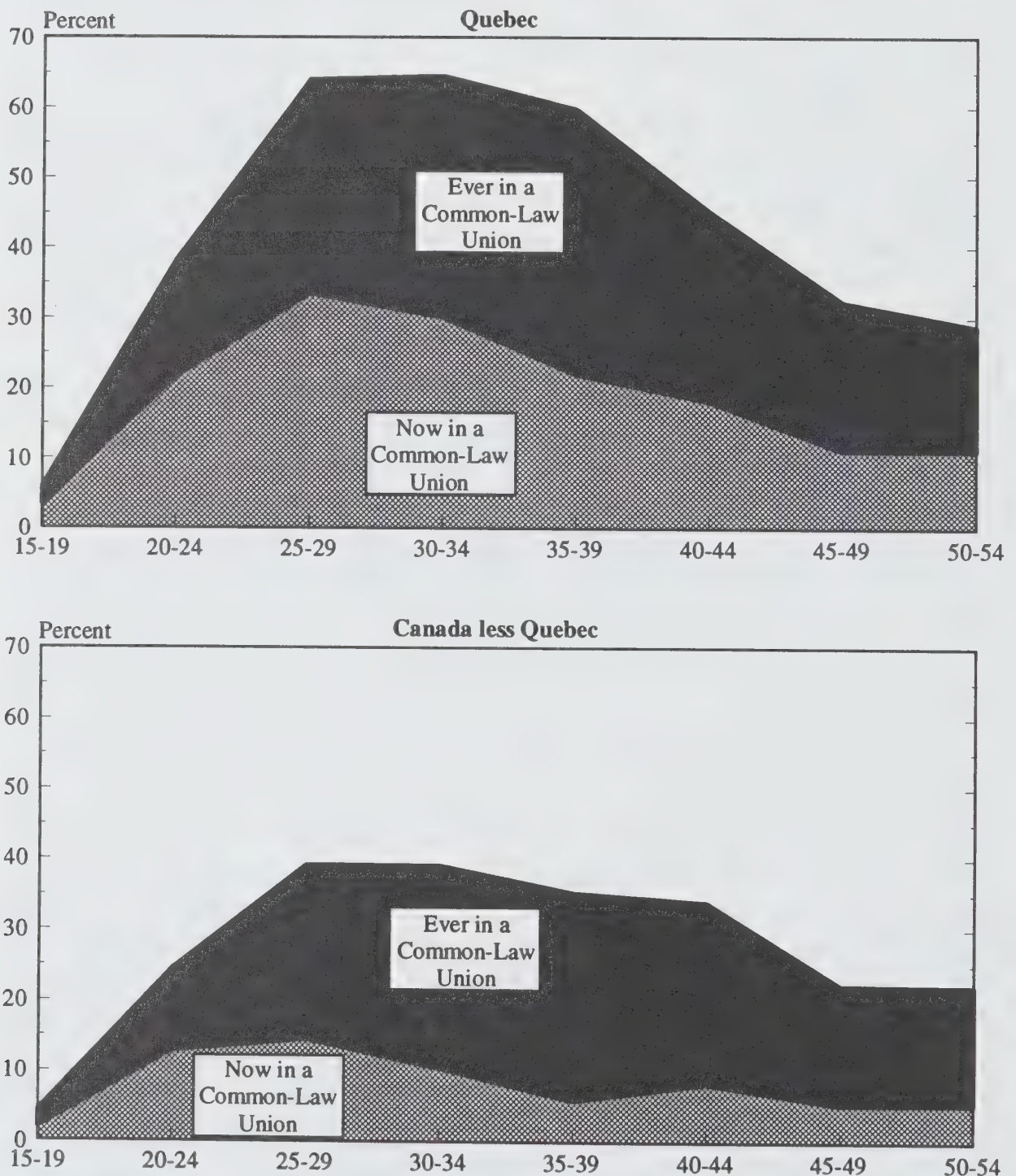
On average, for the entire population, the proportion of persons in Quebec who have lived in a common-law union is 50% higher than in the rest of Canada, but the ratio varies from one cohort to another (Figure 4), perhaps reflecting the effect of the Catholic Church on older cohorts of Quebecers, on the one hand, and the dramatic decline in religion among the younger inhabitants of the province, on the other. For cohorts born after 1956, the ratio of Quebec percentages to those in the rest of Canada is well over one, but closer for previous cohorts; and among the oldest cohorts, the proportion of persons who have lived in a common-law union in the rest of Canada is equal to that in Quebec.

Figure 5 illustrates regional differences by comparing percentages by five-year age group. The space between the two curves represents the proportion of people who had been in at least one common-law union during their lifetime but were not in one at the time of the survey. The area between the lower curve and the horizontal axis measures the proportion of people in a common-law union at the time of the survey. It is interesting to compare these areas between regions. At first glance, we can see how widespread common-law unions are in Quebec, as well as that, for each age group, the proportion of those still in a common-law union compared to those who have had the experience is higher. In Quebec as well as in the rest of Canada, the curves are similar in shape: from nil at age 15, the proportion rises quickly until about age 30, then drops off gradually. The proportion of people who have been in a common-law union at least once reaches its peak among those aged 30-34: 65% in Quebec and 39% in the rest of Canada. Obviously, the proportions of those currently in a common-law union are lower: 34% in Quebec and 15% in the rest of Canada. But note that this statistic peaks in the youngest age group (25-29), and that, between this group and the 35-39 age group, the decline is more pronounced than for those who have been in a common-law union but no longer are. With increasing age, or as we move from younger to older cohorts, the ratio of people currently in a common-law union to those who have been in one decreases (Figure 5), under the effect of separations and the conversion of such unions into marriages.

The Spread of Common-Law Unions: Age, Period and Cohort Effects

From 1990 to 1995, the proportion of persons who had been in a common-law union rose from 30% to 35% in Quebec, and from 21% to 23% in the rest of Canada. This is another indication that Quebec is not only ahead of the rest of the country in terms of adopting this lifestyle, but the phenomenon

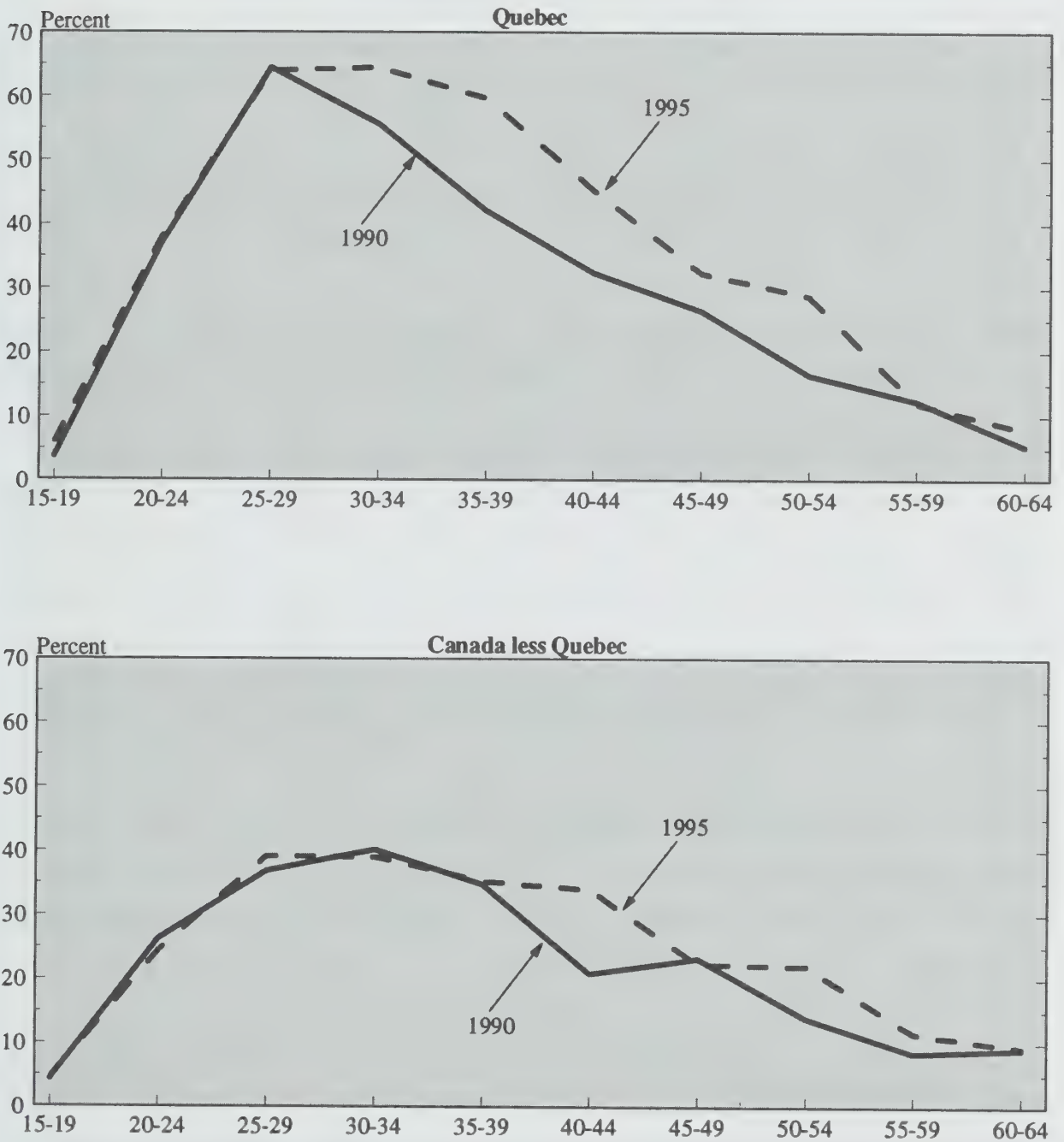
Figure 5. Proportion of Persons Now in a Common-Law Union and Ever in a Common-Law Union, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

is also developing more rapidly there. Time is a key factor in analysing the spread of any new phenomenon, whether it is the practice of polyculture in Northern Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, or the replacement of horses by tractors in the American plains. In demography, one must frequently deal with the effects of age and cohort, as well as the effects of period.

Figure 6. Proportion of Persons Ever in a Common-Law Union by Age at the 1990 and 1995 Surveys, Quebec and Canada less Quebec



Sources: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1990 and 1995 and calculations by the author.

A cohort effect is indicated by the particular behaviour at every age of the group comprising it, as compared to younger and older cohorts. A period effect is revealed by a change in behaviour among all cohorts at a specific time. The age effect is demonstrated by behaviour that is systematically different at a certain age among all cohorts. Usually, several effects occur concurrently.

Figure 6 compares the proportion of people who live or have lived in a common-law union by their age at the 1990 and 1995 surveys, and serves to illustrate the different effects. Since the fact of having been in a common-law

Table 5. Percentage of Persons Married at the Time of the Survey who Lived Together before Marriage, by Period of Union Formation, Quebec, Canada less Quebec, and Canada, 1995

Period	Quebec	Canada less Quebec	Canada
1970-79	16.4	12.0	13.2
1980-89	41.4	26.2	29.0
After 1989	61.8	40.5	44.0

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

union is an irreversible characteristic, the proportion of such persons cannot decrease within a given cohort as it ages over time⁷. In the graph at the top showing the curves for Quebec, the age effect is clearly visible before age 30: when the 1995 curve is superimposed over the 1990 curve, we see that the change in proportion from one age group to the next is due strictly to the progress of the life cycle. People almost always form their first common-law union between the ages of 15 and 30. After 30 in 1990, or after 35 in 1995, the proportion decreases steadily. This indicates the period effect, with the oldest cohorts having formed couples at a time when the common-law union was not an alternative to marriage. Finally, between the ages of 30 and 50, the 1995 curve is almost an exact replica of the 1990 curve moved five years to the right, indicating a cohort effect. The lower figure shows the comparable curves for the population of other provinces. Aside from the fact that the percentages are much higher in Quebec, the same age effect is noted, explaining the increase from age 15 to age 30, and the same period effect explains the subsequent decrease, but there is no clear cohort effect.

Premarital Cohabitation among Married People

A great many marriages these days are preceded by a generally short period of premarital cohabitation that some consider a "trial marriage." Table 5 shows the percentage of persons by period of marriage who were married at the time of the GSS and who had lived common-law with their spouse before legalizing the union. These are persons who were still married at the time of the survey. Several Canadian and American studies have shown that, probably due to the selection process involved, marriages preceded by a common-law union are more likely to end in divorce, and to do so more quickly than marriages in which the spouses did not live together first. It follows that the percentages for the earlier periods underestimate somewhat the number of trial marriages. Nevertheless, the trends are clear and indicate the important changes that took place quickly in the process of establishing unions.

⁷ Aside from a possible differential mortality or migration, which has no measurable impact over such a short period, a reduction in this proportion for a given cohort between the two periods studied can be due only to sampling error.

Table 6. Percentage Distribution of Duration of Premarital Cohabitation by Period of Marriage, Population Married at the Time of the Survey, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995

Duration	Quebec				Canada less Quebec			
	1970-1979	1980-1989	>1989	Total	1970-1979	1980-1989	>1989	Total
< 1 Year	38.5	19.7	16.3	22.3	31.1	22.6	18.9	22.3
1-2 Years	43.7	45.4	39.6	43.0	40.9	41.6	42.4	41.8
3-4 Years	5.3	21.5	26.6	20.0	17.7	22.2	17.0	19.4
> 4 Years	12.5	13.5	17.5	14.7	10.3	13.6	21.7	16.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median	1.3	1.9	2.2	1.8	1.5	1.9	2.0	1.9
Mean	2.8	2.9	3.3	3.0	2.4	2.7	3.4	3.0

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Very few marriages contracted prior to 1970 and which still existed in 1995 were preceded by a period of cohabitation; trial marriages became more popular beginning in the 1970s, occurring in more than one in every eight marriages. The phenomenon gained ground during the 1980s, particularly in Quebec, where already two marriages in every five are simply legalizing an existing union. *Two-thirds of recent marriages (since 1990) in Quebec were preceded by a period of cohabitation. As with other common-law statistics, the figures are lower in the rest of Canada (40%).*

Duration of Premarital Cohabitation among Married Persons in the Survey

Table 6 shows the distribution in percentages of the duration of premarital unions among persons who were married at the time of the survey. Overall, such unions do not last long. The average duration of three years is exaggerated by a few long-term unions, as one might suspect from the difference between the average and median duration. In half the cases, it is less than two years from the start of the union to the date of marriage. There is little difference in this rate between Quebec and the rest of Canada: people who legalize their unions do so equally quickly in both regions. However, an increase in the duration of the premarital union can be observed for more recent periods. This is not all that surprising. Since the common-law union is a relatively recent phenomenon, the number of long-term unions increases with time. In summary, *people who legalize a common-law union do so quickly, with little regional variation, but the duration of premarital unions is on the rise.*

It is impossible to determine how many of these trial marriages were anticipated as such. Some of the shorter ones may never have been intended as trial periods; they may simply be a period of living together from the time the couple sets up house until they actually marry. In other cases, people may establish a premarital union while waiting for a divorce or other administrative formalities to be finalized.

Table 7. Population by Number of Common-Law Unions¹ and Percentage Distribution by Number of Common-Law Unions of the Population With at Least One Such Union, by Sex, Canada, 1995

Sex	0	1	2	3 +	Total	At Least One Union
Number (Thousands)						
Men	8,756	2,042	528	125	11,452	2,696
Women	8,888	2,260	563	105	11,816	2,927
Total	17,644	4,302	1,091	230	23,267	5,623
Percent						
Men	...	75.7	19.6	4.7	100.0	...
Women	...	77.2	19.2	3.6 *	100.0	...
Total	...	76.5	19.4	4.1	100.0	...

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.

¹ Restricted to unions whose initial and for those that have ended, terminal years are known.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Number of Common-Law Unions

The common-law union is considered to be less restrictive than marriage. Because it takes less time to establish and certainly less time to dissolve, it is obviously easier for a person to be in a common-law union more than once. And yet, *while nearly six million Canadians have had at least one common-law relationship, more than three-quarters of them (77%) have had only one, about one-fifth (19%) have had two, and fewer than one-twentieth (4%) have had three or more*⁸. The percentages are almost identical for men and women and hardly differ from those for remarriages (Table 7).

The large number of respondents in the 1995 GSS who have had just one common-law relationship is due to the fact that the phenomenon is relatively recent. Younger cohorts began their conjugal life in a more permissive environment than their elders, but because of their youth, they have not yet had many conjugal experiences; among older cohorts, the majority of persons have chosen marriage. Thus, in the survey, fewer than 6% of people 55 and over (born before 1940) had been in at least one common-law union, and almost all (88%) of those had done so just once (Table 8). People born after 1970 were 15-25 at the time of the survey and just beginning conjugal life. Sixteen percent had been in at least one common-law union, but like those 55 and older at

⁸ The figures and percentages in Table 7 and the two following tables do not include the 226 respondents who said they had been in a common-law partnership (question H9) but could not identify a specific duration, since the year the union began or ended could not be recalled. The 2,900 respondents who had at least one experience in an identifiable common-law union comprise 93% of all respondents who said they had lived in a common-law union.

Table 8. Population by Number of Common-Law Unions¹ and Percentage Distribution by Number of Common-Law Unions of the Population With at Least One Such Union, by Cohort, Canada, 1995

Cohort	Age at the Survey	0	1	2	3 +	Total	At Least One Union
		Number (Thousands)					
Before 1940	55 and Over	5,347	274	34	**	5,655	311
1940-1949	46-55	2,840	587	132	**	3,559	746
1950-1959	36-45	3,109	1,217	379	124 *	4,828	1,719
1960-1969	26-35	2,793	1,624	467	74 *	4,959	2,165
1970-1980	15-25	3,554	600	79	**	4,234	683
Total	Total	17,644	4,302	1,091	230	23,235	5,623
		Percent					
Before 1940	55 and Over	...	88.3	**	**	100.0	...
1940-1949	46-55	...	78.7	17.7	**	100.0	...
1950-1959	36-45	...	70.8	22.0	7.2 *	100.0	...
1960-1969	26-35	...	75.0	21.6	3.4 *	100.0	...
1970-1980	15-25	...	88.0	11.6 *	**	100.0	...
Total	Total	...	76.5	19.4	4.1	100.0	...

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.

** Estimate is too variable to be published.

¹ Restricted to unions whose initial and for those that have ended, terminal years are known.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

the time of the survey, 88% had been in only one. The highest percentage (44%) of people who had been in at least one common-law union was among those born between 1960 and 1969 (who turned 20 during the mid 1980s), and one-quarter of them had been in more than one such union. Compared to this group, fewer (36%) of those born between 1950 and 1959 (who were 36 to 45 at the time of the survey) had been in at least one common-law relationship, but a greater percentage of them had experienced more than one (29%).

The highest proportion of the population that has had at least one common-law experience is in Quebec. However, it is surprising to note that among those who have been in such a union, the percentage that has been in more than one is not significantly higher than elsewhere (Table 9). In the Atlantic Provinces, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, fewer people have been in common-law unions and among these, not many have done so more than once (15% and 18% respectively). But elsewhere in Canada, the percentage of people who have had more than one common-law relationship is similar to Quebec (26%): 27% in British Columbia, 23% in Alberta and 22% in Ontario.

Conclusion

Living as a couple without marriage has, in Canada as elsewhere, always existed, but it only achieved a numerical importance justifying statistical

Table 9. Probability of Experiencing at Least One More Common-Law Union¹ for Persons Having Experienced a Given Number of Unions, by Region, 1995

Region	Number of Unions		
	0	1	2
Atlantic	0.204	0.145	**
Quebec	0.337	0.260	0.242
Ontario	0.184	0.220	**
Manitoba and Saskatchewan	0.183	0.180	**
Alberta	0.237	0.234	**
British Columbia	0.286	0.267	0.160 *
Canada	0.242	0.235	0.174
Canada less Quebec	0.210	0.222	0.131 *

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.

** Estimate is too variable to be published.

¹ Restricted to unions whose initial and for those that have ended, terminal years are known.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

measurement at the end of the 1970s. Since, it has maintained its strong growth. Between 1981 and 1995, the number of Canadians living in common-law unions grew from about 700,000 to over two million. This style of living together has experienced a mean annual growth rate six times that of the married population (8% a year for the population in common-law unions compared to 1.3% a year for the married population). While, in 1981, one couple in 16 only were composed of people in a common-law union, in 1995 one couple in seven was not married. But this ratio hides important regional variations: according to the General Social

Survey, the ratio is one couple in four in Quebec and only one couple in ten in the rest of Canada.

An important part, but only a part, of the strong growth in the numbers in common-law unions is due to the replacement of older cohorts, for whom there really was no alternative to marriage, by more recent ones. Certainly, living as a couple without marriage remains commoner among young people: among the under 30s, already 42% of couples are formed of people in common-law unions (64% in Quebec). It is even possible to conclude that marriage is no longer the typical beginning of conjugal life, especially in Quebec where, during the first half of the 1990s, four first common-law unions were counted for each first marriage. But over time new cohorts tend to keep the common-law union longer as a conjugal lifestyle and the prevalence of the common-law union increases for all cohorts, even the oldest, each time that it is measured. Nothing suggests a major slowing of these trends in the near future.

This chapter has provided answers to numerous questions concerning the growth of the population in common-law unions in Canada. But over the years, common-law unions have not only progressed rapidly in number; they have also undergone important qualitative changes. The following chapter is an attempt at measuring these transformations.

FROM TRIAL MARRIAGE TO SUBSTITUTE

Early studies on common-law unions revealed that they were an additional stage in the conjugal cycle and were not replacing marriage as the conjugal

lifestyle of choice; they were certainly not a preferred alternative to the family with children. In particular, while a considerable number of young people in the late 1970s were choosing to begin their conjugal life in common-law unions, these unions were most often legalized before the first child was born. This was the period when common-law unions were frequently called “trial marriages”. People “lived together,” but marriage tended to occur when this lifestyle risked creating problems. The decline in nuptiality and the increase in out-of-wedlock births seem to indicate that a change has occurred. *Marriage no longer appears to be a prerequisite for creating a family.*

In the short section on common-law unions and the law, we presented a brief, and by no means exhaustive, list of the reasons that might motivate people to live together without being married. For some years now, analysts of the phenomenon have individually categorized common-law unions, either intentionally or not. However, such undertakings are problematic because the classification criteria may lead to the establishment of categories that are not always mutually exclusive. In addition, classifying unions is like classifying migration: it is always done after the fact. Quite often, people were not aware of why they made a particular choice, and may have deluded themselves with regard to their motives; at best, they must justify themselves after the fact, or else others will do so for them. Furthermore, one of the members of the couple may decide for both, thereby placing the other member in a category that he or she would not otherwise have chosen. It is also important to recognize that, despite all precautions, there is a certain arbitrariness to typology and, unwittingly on the part of their creator, the categories often turn out to be a means to prove a hypothesis. Nor does creating more categories solve the problem: not only are all categories subject to the same criticism, but each new one merely clouds the picture further. For this reason, we have chosen to use the model developed by Catherine Villeneuve-Gokalp,⁹ essentially unmodified, even though it was created for another society (France) and another period (early 1980s). Our analysis will include qualifying comments.

A Typology of Common-Law Unions

Based on the conjugal and fertility history of each respondent, each episode of cohabitation can be classified in one of the following six categories:

- 1) prelude to marriage,
- 2) trial marriage,
- 3) unstable union,
- 4) stable union, but without commitment,
- 5) substitute for marriage, and
- 6) other.

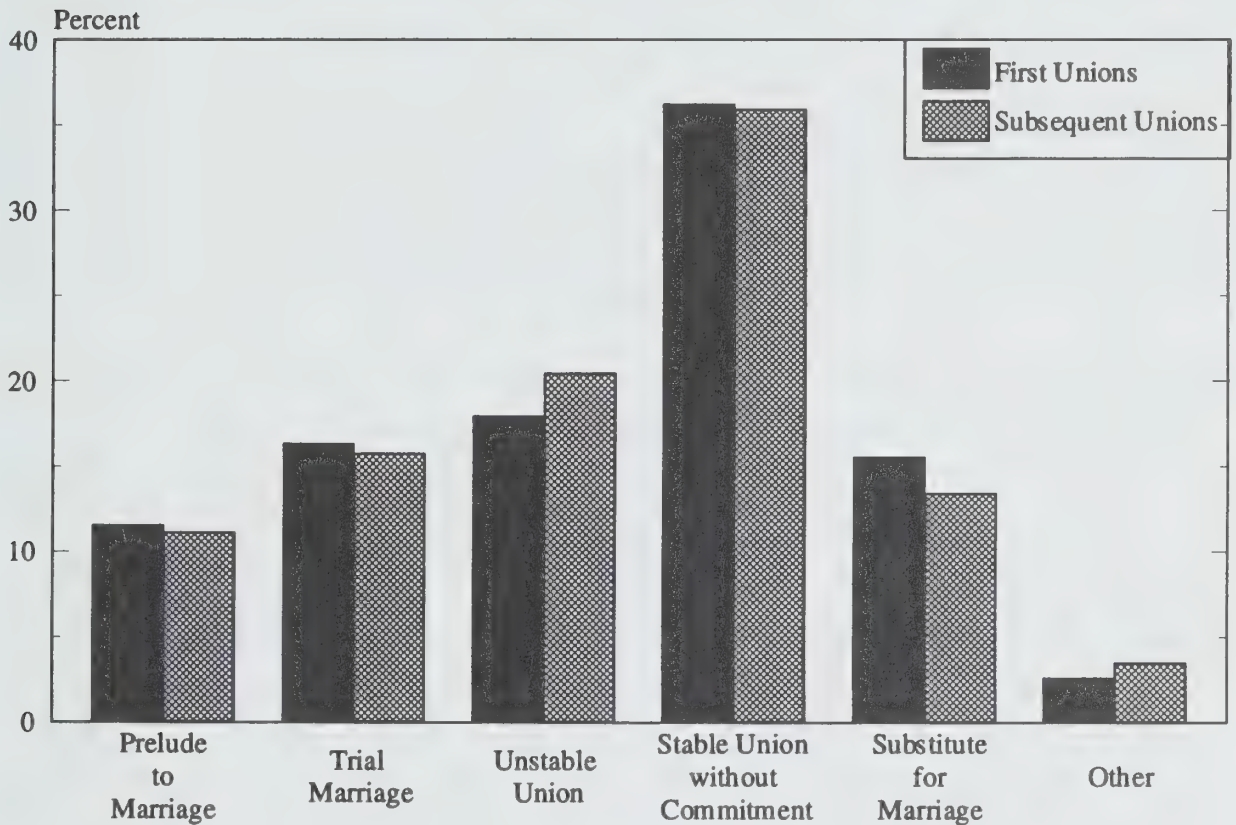
⁹ Catherine Villeneuve-Gokalp (1990). “Du mariage aux unions sans papier: histoire récente des transformations conjugales,” *Population*, (2):265-298.

When a couple lives together before marriage, and less than a year elapses from the time they set up their household until they marry, the union is considered a *prelude to marriage*. Couples whose period of cohabitation lasts more than one year but less than three fall into the *trial marriage* category, because it is presumed that there was some hesitation involved, and that at the time they began living together they may not have been sure the union would last very long. In both cases, children are not born until after the marriage, or no more than six months prior to it. Common-law unions that end quickly (within three years) without producing a child are considered *unstable unions*. Those that last more than three years but do not produce a child are *stable unions, but without commitment*. Finally, the unions of couples who produce a child within three years of the establishment of the union and remain unmarried for at least six months following the birth are considered *substitutes for marriage*. The “others” category includes couples who converted their common-law relationship into a legal marriage within three years, but who had a child more than six months before the marriage, and couples whose union ended within three years without marriage, but who had a child before the relationship ended.

This typology implicitly supposes that persons who live in prelude-to-marriage and trial-marriage unions are not really questioning the institution of marriage; they are simply adding another stage to the conjugal cycle and the difference between the two categories is simply one of time. Couples in the stable-but-without-commitment or substitute-marriage categories, however, are considered to be deliberately choosing an alternative conjugal arrangement. The additional criterion of the birth of a child supports hypotheses regarding the original intentions of the couple to see their union as an alternative to legal marriage, since until quite recently having children was almost exclusively the prerogative of married couples. We can also presume that people in common-law unions who have neither married nor separated for three years also see no need for marriage, even if the birth of children has not yet bound them permanently during those three years. Fertility is not at issue in this category because infertility could be interpreted incorrectly. Indeed, it is likely that younger people who live together in a common-law union are not ready to have children, and that older people may not want or not be able to have children.

The three-year criterion is certainly arbitrary, and the use of a shorter or longer time period would affect how the unions are classified. The choice is motivated by the average length of prenuptial cohabitation among married people in the survey, which is about three years while the median is less than two years. Also, the use of a relatively short period makes it possible to include the youngest cohorts in our analysis. If we had used a five-year period, for example, unions established in 1990 and 1991 would have been excluded.

Figure 7. Common-Law Unions¹ by Type and Order, Canada, 1995



¹ Unions beginning before 1992.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Distribution of Common-Law Unions by Type

Half (51%) of common-law unions —36% stable unions without commitment and 15% substitutes for marriage— last longer than three years (Figure 7). Almost a third of these unions have produced a child during this period. The most common type of union for both first common-law unions and others is the stable union without commitment: more than one in three (36%) falls into this category. This indicates that individuals in common-law couples are concerned about controlling their fertility, at least in the early years of the relationship. A little more than one-quarter of common-law unions were only a short-term stage prior to marriage: 11% lasted less than one year (prelude to marriage) and 16% lasted two to three years (trial marriage). Finally, 18% of common-law unions can be classified as unstable. By comparison, fewer than 4% of marriages among the youngest cohorts end in divorce before three years.¹⁰

¹⁰ These percentages are not totally comparable, since there is a period of variable duration between the time a married couple separates and their final divorce, whereas a common-law union ends when the couple separates. For the purposes of comparison with common-law unions, it would be better to measure the length of time between marriage and separation, but separation is not always legally arranged and in many cases the date of separation is unknown.

Table 10. Percentage of Common-Law Unions by Type, Order and Period of Entering the Union, Canada, 1995

Period	Type						
	Prelude to Marriage	Trial Marriage	Unstable Union	Stable Union without Commitment	Substitute for Marriage	Other	Total
1st Union							
Before 1977	17.9	18.4	12.6	32.2	15.4	3.6	100.0
1977-1979	13.5	24.9	14.0	33.1	11.5	2.9	100.0
1980-1982	11.8	13.2	17.8	41.0	14.4	1.8	100.0
1983-1985	9.6	14.1	20.7	39.4	15.1	1.1	100.0
1986-1988	9.1	18.2	18.9	32.4	18.1	3.3	100.0
1989-1991	6.8	11.6	22.8	39.5	17.0	2.3	100.0
Total	11.5	16.3	17.9	36.2	15.5	2.6	100.0
2nd Union and Higher							
Before 1977	23.1 *	12.4 *	12.3 *	44.5	7.7 *	—	100.0
1977-1979	12.9 *	33.8 *	28.6 *	13.1 *	11.6 *	—	100.0
1980-1982	10.3	15.4	17.7	35.3	18.3	2.9	100.0
1983-1985	6.3	13.1	23.8	46.0	9.1	1.7	100.0
1986-1988	10.2	14.9	21.0	38.3	7.4	8.1	100.0
1989-1991	11.4	15.5	19.7	30.6	19.4	3.4	100.0
Total	11.1	15.7	20.4	35.9	13.4	3.5	100.0
All Unions							
Before 1977	18.3	17.9	12.6	33.3	14.7	3.3	100.0
1977-1979	13.5	25.8	15.6	31.0	11.6	2.6	100.0
1980-1982	11.5	13.6	17.8	40.0	15.1	2.0	100.0
1983-1985	8.8	13.9	21.4	40.9	13.7	1.3	100.0
1986-1988	9.3	17.5	19.4	33.8	15.7	4.4	100.0
1989-1991	8.2	12.8	21.9	36.8	17.7	2.6	100.0
Total	11.4	16.2	18.4	36.1	15.1	2.8	100.0

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Slight differences in distribution by category can be observed between first unions and those of a higher order (Figure 7). For a number of reasons, there are slightly more unions of a higher order than first unions in the unstable category. However, we find proportionately fewer substitute marriages. Overall, the most important information in this figure is the minimal difference between the distribution according to order and the size of the stable-union-without-commitment category.

This typology of common-law unions is mainly of interest because it allows for the analysis of the transformation over time of such unions. Table 10 shows the distribution of common-law unions by type and time of establishment. Care was taken to analyse cohorts by three-year age groups in order to attenuate accidental variations caused by small numbers, while ensuring enough periods to measure how quickly transformations occur.

Common-law unions have changed considerably over the past 12 years. From around 1978 to 1990, the number of persons who established a first common-law union increased dramatically from 530,000 to 921,000. Despite this, the number of common-law unions that were quickly converted into marriages dropped 13% for preludes to marriage and 19% for trial marriages. Since the number of unions in the three other categories increased more rapidly than the overall number, the proportion of first common-law unions converted into marriage within three years fell dramatically: it dropped by half during the same period, from 38% of the total to 18%.

This decrease of 20 percentage points is distributed among the three other categories, all of which showed increases in both number and proportion. But the unstable unions increased most quickly of all: nearly one union in four (23%) established during 1989-1991 was dissolved three years later, whereas the figure was only 14% for the earliest period. Considered in isolation, these observations lead us to believe that those who choose common-law unions today have less definite intentions concerning the stability of their union than their counterparts in earlier times, but the marked increase in the number of unions classified as stable but without commitment, and particularly those classified as substitutes for marriage, indicate the contrary. During the period 1977-1979, about 20,000 people established common-law unions each year and had children without legalizing their status. These couples represent 11% of all common-law unions established during the period. In the early 1990s, more than 52,000 people per year established common-law unions and did not feel it necessary to legalize their union before having a child. In the three years from 1989 to 1991, 520,000 first common-law unions were established and were still in existence three years later (363,300 stable unions without commitment and 156,300 substitutes for marriage). They represent 57% of all common-law unions formed during that period. By comparison, 12 years earlier, there were 237,000 unions, representing 45% of the total. ***The number of persons establishing common-law unions without any apparent intention of marrying more than doubled. For these people, common-law living is not another stage in the conjugal cycle, but a domestic arrangement equivalent to marriage.***

It is not surprising that ***in Quebec the distribution according to type of union reflects the greater popularity and earlier spread of the phenomenon there*** (Table 11). ***Already in 1977-79, one common-law union in five (19%) was fertile, without leading to marriage. This proportion*** changed little from one period to the next, but at that time, ***it was already higher than that observed in the rest of Canada for the most recent period (16%).*** At the other extreme, the proportion of prelude-to-marriage unions was lower in Quebec at the start of the period under study (9%) than it is today in the rest of Canada (11%). In the most recent period, one common-law union in 25 in Quebec (4%) was converted into marriage within one year, one-third the proportion

Table 11. Percentage of Common-Law Unions by Type and Period of Entering the Union, Quebec, Canada less Quebec, and Canada, 1995

Period	Type						
	Prelude to Marriage	Trial Marriage	Unstable Union	Stable Union without Commitment	Substitute for Marriage	Other	Total
Quebec							
Before 1977	12.7	19.2	12.6	36.7	16.0	2.9	100.0
1977-1979	8.8	22.7	15.6	33.5	19.4	0.0	100.0
1980-1982	8.4	12.3	16.5	36.7	23.4	2.7	100.0
1983-1985	4.4	9.1	21.1	45.5	19.3	0.6	100.0
1986-1988	6.7	12.1	20.4	37.2	20.9	2.6	100.0
1989-1991	4.2	8.2	23.4	40.8	19.9	3.4	100.0
Total	7.3	13.2	18.8	38.8	19.7	2.3	100.0
Canada less Quebec							
Before 1977	21.4	17.2	12.5	31.4	14.0	3.5	100.0
1977-1979	16.3	27.8	15.6	29.4	6.7	4.2	100.0
1980-1982	13.2	14.3	18.5	41.9	10.4	1.7	100.0
1983-1985	11.2	16.5	21.6	38.4	10.6	1.6	100.0
1986-1988	11.0	20.9	18.7	31.6	12.3	5.6	100.0
1989-1991	10.6	15.5	21.0	34.4	16.3	2.2	100.0
Total	13.8	18.0	18.2	34.6	12.4	3.0	100.0
Canada							
Before 1977	18.3	17.9	12.6	33.3	14.7	3.3	100.0
1977-1979	13.5	25.8	15.6	31.0	11.6	2.6	100.0
1980-1982	11.5	13.6	17.8	40.0	15.1	2.0	100.0
1983-1985	8.8	13.9	21.4	40.9	13.7	1.3	100.0
1986-1988	9.3	17.5	19.4	33.8	15.7	4.4	100.0
1989-1991	8.2	12.8	21.9	36.8	17.7	2.6	100.0
Total	11.4	16.2	18.4	36.1	15.1	2.8	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

in the rest of Canada. If we add the trial marriages to the prelude-to-marriage group, we observe that, *outside Quebec, 26% of common-law unions are quickly converted to marriages (within three years), compared to only 12% in Quebec.*

Compared to the rest of Canada, Quebec appears to differ not only in terms of the prevalence of common-law unions, but also with respect to changes in the nature of the union. The distribution of unions established during 1977-1979 in Quebec is similar to that of unions created in the rest of Canada in the late 1980s. For example, in 1977-79, 53% of common-law unions established in Quebec were either stable but without commitment, or substitutes for marriage; in the rest of Canada, it was not until 1989-1991 that these two categories constituted half of all common-law unions created during the period. Similarly, the proportion of common-law unions followed by marriage within three years was 31% in Quebec in 1977-79 and 32% in the rest of Canada in 1986-88. It would appear that Quebec is about ten years ahead of the rest of the country with regard to the distribution and evolution of common-law unions in Canada.

Table 12. Percentage of Common-Law Unions by Type and Age of the Respondent at the Beginning of the Union, Quebec, Canada less Quebec, and Canada, 1995

Age Group	Type						
	Prelude to Marriage	Trial Marriage	Unstable Union	Stable Union without Commitment	Substitute for Marriage	Other	Total
Quebec							
Under 20	5.9	10.6	21.9	38.7	17.2	5.7	100.0
20-24	9.5	15.6	21.2	30.3	21.8	1.6	100.0
25-29	7.9	15.4	12.0	36.7	26.6	1.5	100.0
30-34	6.7	12.6	19.4	43.8	14.4	3.0	100.0
35 and Over	2.4	6.0	20.0	62.4	8.9	0.3	100.0
Total	7.3	13.2	18.8	38.8	19.7	2.3	100.0
Canada less Quebec							
Under 20	6.8	13.2	27.1	31.6	17.3	4.1	100.0
20-24	16.8	19.7	19.2	26.0	14.3	4.0	100.0
25-29	17.4	20.2	16.3	31.2	12.7	2.2	100.0
30-34	17.5	20.4	12.9	35.2	9.7	4.3	100.0
35 and Over	7.6	14.9	11.9	61.6	4.0	0.0	100.0
Total	13.8	18.0	18.2	34.6	12.4	3.0	100.0
Canada							
Under 20	6.5	12.3	25.2	34.1	17.3	4.7	100.0
20-24	14.0	18.1	19.9	27.7	17.1	3.1	100.0
25-29	13.8	18.4	14.6	33.3	18.0	1.9	100.0
30-34	13.5	17.5	15.3	38.4	11.5	3.8	100.0
35 and Over	5.9	12.0	14.5	61.9	5.6	0.1	100.0
Total	11.4	16.2	18.4	36.1	15.1	2.8	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

The age at which people form common-law unions definitely has an effect on the outcome of the union (Table 12). *The older they are, the more likely their union will be stable but without commitment.* Among 20-24 year-olds, the proportion of such unions is 30% in Quebec and 26% in the rest of Canada. It increases steadily from one age group to the next, reaching 62% in both regions among those who begin their union after the age of 35.

Proportionately speaking, there are more substitute-marriage unions in Quebec than elsewhere in the country for all age groups except the very young (under 20), where the percentage is identical (17%). For the two regions under study, the proportion of this type of union declines from one age group to the next and evolves in a manner opposite to that of stable unions without commitment. In Quebec, it drops from 22% for 20-24 year-olds to 9% for those over 35; in Canada, it drops from 14% to 4% for the same age groups. Considering the low fertility after 35, it is remarkable to note that this category accounts for 9% of common-law unions in which the respondent was a Quebec woman over the age of 35. As the proportions indicate, the decrease in this group definitely contributes to the increase in the proportion of stable unions

without commitment. If we subscribe to the theory that these two categories include those persons who see the common-law union as a replacement for marriage, we note that their proportion rises from 52% to 71% in Quebec, and from 30% to 66% in the rest of Canada for the 20-24 and 35 and over age groups, respectively.

The proportion of unions that end within three years (unstable unions) is about the same among young people in Quebec and the rest of Canada (21% and 19% respectively for 20-24 year-olds). Among older people, the proportion varies little with age in Quebec, whereas it tends to diminish in the rest of Canada. Among those 35 and over in Quebec, one union in five (20%) ends within three years, while in the rest of Canada it is about one in eight (12%).

The corollary of these two statements is obviously that *the proportion of common-law unions converted into marriage (prelude to marriage and trial marriage) diminishes steadily with age in Quebec, while in the rest of Canada it is high and stable until age 35*. One union in four (25%) established by young Quebecers aged 20-24 is converted into a marriage within three years, but only one in twelve (8%) is converted among those over 35. In the rest of Canada, the proportion of unions that end in marriage remains steady at about 37% for all five-year age groups from 20 to 34. The only decrease is seen in the open age group (35 and over), but even in this group, the proportion remains high (23%) compared to Quebec.

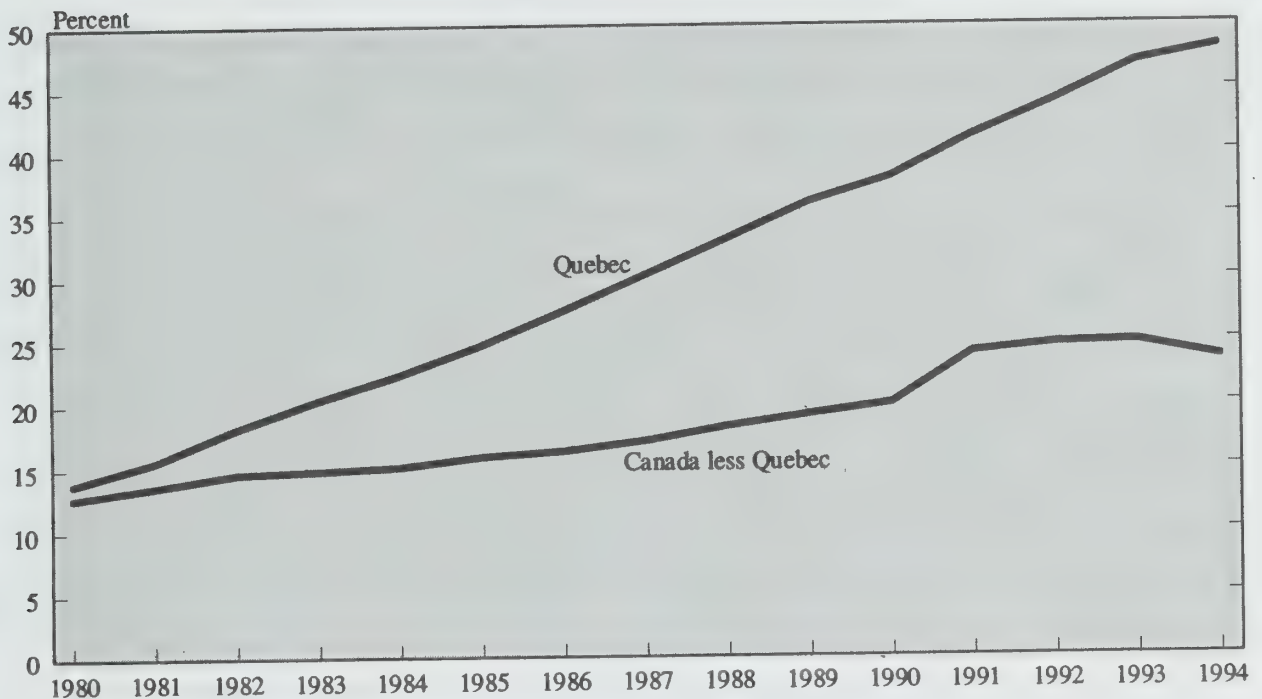
Conclusion

In France, according to Catherine Villeneuve-Gokalp, “marriage is no longer a necessity. It is merely a conjugal option that can be chosen at any time” (Villeneuve-Gokalp, 1990:265). While this conclusion does not yet apply to all of Canada, it is valid for Quebec. *The common-law union is no longer a trial period of living together, but increasingly a substitute for marriage*. If behaviour in this area in Quebec is an indicator of things to come in the rest of Canada, and if the changes in attitude toward non-marital unions observed from older to younger cohorts continue to be seen, then we are not far from the time when the common-law union will be but another conjugal choice for a majority of Canadians. The combination of recent trends would imply a continued decline in nuptiality in Canada.

FERTILITY IN COMMON-LAW UNIONS

The preceding chapters give an idea of the importance of the phenomenon and its development over time and with successive cohorts. This chapter will examine the effect of the choice of this conjugal lifestyle on fertility by means of a comparative analysis of fertility among common-law and married couples.

Figure 8. Percentage of Extramarital Births, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1980-1994



Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

From a purely demographic point of view, the value of such a study is related to the fact that, for a very long time in our society, children were rarely born out of wedlock. Age at marriage was thus an important variable, since it determined the age at which fertile life began. This is less and less true. ***With the rise of common-law unions, an increasing proportion of all births take place out of wedlock: from 13% in 1980 to 30% in 1994¹¹***. In Quebec, the figure rises even more quickly. In 1980, the percentage of out-of-wedlock births was practically the same as in the rest of Canada (14% in Quebec and 13% in the rest of the country), but in 1994, it is twice as high in Quebec (48% compared to 24%) (Figure 8). This does not signify an increase in the number of births to lone-parent mothers; it is related to the increase in the number of common-law unions, which are replacing marriage with increasing frequency.

A relationship between the type of union and the fertility of the couple may nevertheless be supposed. Many people today still prefer to bring children into the world within a legal union. They will therefore choose to marry before or shortly after the child is conceived. A selection effect is most certainly at

¹¹ This percentage is based on births in which the marital status of the mother is known. Marital status was unknown in fewer than 1% of all births registered between 1980 and 1994 in Quebec, and between 1980 and 1990 in the rest of Canada. Beginning in 1991, however, the proportion rises rapidly to 9% in 1994 in the rest of Canada, primarily due to births registered in Ontario.

Table 13. Percentage of Persons Answering that Having at Least One Child is Very Important in Order for Them to be Happy in Life, Quebec, Canada less Quebec and Canada, 1995

	Common-Law	Married	Not in Union		Total
			Formerly Married	Single	
Childless Had a Child Total	Quebec				
	16.7 *	21.3 *	**	17.6	18.0
	29.5	43.7	34.4	29.0 *	40.2
	24.0	40.9	31.4	18.7	33.6
	Canada less Quebec				
	31.8	21.9	21.0 *	20.7	22.7
	30.1	43.7	35.7	25.0 *	41.9
	31.0	40.8	33.6	21.0	36.5
	Canada				
25.6	21.8	18.6 *	19.9	21.4	
29.8	43.7	35.4	26.2	41.4	
27.9	40.8	33.0	20.4	35.7	

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.

** Estimate is too variable to be published.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

work here, in the sense that people who choose marriage over a common-law partnership display certain characteristics that affect both their fertility and the type of union they choose.

This hypothesis is supported by the data in Table 13, which compares the percentages of those who said it was very important for them to have at least one child in order to be happy in life according to conjugal status. Care was taken to separate childless couples from those with children, since they have differing perceptions. Note in particular that, compared to married couples, a much lower percentage of common-law couples feel that having at least one child is very important. In fact, among those with children, who have a better idea of what they are talking about¹², the percentage of persons in common-law unions who replied that it was very important to have at least one child is identical to the percentage among never-married persons. For people with children, there is virtually no difference, within each type of union, between Quebecers and other Canadians.

The popularization of effective contraceptive methods has distinguished sex from procreation for some time. And with the growing number of options for sterile couples, having a child is increasingly linked to the parents' well-

¹² The question was obviously less abstract for people who already had children.

being or the benefits they will derive. Thus, fertility and the desire to have children are more and more compatible. In this context, it can be noted that people who choose to live as common-law partners are less sensitive to parenthood than married spouses. The proliferation of this new form of union leads to new questions about the fertility of common-law couples, how it compares to that of legally married couples, and its effect on fertility in general.

There is also much to be learned by comparing the evolution of fertility in both types of union over time. If the hypothesis is true that the common-law partnership is being transformed into more than a mere trial marriage and is tending to become a substitute for marriage itself, then one should observe a reduction in the difference between the fertility of married and common-law couples over time. Similarly, the observation of a reduced difference between fertility in legal and common-law unions in Quebec, as compared to the rest of Canada, would also support the hypothesis that the common-law partnership is replacing marriage in Quebec, but is only a step towards it elsewhere in Canada.

To date, there have been no studies on the fertility of women in common-law unions. Vital statistics records, which are the traditional source of data for fertility analyses, are of no help because they do not record conjugal status. With the recent exception of Quebec, birth records contain only the mother's legal marital status, which makes it possible to distinguish out-of-wedlock births, as in Figure 8, or to estimate the fertility of married women. The fertility of unmarried couples, however, cannot be measured. This is what is attempted here, based on data from the 1995 General Social Survey. First, two cross-sectional measurements provide a simple illustration of the differences in fertility between the two groups.

Percentage of Childless Persons

The lesser importance given to having at least one child by persons in common-law unions is revealed by the proportion of childless persons (Table 14). Because the age structure of persons in common-law unions is very different from that of married persons, this factor must be controlled. With such a small sample, the best one can do is separate people into two groups: under 35 and 35 and over. In the younger group, the difference in fertility between married and common-law couples is huge. Nearly two-thirds of persons under 35 in common-law unions have no children, while the percentage is less than one-third among married persons. However, because this is a broad age group, it is possible that the effect of differences in structure is not completely controlled. It is also a good idea to limit our observation to those 35 and older, who are in the later years of their fertile life. In Quebec, the percentage of childless persons 35 and over in common-law unions is two and half times greater than that of married persons in the same age group. In

Table 14. Percentage of Childless Persons by Marital Status and Age Group, Quebec, Canada less Quebec and Canada, 1995

Age Group	Common-Law	Married	Not in Union		Total
			Formerly Married	Single	
15-34 35 and Over Total	Quebec				
	56.7	22.0	**	93.7	67.9
	26.6	10.8	11.6	76.9	18.2
	43.0	12.7	12.9	90.2	36.5
15-34 35 and Over Total	Canada less Quebec				
	62.8	29.3	34.2 *	93.0	66.8
	28.3	8.6	12.4	84.3	14.7
	48.4	13.3	14.9	91.7	34.9
	Canada				
	60.2	28.0	33.8	93.2	67.1
35 and Over	27.5	9.1	12.2	81.9	15.6
Total	46.1	13.2	14.4	91.3	35.3

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.

** Estimate is too variable to be published.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

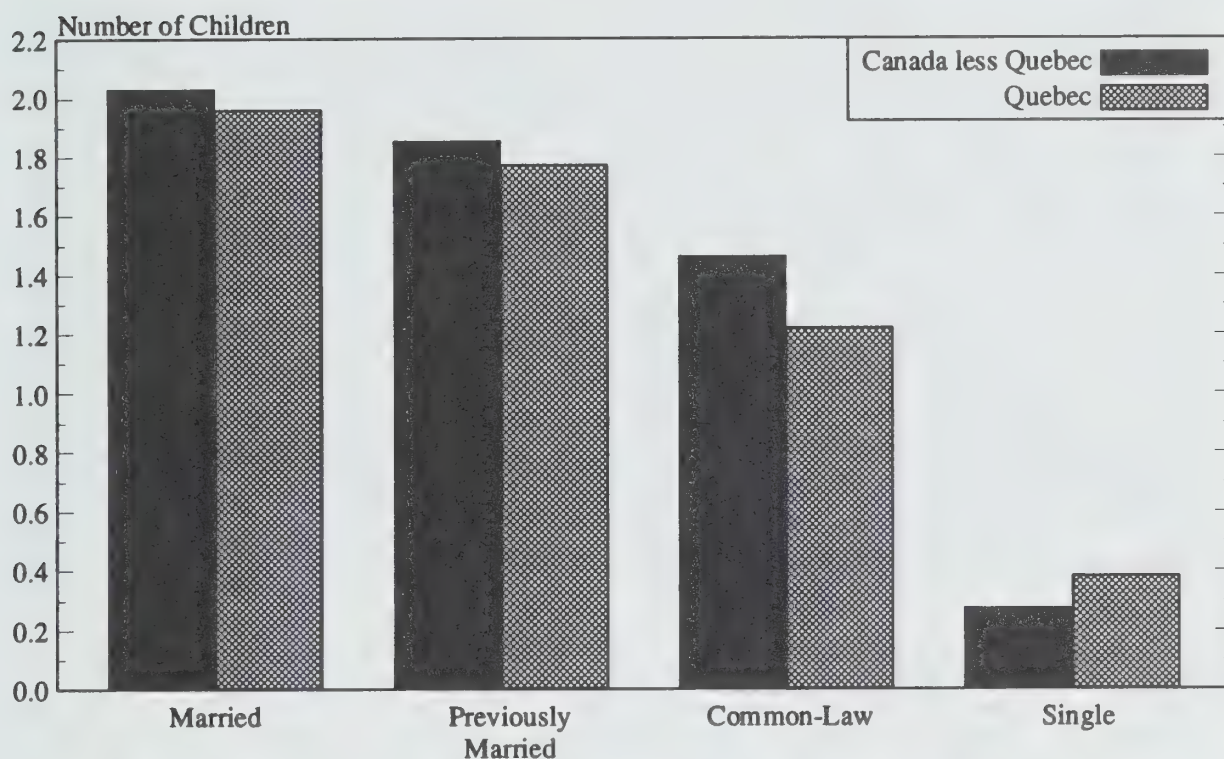
the rest of Canada, the ratio is three to one. Note that the percentage of childless persons among those in common-law unions is similar in Quebec and the rest of Canada. The possibility that younger cohorts may behave differently has not been excluded.

Number of Children at the Time of the Survey

While the fertility tempo is aging in Canada (Dumas and Bélanger, 1995), the great majority of births occur before the woman is 35. In 1994, for example, 89% of the 385,000 births were to women under 35. Figure 9 shows the average number of children born to women aged 35 to 44 at the time of the survey by conjugal status. There is little difference between the figures for married women and those who had been married. However, the average number of children born to women in common-law unions is about 25% lower than for married women.

Note also that the average number of children born to women in common-law unions at the time of the survey is slightly higher in the rest of Canada than in Quebec. So far, other indicators have led us to believe that common-law unions are seen more as a substitute for marriage in Quebec than in the rest of Canada, where it appears to constitute the trial marriage stage. And yet, the equal percentages of childless common-law partners in both regions, and specifically the fact that the average number of children born to women

Figure 9. Mean Number of Children of Persons Aged 35 to 44 at the Time of the Survey by Marital Status, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995

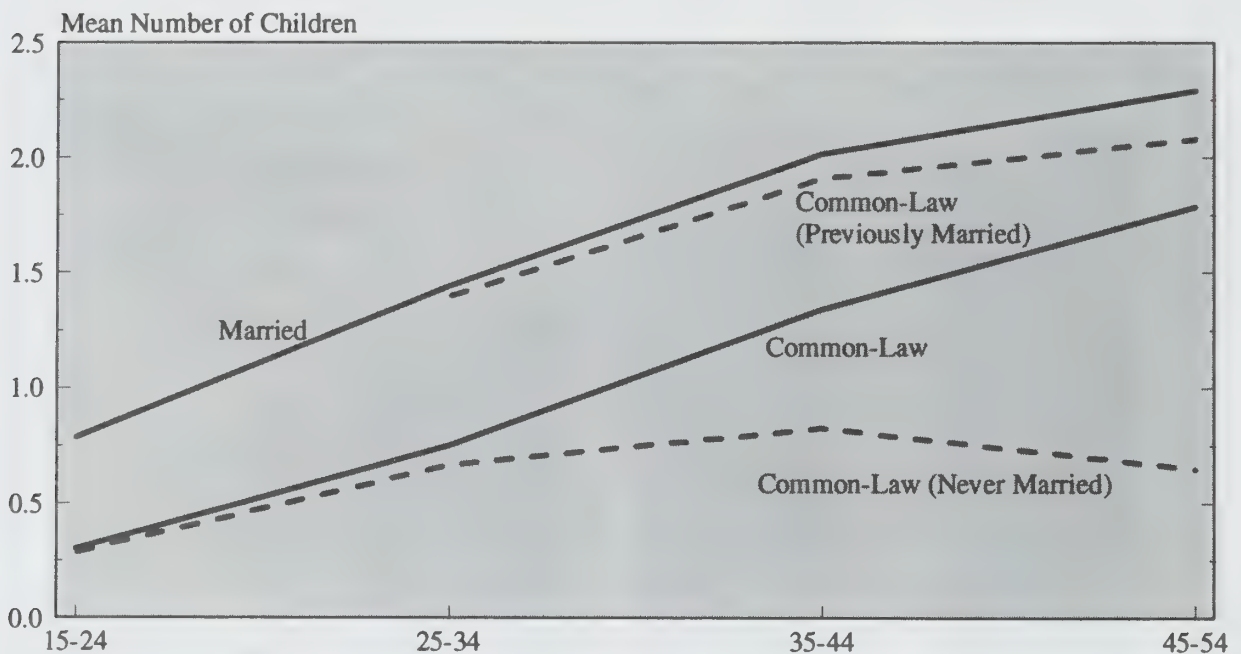


Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

35-44 is higher among common-law partners in the rest of Canada than in Quebec, lead us to the opposite conclusion, that common-law unions outside Quebec are more like marriage, at least with regard to fertility.

Part of this surprising observation can certainly be explained by the fact that the population in common-law unions in the rest of Canada includes a greater percentage of persons already married (34%) than in Quebec (27%). In a society where the number of unions created and dissolved continues to grow unabated, conjugal status at the time of the survey does not guarantee homogeneity within each group; in particular, it does not take into account children from previous unions. As we can see in Figure 10, the prior marital history of persons in common-law unions is an important factor of heterogeneity when considering the number of children, at least among the oldest cohorts. By separating the ever-married persons in common-law unions from those who are still never-married, we note that fertility at various ages among the former is similar to that of married women, approaching two children per woman among 45-54 year-olds. Among never-married men and women in common-law unions, the average number of children is much lower and never reaches one in any age group.

Figure 10. Mean Number of Children by Marital Status and Legal Marital Status, Canada, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

Conjugal History and Fertility

Given the preceding paragraph, what we need to know is conjugal status at the time of birth. This information is not available from vital-statistics records, but it can be obtained by reconstructing the conjugal and fertility life-history of respondents in the 1995 Survey from that date. We can thus calculate the number of person-years for each conjugal situation: outside of a union, in a union and married. By comparing the appropriate births to the person-years, we obtain a measure comparable to the fertility rate by age and mother's conjugal status.

The fertility of married couples may thus be compared to that of common-law couples, and trends over time or regional differences may be observed, but a number of caveats apply. First, despite all precautions, the size of the sample limits the accuracy of the estimates. In order to reduce random fluctuations related to sample size, it is wise to calculate these rates by five-year age group and for ten-year periods. Each respondent 20 or over at the start of the period thus counts for ten person-years in the denominator, and all the children she has given birth to during the period appear in the numerator. We thus obtain a measure, comparable in meaning to a rate, averaging 10 annual rates for each group.

In addition to problems related to sample size, these estimates use a maximum of fertility and conjugal information supplied by the respondents: the further removed the period covered from the date of the survey, and the

Table 15. Mean Number of Births and Total Fertility Rate by Ten-Year Period, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, Vital Statistics and General Social Survey, 1995

Period	General Social Survey			Vital Statistics		
	Canada	Quebec	Canada less Quebec	Canada	Quebec	Canada less Quebec
1975-84 1985-94	Births per Year					
	365,000	89,000	276,000	356,087	93,230	262,857
	390,000	92,000	298,000	384,456	90,693	293,763
	Total Fertility Rate ¹					
1975-84	1.64	1.55	1.67	1.69	1.58	1.68
1985-94	1.61	1.59	1.62	1.65	1.53	1.68

¹ After age 20.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, *Births*, catalogue No. 84-210, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

older the event (e.g., a birth or the start or end of a union), the greater the risk of memory error. If we presume that the dates of births and current marriages have a high recall rate, inasmuch as such dates are often remembered at each anniversary, we may also presume less accuracy with regard to dates given for previous marriages and divorces, and the start and end of common-law episodes, as these dates are rarely recalled. Since very few people aged 15-19 live as couples (common-law or married), the estimates for this age group are both variable and relatively meaningless. The calculation therefore begins with the 20-24 age group.

Evaluation of Survey Data

By taking the number of births and the total fertility rates obtained by reconstructing the fertility history of women respondents in the survey, regardless of conjugal status, and comparing them to vital-statistics figures, we can evaluate the quality of the former data (Table 15). A slight overestimate can be observed in the number of births calculated according to the General Social Survey. This overestimate is of the order of 1.4% for the most recent period and 2.5% for the earliest period for Canada as a whole. It is of the same order of magnitude in Quebec and the rest of Canada for the 1985-1994 period, but for the earliest period an underestimate of 4.5% is observed for Quebec and an overestimate of 5.0% for the rest of Canada.

For both periods and for Canada, the total fertility rate¹³ obtained by this method is below the one calculated with vital-statistics data. For the period 1975-1984, the difference between the two rates is less than 2% for the two

¹³ Obtained by adding together the fertility rates from 20 to 44 years of age.

regions under study. For the most recent period, the rate obtained using the GSS is about 3.9% higher in Quebec and 3.6% lower in the rest of Canada than that obtained using vital-statistics figures. The overestimate of the number of births can be explained by a bias associated with the telephone-survey method¹⁴, which over-samples persons living in a couple, i.e., those who, on average, are more likely to have had children.

In evaluating the quality of the estimates by conjugal status, the only source is the record of births in Quebec. For several years now, Quebec vital-statistics birth records have included common-law conjugal status, but partly because there are still a number of old registration forms in circulation and partly because the question pertaining to conjugal status is not always understood, this source is not very reliable. For example, 11,000 of the 47,000 married women did not answer this question in 1994, probably because it seemed redundant after the question on marital status, which is not a problem, and 132 said that they were married and did not live as a couple, which is a contradiction¹⁵. However, and more importantly, of 41,000 never-married women, 32,000 (79%) said that they lived as a couple, 6,000 said they did not live as a couple, and 3,000 did not answer the question. According to data for 1994, we can calculate that 53% of births where the conjugal status is known were to married women, 40% were to women living common-law, and 7% were to women who were not in any union. The proportions obtained from the GSS for the period 1990-1994 were 68%, 25% and 7%. It is probable that the percentage of births to common-law mothers would have continued to increase from 1990 to 1994, which would partly account for the differences between the two sources; but it nevertheless appears that the GSS overestimates births to married women and underestimates those to women in common-law unions.

Total Fertility Rates According to Conjugal Status

Table 16 compares the sums of five-year fertility rates, according to conjugal status, for Canada, Quebec and the other provinces for the periods 1975-1984 and 1985-1994. The sum of these rates is comparable to the total fertility

¹⁴ The more members in a household, the greater the likelihood that one of the members is home and responds to the survey when the interviewer calls. Although the rules of the survey dictate that each telephone number selected is to be called 17 times at different times of day and on different days before being dropped, there are always a certain number that the interviewer cannot contact. Each observation is weighted in terms of the size of the household, the age group, sex and province of residence of the respondent, but not in terms of the greater probability of obtaining a response in larger households. In particular, people who live alone are definitely more difficult to reach by telephone interview. The greater percentage of persons living in a couple (Table 2) in the Survey, compared to the percentage observed in the three latest censuses, tends to support this hypothesis.

¹⁵ The answer to the question on legal marital status may be one of the following: single (never married), married, widowed, divorced, legally separated, or separated but not legally. This question is immediately followed by one about the status of the couple, with the following choices only: 1) living as a couple or 2) not living as a couple.

Table 16. Total Fertility Rate (Ages 20-44) by Marital Status, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1975-1994

Region	Married	Common-Law	Not in Union	Total
1975-84				
Canada	2.52	1.20	0.24	1.64
Quebec	2.36	1.51	0.19	1.55
Canada less Quebec	2.57	0.93	0.26	1.67
1985-94				
Canada	2.87	1.44	0.31	1.61
Quebec	2.92	1.58	0.34	1.59
Canada less Quebec	2.85	1.30	0.30	1.62

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

rate, but specific to each conjugal state. It is a period rate, which is more difficult to interpret than the total fertility rate. Like the latter, it represents the average number of children that a woman would have over the course of her fertile life, if she demonstrated at each age the series of age-specific fertility rates observed during the period. However, unlike the total fertility rate, an additional condition applies, i.e., she must remain in that particular conjugal status throughout her fertile life, which is even more unrealistic. For example, based on these calculations, the Canadian rate for 1985-1994 is 2.87 children per married woman, which means that if a woman remained continuously married from the age of 20 until the age of 44, and demonstrated throughout her life the fertility observed for married women in 1985-1994, she would have an average of 2.87 children. The rate is 1.44 for women in common-law unions and 0.31 for women not living in a couple.

There is much to be learned from this table. As expected, the number of children per woman is higher for married women than for those in a common-law union or those not in any union. *In Canada* as a whole, for the two periods, *the rate for married women is nearly double that of women who have spent their entire fertile life in a common-law union: 2.87 compared to 1.44 for 1985-1994, and 2.52 compared to 1.20 for 1975-1984*. Also as expected, there is less of a difference between the total fertility rates for the two groups of women in Quebec than in the rest of Canada. *In Quebec, the fertility of married couples is 60% to 90% higher than that of common-law couples but in the rest of Canada it is 120% to 180% higher*.

While there is little difference in fertility between married women in Quebec and the rest of Canada, the gap is significant for women in common-law unions. *During the period 1975-1984, common-law couples were 60% more fertile in Quebec than in the rest of Canada (1.51 children per woman, compared to 0.93)*. Between the two periods, the fertility rate has remained relatively stable for common-law unions in Quebec (5% increase), while the

fertility rate of common-law couples in the rest of Canada has increased strongly, by 40%. *In the more recent period, the difference between the two is thus smaller, but common-law couples in Quebec are still more fertile.*

However, the hypothesis that the fertility rates of married women and women in common-law unions will converge over time is not entirely supported by these results. The expected convergence was to have resulted from an increase in the fertility of common-law couples, but such an increase was observed only in Canada not including Quebec. Furthermore, the hypothesis did not allow for an increase in *the fertility of married couples*, and yet it *increased in both Quebec and the rest of Canada from one period to the next. This unexpected increase in “legitimate” fertility is no doubt due to a selection effect by which increasingly couples choosing marriage are also those most likely to have children.*

Fertility outside of either union is insignificant in both regions and for both periods (0.19 to 0.34 children per woman). There is no appreciable increase from one period to the next, nor are there any major differences between the two regions, which corroborates the impression stated at the very beginning of this chapter, that the spectacular increase in the number of births outside of marriage is caused by the increase in the number of common-law unions.

The situation presents another interesting example of Simpson's paradox, resulting from the changing composition of a population. The number of children per married woman has definitely increased from one period to the next, by 24% in Quebec and by 11% in the rest of Canada. In common-law unions, the number of children per woman has increased slightly in Quebec (5%), but has risen strongly in the rest of Canada, by 40%. And yet, the number of children per woman for the overall population, regardless of conjugal status, has gone down from one period to the next in the rest of Canada. In Quebec, the slight increase observed (3%) for all conjugal statuses is lower than that observed for married women or women in common-law unions. This paradox cannot be explained by low fertility outside of any conjugal union, especially since it increases slightly between the two periods. Rather, it is due to the significant increase in the number of women in common-law unions, which changes the relative weight of both populations within the whole.

Conclusion

Two changes are thus occurring at the same time: fertility is declining and common-law unions are on the rise. Both appear to obey a certain fundamental logic. However, one must be wary of seeing a cause and effect relation between them, since it is highly likely that other factors are influencing both the conjugal choice and the number of children wanted and being born.

Another possible implication of these results concerns the evolution of the number of single-parent families. Common-law unions, even fertile ones, are less stable than legal marriages (Desrosiers and Lebourdais, 1996), and the number of couples choosing a common-law relationship over marriage continues to increase. If common-law unions continue to be less stable than legal marriages, the increase in the fertility and number of such unions will be additional factors in the increase in the number of single-parent families.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FIRST UNIONS¹⁶

The growing popularity of the common-law union as a first union leads to questions about the dynamics of their formation. In particular, it would be interesting to know the social characteristics associated with the choice of one form of union over the other. The retrospective nature of the General Social Survey provides the information necessary to analyse the transition from one conjugal state to another. The data are presented here to help determine what leads to the establishment of first common-law unions. The objective is to pinpoint the demographic and socio-demographic characteristics that are more likely to lead to a common-law union rather than a marriage as a first union.

Several of these characteristics are well known, as are their effects on the type of union chosen, e.g., cohort, place of residence, mother tongue and religious practice. A number of tables presented in the preceding chapters provide a good indication of the effect of these variables on the choice of conjugal lifestyle among the population observed in the study. From the start, we can hypothesize, without any great risk of error, that younger cohorts, Quebec residents and less religious persons are more likely to establish a first common-law union than are older cohorts, Canadians in provinces other than Quebec, and more devout individuals.

Unfortunately, one of the weaknesses of cross-tabulation is that it does not reveal causes and does not control for possible concurrent effects. For example, when discussing the establishment of a first common-law union, we might posit that the group of cohorts to which people belong partly explains the variation in risk observed between individuals. The same can be said with regard to degree of religious practice, or the fact that someone lives in Quebec as opposed to another province. But at the same time, religious practice tends to decline from one cohort to the next in Canada, and the differences from one cohort to the next in this regard are greater in Quebec than elsewhere. It is therefore very difficult, without any other tools, to determine what part of the relationship observed between each of these variables and the decision to live in a common-law union is attributable to that variable, and what part should

¹⁶ The following text was written in collaboration with Pierre Turcotte.

THE ANALYTICAL TOOL: EVENT-HISTORY ANALYSIS

Event-history analysis is a time-honoured technique in medicine, biology and engineering. The parametric variants of these models are rarely used in the social sciences because it is necessary to specify the effect of time on the risk being studied, which is often impossible in this field where experimental research is rare. Not until Cox (1972) developed the theory for a less restrictive semi-parametric model did the first social-science applications appear. This model, known as the proportional-hazards model, deals with the problem of the effect of time on hazard by proposing that the hazards for any two individuals have a constant ratio over time. Now that statistical software such as SAS and SPSS, which make it easier to estimate the parameters of the model, have become widely available, more applications of this kind of analysis have been developed.

Its growing popularity can be explained by the fact that it combines two familiar tools of analysis: attrition tables and regression.¹ The dependent variable in these analytical models is a measurement comparable to the probability in a life table: the probability of a transition from one state to another, but conditional on the fact that the individual is still at risk of experiencing the transition. The use of conditional probabilities is necessary to obtain an unbiased estimator when there is the possibility of censorship, such as when only one part of the history is known.

Unlike the classic regression model, the parameters of this model are not determined by the least-squares method, but by the maximum-

be attributed to another. Creating sub-populations and increasing the number of cross-tabulations results in more cells in the table and the increased risk that many of them will contain numbers too small to analyse. This chapter reports the results of an event-history analysis (see Sidebar). The advantage of the results from such an analysis is that they are easy to interpret in terms of the effect of the variables on the establishment of a common-law union, and that they take into consideration the effect of other variables included in the analytical model.

Data Sources

The analysis is limited to first unions for two reasons. As already mentioned, the first union occupies a special place in a person's life. Furthermore, for

likelihood method. Nevertheless, as with the coefficients obtained by the least-squares method, we can estimate the standard error associated with the distribution of each coefficient, and compare it to the normal distribution in order to establish a statistical significance test (Student's-t test). For this analysis, we have used the 5% threshold most often used in the social sciences. That means we are prepared to be wrong one time out of twenty by inferring a relationship that does not really exist. Another important difference compared to the classic regression model is the possibility of easily integrating explanatory variables that vary over time. This analysis has three such variables: the presence of a child prior to the union, student status and the obtaining of a full-time job. Note also that the objective of the event-history-analysis model is not to explain the relation between duration and the transition rate, since this is eliminated by using a semi-parametric model, but rather to estimate the effect of each of the independent variables on the differences observed between respondents holding constant the effects of all the other independent variables included in the model.

¹ For a simple description of the advantages of these models compared to classic regression models, and the interpretation of results, see Allison (1984) and Laplante (1995). For details on the statistical theory supporting the models, see Kalbfleisch and Prentice (1980), Lawless (1982), Blossfeld, Hamerle and Mayer (1989), or Courgeau and Lelièvre (1989).

consistency's sake, it is necessary to analyse first unions separately from other unions, because the explanatory factors are often different from those that lead to subsequent unions. In particular, conjugal history (age at first union, number and duration of previous unions, etc.) must be taken into account when analysing subsequent unions; with first unions, there is obviously no conjugal history to consider.

The 1995 General Social Survey identified 8,680 first unions, including 6,204 marriages and 2,476 first common-law unions. While it was relatively easy for respondents to recall the sequence of events, it was sometimes difficult for them to remember the exact date when each episode of conjugal life began, particularly with regard to common-law unions and even more to remember the date of the first one for those who had experienced several such unions.

As a general rule, respondents had little trouble recalling the year the first union began: only 104 (1.7%) could not remember the year of their first marriage, while 105 (4.2%) forgot the year their first common-law union began. These 209 cases were excluded from the analysis. The duration of exposure to risk is measured in tenths of a year in this analysis, which means the month in which the union began must also be known, and the rate of recall was much lower for this variable. With regard to first marriages, 270 people, or 4.4% of the 6,204, could not remember the month. More serious was the fact that nearly one-quarter (576 persons, or 23.3%) of the respondents whose first union was common-law had forgotten the month in which that first union began. Excluding all these cases might have seriously biased the results; therefore it was considered preferable to keep them on the assumption that, on average, such unions had begun in the middle of the year.¹⁷

Hypotheses Tested¹⁸

The multivariate statistical analysis of first-union formation has as its goal the estimation of the effect of each independent variable (or explanatory variable) on the difference observed between respondents in experiencing one or the other type of first union (the dependent variable), while controlling for the effect of the other variables included in the model. The dependent variable is thus the probability of entering a first union (common-law or marriage) at a given age among respondents who have not yet been in any union. Marriage and common-law unions are considered to be competing events, because each respondent can have only one first union, either common-law or legal. There are thus two possible kinds of censorship: either the person has not yet been in a first union at the time of the survey, or the person's first union is the competing risk, that is, the person marries and leaves the population likely to have a first common-law union, or conversely, the person establishes a common-law union and thereby leaves the population likely to marry. This section presents the arguments justifying the introduction of the different independent variables into the model.

The recent proliferation of common-law unions is often linked to many other social changes that have also influenced conjugal behaviour and fertility. Increased education among women and the great numbers of them in the labour market have promoted their economic independence and diminished the benefits traditionally derived from marriage. The dissociation of sexuality

¹⁷ This hypothesis minimizes the average duration between the (unknown) month in which the event really happened and the month attributed. The effect of this attribution on the model results was tested by comparing them with results obtained with two other hypotheses, one assuming that all unions with unknown starting dates began at the start of the year, and the other assuming they began at the end of the year. The model appears robust since, despite the considerable number of cases in which months were unknown, the comparison revealed no significant differences.

¹⁸ The analysis in this chapter is limited to women.

from marriage and of fertility from marriage, the decline in religious practice, and the redefinition of roles and expectations within the couple, have all changed the model of conjugal history for younger cohorts. The General Social Survey data allow us to measure the effect of some of these factors on the establishment of common-law unions in Canada.

Common-law relationships have only recently become socially acceptable, and for many Canadian cohorts, there was no real alternative to marriage at the time they reached the age when people tend to establish a first union. Given the relative novelty of this type of union, we should expect that the younger the cohort, the greater the likelihood the respondent will have chosen it. Four variables grouping birth cohorts (women born before 1951, born 1951-1960, born 1961-1970, and born 1971-1980) allow the measurement of the effect of period of birth. The reference group is women born between 1961 and 1970.

There are also a number of cultural characteristics associated with the likelihood of establishing a first common-law union. The model takes into account the higher incidence and more rapid spread of common-law unions in Quebec, in combination with mother tongue. Geographical region is defined based on the respondent's place of residence at the time of the survey. It would have been preferable to use the region of residence at the time the union was established, but this information is not available, since no data were collected on respondents' migratory history. However, mobility between Quebec and the rest of Canada is proportionately low¹⁹ and the inaccuracy of the measurement probably has a negligible effect on the risk ratios. The French-mother-tongue group includes persons who answered that French was their only mother tongue; it is compared to all other linguistic groups combined. This variable allows the behaviour of Francophone Quebecers to be isolated and compared to that of other linguistic groups in the province and elsewhere in Canada, as well as with Francophones outside Quebec. We can thus examine the effect of region of residence in interaction with mother tongue, and thereby determine whether, with regard to conjugal behaviour, Francophone Quebecers are different from other linguistic groups in the province and from Francophones outside Quebec.

To the extent that religions value institutions, religious people are inclined to respect the precepts of their faith, but a measurement of religious practice is preferable to the mere naming of the religion declared by the respondent since it offers a better indication of an individual's beliefs and his or her attachment to the behaviour valued. The fact that most Quebecers are baptized in the Catholic religion no longer guarantees their obedience to the rules of

¹⁹ In 1994, for example, the 26,000 persons from other provinces who settled in Quebec represented 0.4% of the Quebec population, and the 40,000 persons from Quebec who left to live elsewhere in Canada represented 0.2% of the population of the other provinces.

the Church. On the other hand, there is probably little difference between a Protestant fundamentalist and a practising Catholic with regard to what they consider acceptable conjugal and family life. Individual conservatism or liberalism concerning the acceptance of common-law unions and the forsaking of marriage is more likely to be related to the frequency of religious practice than to the religious label by which a person chooses to be identified. Religious practice is measured by the number of times respondents said they attended services during the year preceding the survey. Respondents were divided into three groups: practising (attended mass or other religious services²⁰ at least once a week over the previous 12 months), non-practising (did not attend any mass or other services in the previous 12 months), and intermittent (had attended mass or other services at least once in the year but less often than once a week). We would obviously expect that the probability of establishing a common-law relationship will be inversely correlated with religious practice.

Another variable attempts to measure the possibly varying attraction of marriage for new Canadians and native-born Canadians, taking into account the country of birth (Canadian or foreign-born). Immigration law does not consider common-law unions a substitute for marriage. In fact, a couple must be married for a spouse to be admitted.

Family history can have an influence on an individual's later conjugal behaviour. Other studies have shown that people who, as children, experienced the separation of their parents tend to leave home earlier and are more likely to form a non-traditional family (single-parent, common-law). A dichotomous variable measures the effect of parental divorce on the probability of marrying or establishing a first common-law union. This variable is constructed based on the answer to a question in the General Social Survey concerning changes in the parents' conjugal situation during the respondent's childhood.

Entering the labour market and having a first child are transitions that occur in early adulthood in interaction with the establishment of a first union. Two variables in the model take into account the effect of these transitions on the probability of establishing a first common-law union or first marriage. They are dichotomous variables that vary over time, that is, they come into play only from the moment the transition has occurred (i.e., the person has a child or begins a full-time job).

Income, occupation and education are approximate measures of socioeconomic status, and in that sense, one or another must be included to take into account the possible differences in behaviour between socioeconomic groups. It seems more relevant to measure these variables at the time the union is established, rather than at the time of the survey, but none was the

²⁰ Respondents were asked to count attendance at regular services only, not including special events such as weddings, funerals and baptisms.

Table 17. Risk Ratios¹ for Models of Entering a First Union (Common-Law and Marriage) for Specified Socio-Demographic Variables, Women, Canada, 1995

Independent Variables			Marriage	Common-Law
Cohort	-1971-1980		0.46	1.33
	-1961-1970		1.00	1.00
	-1951-1960		1.88	0.70
	-1950 and Before		2.11	0.13
Region / Mother Tongue	-Quebec	-French	1.00	1.00
		-Other	1.36	0.62
	-Canada less Quebec	-French	1.53	0.82 ²
		-Other	1.54	0.61
Birthplace	-Canada		1.00	1.00
	-Outside Canada		0.94 ²	0.52
Religious Practice	-Never		0.86	1.45
	-Sometimes		1.00	1.00
	-Once a Week		0.93 ²	0.52
Divorce of Parents	-Yes		1.01 ²	1.77
	-No		1.00	1.00
Education	-Less than Secondary		1.13 ²	0.88 ²
	-Secondary or Vocational		1.00	1.00
	-University		0.83	1.18 ²
Student	-Yes		0.49	0.68
	-No		1.00	1.00
Employed	-Yes		0.87	1.66
	-No		1.00	1.00
Presence of Child	-Yes		1.22	1.45
	-No		1.00	1.00

¹ The risk, relative to that of the reference group (1.00), of entering a first union, holding constant the other independent variables in the model.

² The difference of these risk ratios from the reference category is not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$).

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

subject of a retrospective question. Nevertheless, at the cost of a few hypotheses regarding average age at graduation, and taking into consideration provincial differences, it is possible to retrace the educational history of survey respondents. We thus create a variable, the value of which varies over time in accordance with these standard histories and the highest level of education at the time of the survey.

Results

The results of the multivariate statistical analysis of the establishment of first unions are presented in Table 17 and pertain to the female population²¹ only. The dynamics of establishing a first union differ sufficiently from those

²¹ The parameters were estimated using the SAS/STAT PHREG procedure.

of subsequent unions, in particular with regard to tempo, to justify a separate analysis. Results for men are not presented, but the results obtained for men are not significantly different from those observed for women.

Risk ratios²², rather than regression coefficients, are routinely presented. They are simply the value of the exponent of the coefficient and have the advantage of being easy to interpret. We are therefore presenting the risk ratios. In this form, the influence of each variable is considered in direct comparison to the reference group. A variable will have a risk ratio equal to one, if, in comparison to the reference group, it has no effect on the transition rate; the risk ratio will be greater than one if it has a positive effect, and less than one (but greater than zero) if the effect is negative. As we see on the first line, for example, the risk ratio of the 1971-1980 group of cohorts is 1.33 for the formation of a first common-law union and 0.46 for a first marriage. The interpretation is that, independently of the effect of the other variables in the model, a woman born between 1971 and 1980 is 33% more likely to have a common-law relationship as a first union than a woman born between 1961 and 1970 (the reference group), and about half as likely (46%) to have a marriage as a first union.

We note right away that, with only three exceptions, all the coefficients are significant at the 5% threshold for the model applied to first common-law unions, which means that it is justified to assume that the effect measured is real. However, in four cases (less than secondary education, parents' divorce, place of birth and weekly religious practice), the results do not allow conclusions to be drawn about their influence on the establishment of a first marriage. These variables are maintained for the purpose of comparison between the model applied to first unions by common-law unions and that applied to first unions by marriage. The only valid interpretation of these variables is that they have no significant effect on the probability of forming a first union, whether a marriage or a common-law union as the case may be.

The Effect of Period of Birth

Notwithstanding the effect of the other variables in the model, the effect of period of birth remains important. As expected, compared to older cohorts, more people among younger cohorts choose common-law unions as a first union and fewer choose marriage. It is instructive to compare the evolution of risk ratios for the two types of union for different groups of cohorts. Women born between 1951 and 1960 are slightly less likely ($1.88 / 2.11 = 0.89$) to form a first union by marriage than older cohorts (women born before 1951), but they are more than five times as likely to form a first union by a common-

²² Risk ratios measure the probability that the members of the group experience the event compared to that of the members of the reference group. They are net measures in that they hold constant the effect of the other variables included in the model.

law union ($0.70 / 0.13 = 5.38$). This latter ratio is obviously exaggerated by the fact that common-law unions were a marginal phenomenon for older cohorts. When one starts from next to nothing, even the slightest increase in popularity results in a relatively important difference. At this stage, the likelihood of forming a first common-law union thus increases without any major effect on the likelihood of forming a first marriage. A comparison of the risk ratios for the next two groups of cohorts shows that the popularity of common-law unions continues to rise, but now clearly at the expense of marriage. Compared to women born ten years earlier, women born between 1961 and 1970 are almost 50% ($1.00 / 0.70 = 1.43$) more likely to form a first union that is a common-law union, and half as likely to choose marriage ($1.00 / 1.88 = 0.53$). Comparing the risk ratios for the two youngest groups of cohorts, we note a reduced increase in common-law unions, and the continued decline of marriage. Compared to women born between 1961 and 1970, those born between 1971 and 1980 are 33% more likely to choose a common-law union as a first union, but they are just under half as likely (0.46) to choose marriage. It would appear, therefore, that at first marriage did not lose its appeal, despite the appearance of the common-law union. As time goes on, there seems to be a kind of compensation between the two types of union, with the relative gains won by common-law unions about equal to the losses suffered by marriage. Among the youngest cohorts, marriage is less and less popular as a first union, but the advances made by common-law unions, which were already popular among women born between 1961 and 1970, are relatively less important than among the two preceding groups of cohorts, which is not at all surprising, since we are looking at proportions.

Comparing the first and last groups of cohorts, we note how quickly the change occurred as regards to the popularity of one type of union over the other as first conjugal choice. The vast majority of women born before 1950 formed their first union before the mid-1970s, that is, before the common-law union was widely accepted as an alternative to marriage. *All other things being equal, within about 30 years, the risk of forming a common-law relationship as a first union was multiplied by 10 ($1.33 / 0.13 = 10.23$) and the risk of choosing marriage as a first union among younger cohorts is about one-fifth that of the older ones ($0.46 / 2.11 = 0.22$).*

The Culture Effect

The variable combining region of residence and mother tongue reveals the existence of differences between Quebec Francophones and the members of the other linguistic communities living in the province in terms of entering a first common-law union or marriage, but also substantial uniformity among non-Francophones in the two regions under study. *Quebec Francophones are the group most likely to choose a common-law union as a first union and least likely to choose marriage as a first union.* The behaviour of

Francophones outside Quebec in terms of a common-law union as a first union does not differ significantly from that of Quebec Francophones, but they are more inclined than the latter to form a first union by marriage. Non-Francophones, on the other hand, show more traditional conjugal choices and are more alike in the two regions. These observations reflect the more rapid development of common-law unions in Quebec, due in part to the fact that the phenomenon is more widespread among Francophones, and indicate that *the cultural effect, measured by mother tongue, is more important in explaining the difference between groups than mere region of residence.*

Religious practice has a greater effect on the risk of forming a common-law union as a first union than on the risk of marrying. *Women who said they had not attended religious services at all during the 52 weeks preceding the survey are 2.79 times more likely to form a first common-law union than those who attended services weekly.* However, they are only 8% less likely ($0.86 / 0.93 = 0.92$) to choose marriage as a first union than those who attended services regularly. Furthermore, the only significant differences between the three groups (no attendance, occasional attendance and weekly attendance) are with regard to the establishment of a first common-law union. We could say, then, that the risk of forming a common-law union as a first union decreases with religious practice. Women who attend services regularly are just as likely to choose marriage as those who attend occasionally; the only difference is with those who do not attend at all.

Women born in Canada are almost twice as likely as immigrant women to choose a common-law union as a first union, although being born in Canada or outside the country has no effect on the choice of marriage as a first union.

The Effect of Parental Separation

The separation or divorce of one's parents is significant for those who experience the event as children. The results of Table 17 show the influence of separation on the child's later conjugal behaviour: *women whose parents separated before they were 15 are about 77% more likely to form a common-law union as a first union than those whose parents did not separate.* However, the likelihood that they will marry first is not significantly different from that of women whose parents did not divorce when they were children. As explanation, it can be suggested that, having experienced a separation often more difficult for the child to accept than the parents, the notion that a marriage is more stable than a common-law union is excluded from the conception the child forms of life as a couple. Marriage thus loses one of its theoretical advantages over common-law relationships; but we would then expect that the likelihood of choosing a legal marriage as a first union would be lower for women whose parents separated, which is not confirmed. Often, however,

the parents themselves choose to live common-law with another spouse following the break-up of the marriage. Even if they marry a second time, this second marriage is almost inevitably preceded by dating, which becomes more intimate over time, and to a child or teenager appears no different than a common-law union. It may therefore be possible that the children choose common-law unions in imitation of the behaviour of their separated parents.

The Effect of Education and Employment

Level of education may have an effect on the age at which people establish their first union. The years following the end of formal schooling are the ones during which people are most likely to form a union, and those who do not continue their education enter the marriage (or conjugal) market sooner than others. For those who continue their studies, the first years of exposure to risk correspond to the time when they are finishing high school and beginning university; the likelihood of their forming a union is thus reduced. It is therefore necessary to take into account not only the final level of education, but also student status at the time the union is established. In this model, student status is another dichotomous variable that varies over time. As expected, **women who are still students are less likely to form a union, either common-law or legal**, holding constant the other variables in the model. Compared to those still studying, women who are no longer students are one and a half times as likely to form a first common-law union ($1.00 / 0.68 = 1.47$) and twice as likely ($1.00 / 0.49 = 2.04$) to marry.

For those who subscribe to neo-classical economic theory, the decline in nuptiality is partly the result of women's increasing level of education and their participation in the labour market, which increases their financial autonomy and also reduces the benefits they might derive from marriage. Liberated from their dependence on marriage, women may choose a less restrictive, less constraining form of union. The results of our model support this hypothesis only partially. Level of education does not reveal significant differences with regard to the risk of forming a first common-law union. We do note, however, that **women who went to university are less likely to choose marriage as a first union**. Also, working women are more likely to form a common-law union as a first union, while women who are not employed are more likely to form a first union by marriage.

Births Prior to the Union

The birth of a child increases the likelihood of establishing a first union. Data available do not reveal whether this first spouse is also the father of the child born before the union is established, but since this is the first union, it is reasonable to assume that a good number of these births in some way forced

the establishment of a union. All other things being equal, *women who gave birth to a child before forming their first union are 45% more likely to choose a common-law union and 22% more likely to marry than women without children.*

Unions in Quebec and the Rest of Canada

The preceding analysis shows the importance of considering the difference between Quebec and the rest of Canada. The effect of region of residence is significant and the associated risk ratio sizable. We have seen that the spread of common-law unions is more advanced in Quebec than in the rest of Canada. Recently-formed unions there are more often common-law unions than marriages. Common-law unions may even have become the norm, in particular with regard to the first union, while in the rest of Canada, the phenomenon is less widespread. The variables that explain the exception may lose their significance when the exception becomes the rule. To test this hypothesis, the same model was applied to two separate samples: respondents in Quebec and respondents in the rest of Canada. The analysis seeks to verify whether the effect of the independent variables is the same in both populations. We are thus looking for differences between the two regions rather than for the effect of the different independent variables on the risk of forming one or the other type of first union.

Table 18 shows the risk ratios for the two sub-populations. The parameters presented here are not directly comparable between the two regions since the risk ratios must be interpreted in comparison to the reference group. For example, in Quebec, compared to the reference group (cohorts born between 1961 and 1970), cohorts born 1951-1960 are just over half as likely (0.60) to begin conjugal life with a common-law union, whereas the ratio between the two groups in the rest of Canada is three-quarters (0.74). Based on the results presented in Table 18, no inference can be made with regard to the relative risk of forming a common-law union in Quebec, compared to the risk of doing so in the rest of Canada, since the reference groups are not the same, but it is possible to determine if the effect of each variable is statistically different in the two regions.

In fact, the effect of the different variables is statistically the same in Quebec and the rest of Canada. The variables that have a positive effect (a risk ratio greater than one) on the establishment of one type of first union in one region, also have a positive effect in the other, and vice versa. Furthermore, for each variable, the confidence intervals calculated for each region overlap. These observations thus justify the analysis undertaken of Canada as a whole. However, a more refined analysis, in particular with regard to the size of the risk ratio, reveals several qualitative differences for one of the explanatory factors in the model.

Table 18. Risk Ratios¹ for Models of Entering a First Union (Common-Law and Marriage) for Specified Socio-Demographic Variables, Women, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995

Independent Variables		Quebec		Canada less Quebec	
		Marriage	Common-Law	Marriage	Common-Law
Cohort	-1971-1980	0.41	1.13 ²	0.47	1.44
	-1961-1970	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	-1951-1960	2.05	0.60	1.83	0.74
	-1950 and Before	2.41	0.08	2.04	0.17
Mother Tongue	-French	0.85 ²	1.66	0.99 ²	1.38
	-Other	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Birthplace	-Canada	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	-Outside Canada	1.25 ²	0.49	0.92 ²	0.53
Religious Practice	-Never	0.81	1.31	0.87	1.54
	-Sometimes	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	-Once a Week	0.86 ²	0.59	0.97 ²	0.50
Divorce of Parents	-Yes	0.52 ²	1.44	1.07 ²	1.89
	-No	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Education	-Less than Secondary	0.99 ²	0.95 ²	1.19	0.79 ²
	-Secondary or Vocational	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	-University	0.84 ²	1.26 ²	0.84	1.19 ²
Student	-Yes	0.43	0.64	0.51	0.70
	-No	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Employed	-Yes	0.63	1.39	0.98	1.87
	-No	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Presence of Child	-Yes	1.38 ²	1.16 ²	1.16	1.59
	-No	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

¹ The risk, relative to that of the reference group (1.00), of entering a first union, holding constant the other independent variables in the model.

² The difference of these risk ratios from the reference category is not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$).

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995 and calculations by the author.

The Generation Gap is Wider in Quebec

In Quebec, cohorts born between 1971 and 1980 (these are the youngest in the sample, aged 15-24 at the time of the survey) are not statistically different from the preceding group of cohorts (1961-1970) with regard to the relative risk of choosing a common-law relationship as a first union; but in the rest of Canada, younger cohorts show a relative risk that is 44% higher (statistically significant) than the preceding group of cohorts. This observation supports the hypothesis that, in Quebec, common-law unions as first unions have reached maximum intensity within successive cohorts, and that the increase observed from one period to the next in the proportion of persons living in common-law unions in the overall population can be attributed to aging, while in the rest of Canada, the phenomenon is still spreading and the trend toward common-law unions continues to grow from one group of cohorts to the next.

We also note that in Quebec, the relative risk of women in older cohorts forming a common-law union first is much lower, compared to cohorts born

between 1961 and 1970, than it is between the same cohorts in the rest of Canada. For example, in Quebec, the relative risk among the oldest cohorts is a twelfth that of the 1961-1970 cohorts (8%), while in the rest of Canada, the ratio is only a sixth (17%). This is *an indication of the greater gap between older and younger cohorts of Quebec women, as regards their interest in common-law unions*; the generation gap between cohorts who grew up prior to the Quiet Revolution in Quebec and those who grew up during and after it appears greater than elsewhere in Canada, where social change occurred more slowly.

Conclusion

In summary, the comparison of risk ratios applied to common-law unions and marriages allows us to classify the different variables in the model in three categories. Factors in the first category have an opposite effect on the two types of unions, factors in the second category have a similar effect on both types of unions, and factors in the third category affect only the establishment of common-law unions and have no measurable effect on the establishment of a legal marriage. *Cohort, place of residence, mother tongue, religious practice and employment status are all variables that have an effect on the probability of forming a common-law union that is opposite to their effect on the probability of forming a marriage. The birth of a child prior to the establishment of a union increases the probability of forming a union, while student status reduces that probability, regardless of the type of union chosen. Finally, place of birth and parental divorce affect only the establishment of common-law unions.*

GENERAL COMMENTS

The enthusiasm for common-law unions, or more precisely the disenchantment with marriage in Canada at the end of the 20th century, is not a chance occurrence. This disaffection appeared at the same time as the number of divorces began increasing because both phenomena result from the same thinking. After all, if legal authorities in Western societies, in particular those that have been marked by Catholicism, can agree to end a marriage and thus cancel the provisions associated with it, why would they not recognize couples that have not been formally legitimized?

The tendency to reject marriage as a conjugal choice is evidently part of a social revolution—one of a series of rejections of institutions founded on a social order that is falling out of fashion. The origins of the institution of marriage date back to rudimentary and empirical concepts about the passing on of life, to which was added the passing on of assets. Throughout the ages, marriage has always been an expression of civic and moral values based on the knowledge of the era in which it emerged. The institution relied for support

on premises that became obsolete under the influence of major scientific discoveries—and the techniques associated with them—in many fields, particularly biology, and specifically reproduction. In some ways, marriage is a social commodity that combined legal considerations with religious traditions to the satisfaction of most people, until now. But it was predictable that, cut off from its roots, the institution would run into trouble. The easy availability of contraceptives, which offered control over reproduction and severed its link to sex, dealt a heavy blow to a social order based largely upon the obligations that reproduction entailed. Ultimately, marriage was created because family demanded it; it was built into an institution to which anyone who wished to live as a couple had to submit, whether they wanted children or not. In the days when the term “society” encompassed a more limited reality, marriage, by assigning rights and obligations to the members of the basic family unit, established a highly effective form of order. This led to the assignment of roles and duties, assuring a spousal complementarity that is now tending to disappear.

Similarly, marriage, at its height testified to people’s implicit capacity to procreate. Consequently, annulment, and in some cases the repudiation of the wife, could be contemplated if the union did not bear fruit. Marriage also attested to the possibility of taking charge of a family. Young people of marriageable age had to be marriageable, that is, they had to have no defects or handicaps that could prevent them from assuming the responsibilities marriage implied. Here again, the development of science and the resulting moral standards have made it possible for many individuals to be married, by lightening the load of direct responsibilities. Married people, on the other hand, have gradually lost some of the respectability that privileged status once conferred. Not that long ago, a woman who was unmarried at 20 was called an “old maid” and society questioned the maturity of a man who was unmarried at 30. But solidarity among members of a more populous society has allowed for the emergence of systems to protect and assist individuals by means of anonymity and equality, reducing the important role once played by marriage. The use of contraceptives to control fertility freed women from the home, where most were traditionally confined. This allowed them to seek education and paid employment. Roles within the couple changed as spouses were no longer tied by a relationship of dependence and, in some cases, the validity of marriage itself was questioned.

Seen in this way, marriage is a union that can be annulled at any time without serious consequences. It is not surprising that, under such conditions, we have seen the spread of the unsolemn union that can only result from mutual consent and imprecise commitments. From 1981 to 1995, the number of persons in common-law unions in Canada rose from 700,000 to about two million. At the start of the period, one couple in every sixteen was not married; by the end, it was one in seven.

It is evidently in the interest of the partners in a common-law union to protect themselves by making a contract. This involves more complex legal

formalities than marriage, which automatically includes many of the same provisions. However, there is no denying that some of those provisions were not acceptable to the parties concerned.

Like most changes in social mores, the common-law union was introduced primarily by younger cohorts. A society that had grown more permissive first tolerated "trial marriages," a move made easier by the fact that the growing number of divorces were highlighting the undesirable aspects of a marriage concluded in haste. But an ever-increasing number of young people allowed their trial marriages to endure, then realized that legalizing the union would not change anything, not even if they were to have children. The continuing growth of this minority of young couples caused older people, in particular those whose first experience had been unsuccessful, to reflect on the pros and cons of marriage. In this way, the common-law union, initially introduced by the young, found further support among older cohorts, who began seeing it as a viable conjugal option.

However, such a change in moral standards in a country like Canada involves the very cultures and legal systems that the earlier mores produced, leading to situations that seem at first glance paradoxical. It would be simplistic to believe that all common-law unions are the result of legal considerations. They may be created for many other reasons, but they are particularly widespread in Quebec, where the Civil Code does not recognize them, and leaves the partners unprotected should they break up. Compare this to the rest of Canada, where, under certain conditions, the common-law considers such unions equivalent to marriage with regard to family law. One explanation may be found in Quebec law, which stipulates that all assets acquired during the marriage (*acquêts*) must be shared by the couple in the case of divorce. When two people are considering living together, the one who believes he or she has the greater potential for wealth will obviously be less inclined to choose an option that would make him or her the "loser" if the relationship were to end. Choosing a common-law union avoids such a situation. By comparison, the partners in a consensual union under common-law are considered more like married people: they do not have the alternative Quebecers do, and are probably less reluctant to marry, knowing that even in a common-law union they would be considered married partners and have to share the *acquêts* if the relationship were to break up.

It is also probable that, in a society long influenced by the Church, many people now freed from clerical restraints are eschewing marriage, confusing the religious commitment with the legal consequences it has always had. However, it is primarily the social acceptability of cohabitation that is causing many couples to simply leave things as they are, and continue enjoying the happy times of a new relationship, without formally legalizing it. For the time being, Quebecers, in particular young Quebecers, are far more likely to live together than to marry, and this study shows that Canadians in the rest of the country are following in their footsteps.

Nevertheless, the phenomenon is still recent, and notwithstanding the analysis of who chooses to live in a common-law union, how many unions they have, how long the unions last, how they end, etc., the important question will be how the situation evolves. We can certainly expect that things will change and that equity between individuals will be a priority, with our laws being modified accordingly. We cannot preclude the possibility of amendments to the Civil Code in Quebec that might recognize the rights, privileges and obligations of common-law partners. There may also be changes in how other provinces handle certain cases under the common-law. Nor can we predict how coming generations will view the society in which they are the main characters, or to which values they will subscribe. As far as the immediate future is concerned, all signs point to a continued increase in common-law unions, although this may not be as rapid as it was in the recent past. Centuries-old customs leave certain habits in a society's subconscious that have a strange way of accommodating the contradictions created as knowledge changes. In all likelihood, both types of union will continue to coexist for some time, with many people experiencing one or the other, depending on the interests at stake in each case. The "marriage crisis" provoked by the growing popularity of the common-law union as a viable substitute is certainly not the first society has ever known, and it would be premature indeed to declare *Delenda Carthago*.

Appendices

Table A2.1. Population (In Thousands) Aged 15 and Over by Marital Status and Age Group, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1995

Age Group	Common-Law	Married	Ever Married	Single	Total
Quebec					
15-19	**	**	**	479	496
20-24	103	**	**	330	473
25-29	179	140	**	201	530
30-34	195	301	**	124	655
35-39	145	364	62 *	90	661
40-44	107	360	72 *	56 *	595
45-49	60 *	355	82	40 *	537
50-54	48 *	267	87	**	432
55 +	53 *	897	423	85	1,458
Total	907	2,718	775	1,437	5,837
Canada less Quebec					
15-19	**	**	**	1,445	1,477
20-24	203	197	**	1,141	1,561
25-29	246	722	90 *	646	1,705
30-34	208	1,296	138 *	358	2,000
35-39	116 *	1,449	180	182	1,927
40-44	142 *	1,205	225	139 *	1,711
45-49	83 *	1,171	180	97 *	1,531
50-54	64 *	891	167	**	1,163
55 +	83 *	2,862	1,224	183	4,352
Total	1,176	9,796	2,225	4,231	17,427
Canada					
15-19	**	**	**	1,925	1,973
20-24	306	231	**	1,471	2,034
25-29	425	862	100	848	2,235
30-34	403	1,598	172	482	2,656
35-39	261	1,814	242	272	2,588
40-44	249	1,565	297	195	2,306
45-49	143	1,526	261	137	2,068
50-54	112	1,158	255	70 *	1,594
55 +	136	3,759	1,647	268	5,810
Total	2,082	12,514	3,000	5,668	23,264

* Estimate is variable and must be interpreted with caution.

** Estimate is too variable to be published.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1995.

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- *The suicide rate is falling for Canada as a whole but is increasing in Quebec.*
- *Alzheimer's disease is now killing more Canadians than AIDS.*
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Statistics Canada
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Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1997

Current Demographic Analysis

Alain Bélanger and Jean Dumas

with the collaboration of Cathy Oikawa and Laurent Martel

Jean Dumas
Editor

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DEMOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTS

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Highlights

PART I

- For 1996, the overall rate of population increase was 10.7 per 1,000, the lowest since 1985. This low growth rate is due to the steady decline in natural increase. In five years, natural increase fell by 27%, going from 207,000 in 1991 to only 151,100 in 1996. This trend is due to the aging of the population, which results in fewer births and a greater number of deaths despite declining mortality.
- Newfoundland is living through difficult years in demographic terms. In no other province has the fall-off in growth been so dramatic. In 1996 Newfoundland experienced strong negative growth (-11.7 per 1,000). The total fertility rate, which at 1.31 was already the lowest in Canada in 1994, declined further in 1995 to a historic low of 1.25 children per woman.
- Even though its growth rate was down slightly (from 23.7 per 1,000 in 1995 to 22.2 per 1,000 in 1996), British Columbia continued to lead in population growth. This was primarily due to a high level of net international migration of 43,100 people.

XXX

- Owing to the aging of the population and a low birth rate, a very low rate of natural increase is causing the European Economic Area to have a minimal growth rate of 2.8 per 1,000.
- In Europe, immigration plays a greater role in population growth than the excess of births over deaths. In Canada, natural increase and immigration contribute nearly equally to growth. By contrast, in the United States, net migration (740,000) is only a third of the total growth.

XXX

- The very slight increase in the number of marriages in 1994 and 1995 was only a brief episode. The decline has resumed. The 156,691 marriages registered in 1996 represented a drop of 3,560 (2.2%) from the number registered in 1995. Such a low number of marriages has not been seen since 1966.
- Remarriage is declining in popularity. For men in particular, the rate fell from 63.2 per 1,000 in 1991 to 45.4 per 1,000 in 1996.

- In 1996, 71,528 divorces were decreed. This represents a decrease of 6,108 decrees (7.9%) from the year before. It is in the recent cohorts of marriage that the divorce rate appears to be declining the most.
- Marriages preceded by a common-law union are less solid than unions sealed by marriage vows at the beginning. After ten years of conjugal life, 18% of marriages preceded by a common-law union were dissolved, compared to only 10% of those not preceded by a period of living common-law.

XXX

- The decline in the birth rate since the early 1990s is clearly reflected in the shrinking of the base of the population pyramid for 1996. Unlike the drop observed in the 1960s, this new decline is structural in nature: there is no longer much change in the fertility rate, but the number of women of childbearing age is decreasing.
- Third births, which are indispensable if the population is to be maintained at the replacement level, have become rare. They generally occur in cases where the woman is young when she has her first child and the second child is born shortly after the first. Women who have their first child before age 25 are 2.5 times more likely to have a third child than those who are still childless at age 30, and 1.6 times more likely than those who had their first child between ages 25 and 29.
- Women born either at the beginning or the end of the baby boom, along with those born during the “baby bust” appear to have had the same probabilities of having a third child.
- Women who did not finish high school have a 31% greater probability of having a third child than those who graduated. On the other hand, there appears to be no difference between these women and women who had post-secondary education. Women who work have a much lower probability of having a third child than those who do not work.

XXX

- In a comparison with other Western countries, the dominant characteristic of contraception in Canada is the frequency of the use of sterilization. The 1995 General Social Survey found that in all, for natural, medical or contraceptive causes, 4.5 million Canadian couples in which the woman was under 50 years of age were sterile. They represented nearly half (46%) of all such couples.

- The proportion of couples who have voluntarily undergone sterilization rises rapidly after the woman reaches age 30. In more than a quarter of couples in which the woman is between 30 and 34 years of age, one of the partners has undergone sterilization for contraceptive purposes. In the 35-39 age group, the proportion is nearly half.
- In couples who are sterile by choice, the younger the woman, the greater the probability that it is the man who is sterilized: this is the case in two thirds of such couples in which the woman is aged 25 to 29, but less than half of those in which the woman is aged 45 to 49.
- Sterilization appears to be the preferred method of contraception for Canadian couples who want to limit their offspring to their desired number of children. The proportion of couples in which one partner has been sterilized rises from 14% for couples with one child to 47% for those with two children.
- In the past twenty years, natural methods of contraception have nearly disappeared. In 1976, one married woman in 10 reported using the rhythm method or withdrawal. In 1984, the corresponding proportion was one married woman in 23. In 1995, these methods could be considered as now part of ancient history, since only one married woman in 52 reported using them.

XXX

- Canada is currently in an enviable position in world rankings for life expectancy. Canadians rank 4th for men and 5th for women. In comparison to the United States, Canadian life expectancies for men and women are respectively 3.0 and 2.1 years higher.
- Women's life expectancy gains are slowing, but not those for men. In the last five-year period, men added just over one year to their life expectancy, as compared to only half a year for women. Over the past 20 years, men's life expectancy at birth has increased by 5.2 years, while women's has increased by 3.7 years. Nevertheless, the gap in favour of women remains sizable (5.8 years).
- There are fewer deaths due to AIDS. For the first time since statistics on this cause of death became available (1987), the annual number of deaths attributed to HIV fell in 1996, and the decrease was substantial. The AIDS infection caused the death of 1,306 Canadians in 1996, a decrease of 458 (26%) from the preceding year.

XXX

- With 7.5 immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants in 1996, Canada has a much higher immigration rate than most Western countries with which it can be compared, such as the United States (3.4 per 1,000) and Australia (5.1 per 1,000).
- Immigrants in the economic class are on the increase. They now represent 56% of all immigrants. By contrast, the number of immigrants in the family class is declining. In 1996 it was down 12% from the year before.
- Immigration to Quebec contrasts sharply with immigration to British Columbia in its composition. Whereas two-thirds (66.5%) of immigrants who settled in the Pacific province were in the economic class, only a little over one-third of those bound for Quebec fell into that class.
- Among refugees, one in three settled in Quebec, compared to one in 20 in British Columbia.
- The proportion of Asian immigrants continues to grow. Numbering 145,200, they account for the majority of all immigrants for the year.

PART II

- Mostly because of the difference in life expectancy between the sexes and the usual age difference between spouses, one man in two lives in a couple at age 85 while only one woman in ten does so.
- Half of women aged 75 years and older live alone. But, because they die younger and remarry more readily, only one in ten men lives alone at this age.
- The living arrangements of the elderly are good predictors of whether they will be institutionalized. People living alone, particularly men, are most susceptible to being placed in an institution.
- More and more, the elderly, when they can, prefer to live on their own, away from the children. As life expectancy increases, the coexistence of several generations will also increase, but not necessarily their cohabitation.
- If we find households in which several generations are living together, it is often because the elderly, with low incomes, consider this a means of reducing the cost of living.
- Canada is trying, more and more, to provide the elderly with three or even four sources of income. Diversification provides a better protection against poverty.

- In 1990, less than 45% of women 60 years or older were receiving a pension from the Canada Pension Plan or the Quebec Pension Plan.
- Income-earning activity is strongly linked to one's education. Educated people are the last to leave the labor market.
- The 1991 Census counted only 3% of men aged 50 to 64 without income, but 17% of women.
- In 1990, about 15% of those 65 years and older received only the Old Age Security pension.
- While many women live out their old age alone, it is because they are the most independent financially.

Part I

DEMOGRAPHIC ACCOUNTS

As of January 1, 1997, the population of Canada was estimated at 30,110,700 persons.¹ The net increase of 321,700 persons during the year raised Canada's population over the 30 million mark at the end of the summer of 1996 (Table 1A). ***The net rate of growth for 1996 was 10.7 per 1,000.*** If these preliminary statistics are confirmed by the final data, this would be the lowest rate of increase since 1985. Whereas the low growth rate of the mid-1980s was due to weak international migration, that of 1996 is due to the continuing decrease of natural growth.

In 1996, as in 1992 and 1993, net international migration (175,400) was higher than natural increase (151,100), resulting in the latter being responsible ***for 47% of total growth. In five years, natural growth fell by 27%, from 207,000*** in 1991 to 151,000 in 1996. As a result, the growth rate fell significantly from 6.0 per 1,000 in 1994 to 5.6 in 1995 and, in 1996, it fell again by more than half a point to about 5.0 per 1,000. The ageing of the population reduces natural growth since it is accompanied by an increase in the number of deaths—despite a reduction in the mortality rate—whereas the number of births continues to decrease. In the absence of an increase in fertility, substitution of the depleted childbearing population of the baby bust for the strong baby-boom generations ***will accentuate the decrease in births. As this is not a temporary situation, Canada*** will increasingly have to rely on immigration to sustain its population growth.

Provincial Demographic Accounting

Population growth fell off in most provinces (Table A1, appendix), ***but nowhere as much as in Newfoundland. The rate of population growth in that province, already negative in 1995, fell further by 3.1 points to -11.7*** per 1,000 in 1996. Over the past four years, this province saw its population decrease by 17,900 persons or 3.1 percent of the peak population level recorded in 1993. The total fertility rate, which was the lowest in Canada at 1.31 in 1994 fell again in 1995, reaching a historical low of 1.25 children per woman (Figure 1). But it is on the level of internal migration that Newfoundland posts its greatest loss. While the entrance rate was minimal, the interprovincial migration exit rate for 1996 was 29.8 per 1,000, more than one quarter higher than in 1995. It is much higher than the exit rate for Saskatchewan (20.1 per 1,000), which ranks second among the provinces.

In 1996, British Columbia led the field in terms of population growth, although growth in that province fell slightly from 23.7 per 1,000 in 1995 to

¹ The numbers included in the 1997 accounting, unless otherwise specified, are those which were available on December 30, 1997.

Table 1A. Statement of Population Change, Canada, 1972-1997

Year	Population as of January 1	Total Growth (1)	Births (2)	Deaths (3)	Natural Increase (4) = (2) - (3)	International Immigrants ¹ (5)	Returning Canadians (6)	Inter- national Emigrants ² (7)	Net			Residual ⁴
									Statistical International Immigration ³ (8) = (5) - (7)	Non- Permanent Residents (9)	Growth by Flow (10) = (6) + (9) + (8)	
(in thousands)												
1972	22,157.8	256.7	347.3	162.4	184.9	122.0	37.1	63.2	58.8	3.0	98.8	-27.1
1973	22,414.5	303.7	343.4	164.0	179.3	184.2	37.8	78.5	105.7	7.9	151.4	-27.1
1974	22,718.2	326.3	345.6	166.8	178.9	218.5	36.0	78.0	140.4	-2.0	174.5	-27.1
1975	23,044.4	326.6	359.3	167.2	192.1	187.9	36.4	70.7	117.2	7.9	161.5	-27.1
1976	23,371.0	289.7	360.0	167.0	193.0	149.4	36.1	64.4	85.1	-3.0	118.2	-21.5
1977	23,660.7	261.0	362.2	167.5	194.7	114.9	32.3	61.4	53.5	-2.0	83.8	-17.5
1978	23,921.7	224.4	358.4	168.2	190.2	86.3	31.8	63.5	22.8	-3.0	51.7	-17.5
1979	24,146.1	275.9	366.1	168.2	197.9	112.1	30.3	54.7	57.3	7.9	95.5	-17.5
1980	24,422.1	322.1	370.7	171.5	199.2	143.1	27.6	45.2	97.9	14.9	140.4	-17.5
1981	24,744.2	317.7	371.3	171.0	200.3	128.6	25.4	50.1	78.6	30.3	134.3	-16.9
1982	25,061.8	268.5	373.1	174.4	198.7	121.1	28.3	59.4	61.7	-3.7	86.4	-16.6
1983	25,330.3	244.4	373.7	174.5	199.2	89.2	26.8	58.6	30.6	4.4	61.7	-16.6
1984	25,574.7	243.6	377.0	175.7	201.3	88.2	26.2	55.2	33.0	-0.3	58.8	-16.6
1985	25,818.3	246.3	375.7	181.3	194.4	84.3	27.3	54.2	30.1	11.0	68.4	-16.6
1986	26,064.5	297.1	372.9	184.2	188.7	99.2	25.4	49.1	50.1	46.5	122.1	-13.6
1987	26,361.7	346.1	369.7	185.0	184.8	152.1	24.2	44.3	107.8	40.9	172.9	-11.5
1988	26,707.8	428.9	376.8	190.0	186.8	161.9	21.5	38.7	123.2	108.9	253.6	-11.5
1989	27,136.7	429.9	392.7	191.0	201.7	192.0	21.1	40.7	151.3	67.4	239.7	-11.5
1990	27,566.6	385.1	405.5	192.0	213.5	214.2	19.4	39.6	174.6	-11.0	183.1	-11.5
1991	27,951.6	370.1	402.5	195.6	207.0	230.8	22.7	48.0	182.8	-37.6	168.0	-4.8
1992 (PD)	28,321.7	401.1	398.6	196.5	202.1	252.8	22.9	44.6	208.3	-32.1	199.0	...
1993 (PD)	28,722.9	354.0	388.4	204.9	183.5	255.7	22.4	44.6	211.1	-63.0	170.5	...
1994 (PD)	29,076.9	360.1	385.1	207.1	178.0	223.8	22.5	46.2	177.6	-18.0	182.1	...
1995 (PD)	29,437.0	352.0	378.0	210.7	167.3	212.0	22.6	47.0	165.0	-2.9	184.7	...
1996 (PR)	29,789.0	321.7	364.7	213.6	151.1	224.2	22.5	48.8	175.4	-27.3	170.6	...
1997 (PR)	30,110.7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

See notes at the end of Table 1B.

Table 1B. Main Rates of the Demographic Accounts, Canada, 1972-1997

Year	Population as of January 1 (in 1,000)	Total Growth Rate	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Rate of Natural Increase	Net Rate of International Migration ^{1, 2}	Rate of Growth by Flow ⁵
		(per 1 000)					
1972	22,157.8	11.52	15.58	7.29	8.30	2.64	3.22
1973	22,414.5	13.46	15.22	7.27	7.95	4.68	5.51
1974	22,718.2	14.26	15.11	7.29	7.82	6.14	6.44
1975	23,044.4	14.07	15.48	7.20	8.28	5.05	5.79
1976	23,371.0	12.32	15.31	7.10	8.21	3.62	4.11
1977	23,660.7	10.97	15.22	7.04	8.18	2.25	2.79
1978	23,921.7	9.34	14.91	7.00	7.92	0.95	1.42
1979	24,146.1	11.36	15.07	6.93	8.15	2.36	3.21
1980	24,422.1	13.10	15.08	6.98	8.10	3.98	5.00
1981	24,744.2	12.76	14.91	6.87	8.04	3.15	4.71
1982	25,061.8	10.66	14.81	6.92	7.88	2.45	2.77
1983	25,330.3	9.60	14.68	6.86	7.83	1.20	1.77
1984	25,574.7	9.48	14.67	6.84	7.83	1.28	1.65
1985	25,818.3	9.49	14.48	6.99	7.49	1.16	2.00
1986	26,064.5	11.34	14.23	7.03	7.20	1.91	4.14
1987	26,361.7	13.05	13.93	6.97	6.96	4.06	6.08
1988	26,707.8	15.93	14.00	7.06	6.94	4.58	8.99
1989	27,136.7	15.72	14.36	6.98	7.37	5.53	8.34
1990	27,566.6	13.87	14.61	6.92	7.69	6.29	6.18
1991	27,951.6	13.15	14.31	6.95	7.36	6.50	5.80
1992 (PD)	28,321.7	14.06	13.98	6.89	7.09	7.30	6.98
1993 (PD)	28,722.9	12.25	13.44	7.09	6.35	7.31	5.90
1994 (PD)	29,076.9	12.31	13.16	7.08	6.09	6.07	6.22
1995 (PD)	29,437.0	11.89	12.77	7.12	5.65	5.57	6.24
1996 (PR)	29,789.0	10.74	12.18	7.13	5.04	5.86	5.70
1997 (PR)	30,110.7	...	...	...	...	...	...

¹ Based on Employment and Immigration Canada and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

² Estimated using Family Allowance and Income Tax files.

³ Emigrants subtracted from immigrants. It is statistical because landed immigrants in one year could have been in the country a year earlier or more, when they were counted in the non-permanent residents category.

⁴ The residual consists of the distribution over five years of the error of closure at the end of the census period, which is equal to the difference between the census count predicted by the components method and the actual count corrected for net undercoverage. This "error" combines errors on the components, on the net undercoverage of the censuses and differences between concepts used by the Census and administrative files.

⁵ Takes into account non-permanent residents, returning Canadians and the residual.

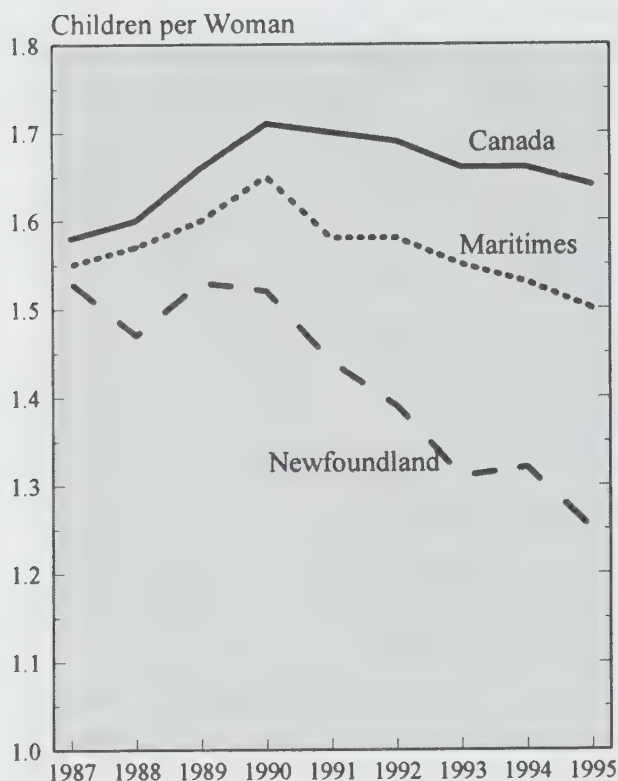
(PD) Final postcensal data based on 1991, as of December 30, 1997.

(PR) Revised postcensal data based on 1991, as of December 30, 1997.

Note: All other data are from final intercensal estimates. Calculations were carried out on unrounded numbers.

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, *Annual Demographic Statistics, 1997*, Catalogue no. 91-213-XPB and calculations by the author.

Figure 1. Total Fertility Rate, Canada, Newfoundland and the Maritimes, 1987-1995



Source: Table A5.

22.2 per 1,000 in 1996. This rate was twice as high as the national average. This is due to a significant positive net interprovincial migration (20,700 persons)—despite a notable decrease in comparison with that of previous years—and especially to a net international migration of 43,100 persons in 1996, a record for this province since 1913 (57,000). Alberta and Ontario, with rates of growth of 16.1 and 12.3 per 1,000 respectively, are the only two other provinces showing population growth rates higher than the national average. On a strict numbers basis, however, Ontario shows the highest gain with 138,800 persons, a number which is significantly higher than those in British Columbia (85,200), Alberta (44,900) and Quebec (39,600).

The 1996 Census and Population Estimates

On May 14, 1996, Statistics Canada enumerated 28,846,800 persons in the Census. Postcensal estimates for the same date show a population of 29,909,100. The difference between these two numbers exceeds one million persons. This is not surprising, for several reasons. Since 1991, population estimates are the result of a population accounting exercise based on the population figures in the 1991 Census *adjusted* for net undercoverage. Each year, population growth components are either added or subtracted from this population, as indicated in Table 1A: births and deaths provided by the provincial registrars of vital statistics—the balance of which constitutes natural growth, landed immigrants accounted for by Citizenship and Immigration Canada—emigrants, non-permanent residents² and returning Canadians, the number of which are estimated from indirect sources (administrative records). All births and deaths during the year are recorded, with few exceptions. Similarly, all landed immigrants are accounted for in Citizenship and Immigration Canada

² The current estimation method only takes into account the changes in the number of non-permanent residents.

records. The annual estimate of the three main components of population growth (births, deaths and international immigrants) is therefore calculated using very reliable data. The three other components are estimated using sources that are less reliable, because the numbers are derived from administrative records that were not designed for enumeration purposes.

The census is an enumeration of the population living in Canada on a given date. Despite efforts to ensure the accuracy of the enumeration, there are always persons who, for one reason or another, fall between the cracks. Their number represents the undercoverage. Others are included in more than one questionnaire. Because of this double counting, they represent overcoverage. Since 1991, checking of census data provides an estimate of the number of persons who should have been counted, but were not, as well as an estimate of the number of those who were counted more than once. Because undercoverage is higher than overcoverage, the difference is called net undercoverage and the “gross” census figures are adjusted accordingly for purpose of producing population estimates. Although errors affect all age groups, young men are particularly subject to undercoverage because they are more mobile and often live alone.

Checking of the 1996 Census was not completed when the present report was written. The population *adjusted* for net undercoverage is as yet unknown. Upon completion of checking, postcensal population estimates will be compared with the adjusted numbers of the 1996 Census. The difference between the two population estimates will provide the missing data in the “residuals” column of Table 1 A and the population estimates for the period between 1991 and 1996 will be revised. These estimates will then be called final intercensal estimates and the estimates for 1996 will be used as the basis for population accounting calculations until the adjusted numbers for the 2001 Census become available.

As can be seen by looking at Table 1 A, the residuals for the intercensal period, also called “closure error”, are usually negative. This suggests that intercensal estimates tend to slightly overestimate the size of the population numbers in comparison with the adjusted census numbers. If one accepts that populations enumerated in two successive censuses and subsequently adjusted for net undercoverage, are perfectly comparable—this supposes error-free operations or a bias in the same direction and of the same magnitude—the residuals would be entirely due to errors in the population growth components. Given that the numbers for births, deaths and immigrants are among the most reliable, the differences would therefore result from errors in the estimates of the numbers of emigrants, returning Canadians or non-permanent residents. In fact, the “closure error” is probably the result of inaccuracies in the adjusted population numbers and components, although it is impossible to accurately estimate the impact of the errors in each case.

**Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada,
Provinces and Territories, 1981-1996**

	Year	New- foundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario
Birth Rate (per 1,000)	1981	17.6	15.3	14.1	14.8	14.5	13.8
	1986	14.0	15.0	13.9	13.5	12.6	14.1
	1991	12.4	14.4	13.1	12.7	13.7	14.4
	1992	11.9	14.1	12.9	12.5	13.4	14.1
	1993	11.0	13.2	12.4	12.0	12.8	13.7
	1994	10.9	12.8	11.9	11.9	12.4	13.4
	1995	10.2	12.9	11.4	11.3	11.9	13.2
	1996	10.1	12.2	11.1	10.8	11.6	12.3
Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1981	5.6	8.0	8.1	7.3	6.5	7.1
	1986	6.1	8.7	8.1	7.5	7.0	7.2
	1991	6.6	9.1	7.9	7.3	6.9	7.0
	1992	6.5	8.5	8.2	7.5	6.8	6.9
	1993	6.7	8.6	8.1	7.7	7.1	7.0
	1994	7.0	8.3	8.3	7.8	7.0	7.1
	1995	6.8	8.5	8.2	7.8	7.2	7.1
	1996	6.9	9.0	8.2	7.8	7.2	7.0
Total Fertility Rate (number of children per woman aged 15-49)	1981	..	1.87	1.62	1.67	1.57	1.57
	1986	..	1.78	1.58	1.53	1.37	1.60
	1991	1.44	1.85	1.58	1.54	1.65	1.66
	1992	1.39	1.82	1.58	1.53	1.65	1.67
	1993	1.31	1.73	1.56	1.50	1.61	1.64
	1994	1.31	1.69	1.52	1.51	1.61	1.65
	1995	1.25	1.73	1.49	1.46	1.58	1.64
Total First Marriage Rate (per 1,000) (males aged 17-49, females aged 15-49)	1981 M	648	697	682	655	542	687
	F	627	665	669	645	557	680
	1986 M	584	704	590	594	426	616
	F	576	737	628	622	439	653
	1991 M	597	717	568	574	377	606
	F	611	724	600	599	425	646
	1992 M	547	678	545	544	332	579
	F	571	690	579	573	375	623
	1993 M	531	705	532	527	323	553
	F	554	718	565	554	364	595
	1994 M	567	656	540	538	333	560
	F	596	693	572	555	373	598
	1995 M	592	674	542	543	324	569
	F	624	712	580	570	362	607
	1996 M	563	720	556	561	320	560
	F	591	756	584	590	355	595
Rate of Natural Increase (per 1,000)	1981	12.0	7.3	6.0	7.6	8.0	6.7
	1986	7.9	6.3	5.7	6.0	5.6	7.0
	1991	5.8	5.3	5.2	5.4	6.8	7.5
	1992	5.4	5.6	4.7	5.0	6.6	7.3
	1993	4.3	4.6	4.3	4.3	5.6	6.7
	1994	3.9	4.5	3.6	4.0	5.4	6.4
	1995	3.3	4.4	3.2	3.5	4.7	6.1
	1996	3.2	3.3	2.9	3.0	4.3	5.2
Total Growth Rate (per 1,000)	1981	-1.1	2.0	4.1	0.2	6.5	10.9
	1986	-3.0	1.2	4.9	1.8	8.9	18.4
	1991	3.0	0.7	5.6	5.0	10.8	16.0
	1992 (PD)	5.5	8.2	6.9	3.7	11.1	15.6
	1993 (PD)	-2.9	9.8	5.6	3.8	9.1	13.1
	1994 (PD)	-7.9	10.7	3.5	3.2	7.3	14.5
	1995 (PD)	-8.6	8.5	4.6	2.4	7.1	14.3
	1996 (PR)	-11.7	6.8	5.6	1.4	5.4	12.3

See notes at the end of this table.

**Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada,
Provinces and Territories, 1981-1996 - Continued**

	Year	Manitoba	Saskatch- ewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon	Northwest Territories	Canada
Birth Rate (per 1,000)	1981	15.5	17.6	18.5	14.6	21.8	27.3	14.9
	1986	15.6	17.0	18.0	13.9	19.3	27.3	14.2
	1991	15.6	15.2	16.5	13.5	19.6	26.8	14.3
	1992	14.9	14.9	15.9	13.3	17.7	24.9	14.0
	1993	14.9	14.2	15.1	12.9	16.9	24.5	13.4
	1994	14.6	13.9	14.7	12.8	14.8	24.4	13.2
	1995	14.2	13.3	14.2	12.5	15.4	24.5	12.8
	1996	13.7	12.8	13.6	12.1	14.2	23.3	12.2
Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1981	8.3	7.7	5.6	7.0	5.7	4.1	6.9
	1986	8.1	7.8	5.6	7.0	4.5	4.3	7.0
	1991	8.1	8.1	5.6	7.1	3.9	3.9	7.0
	1992	8.1	7.8	5.6	7.1	3.9	4.1	6.9
	1993	8.3	8.1	5.7	7.2	4.1	4.1	7.1
	1994	8.1	8.2	5.8	7.1	4.1	3.7	7.1
	1995	8.5	8.4	5.8	7.0	5.1	3.4	7.1
	1996	8.4	7.8	5.9	7.2	3.9	3.5	7.1
Total Fertility Rate (number of children per woman aged 15-49)	1981	1.82	2.11	1.86	1.63	2.06	2.83	1.65
	1986	1.83	2.02	1.85	1.61	1.92	2.81	1.60
	1991	1.97	2.03	1.88	1.67	2.13	2.85	1.70
	1992	1.91	2.02	1.85	1.65	1.92	2.69	1.69
	1993	1.95	1.96	1.79	1.61	1.88	2.66	1.66
	1994	1.95	1.96	1.80	1.62	1.71	2.71	1.66
	1995	1.92	1.90	1.77	1.59	1.82	2.75	1.64
Total First Marriage Rate (per 1,000) (males aged 17-49, females aged 15-49)	1981 M	719	706	639	677	685	450	640
	F	709	694	684	689	710	469	647
	1986 M	611	582	561	575	473	342	552
	F	657	623	612	616	564	393	585
	1991 M	592	613	590	599	465	285	543
	F	647	650	635	651	514	308	588
	1992 M	595	603	581	593	536	270	518
	F	643	634	623	633	562	292	561
	1993 M	581	612	583	575	404	279	503
	F	628	642	621	612	465	308	544
	1994 M	583	633	597	575	446	301	512
	F	627	658	641	617	465	333	552
	1995 M	597	646	604	561	575	286	515
	F	645	658	638	594	553	317	552
	1996 M	574	635	565	529	479	272	502
	F	613	648	605	556	495	281	537
Rate of Natural Increase (per 1,000)	1981	7.1	9.9	12.9	7.6	16.0	23.2	8.0
	1986	7.4	9.2	12.4	6.9	14.8	23.0	7.2
	1991	7.5	7.2	10.9	6.4	15.7	22.9	7.4
	1992	6.8	7.2	10.4	6.2	13.8	20.8	7.1
	1993	6.6	6.1	9.3	5.7	12.8	20.4	6.3
	1994	6.5	5.7	8.9	5.8	10.6	20.6	6.1
	1995	5.7	4.9	8.4	5.4	10.3	21.0	5.6
	1996	5.3	5.0	7.7	4.9	10.3	19.8	5.0
Total Growth Rate (per 1,000)	1981	7.5	11.5	39.1	23.0	-21.8	37.5	12.8
	1986	6.4	2.7	6.0	11.2	31.3	-1.8	11.3
	1991	2.6	-2.7	14.4	22.2	36.8	27.9	13.2
	1992 (PD)	4.4	1.4	15.5	27.0	23.3	16.1	14.1
	1993 (PD)	4.9	3.2	12.6	26.9	-11.3	21.5	12.3
	1994 (PD)	5.3	3.2	12.4	27.5	5.1	20.6	12.3
	1995 (PD)	4.6	3.3	14.1	23.7	34.1	11.6	11.9
	1996 (PR)	5.4	5.1	16.1	22.2	17.2	9.4	10.7

See notes at the end of this table.

**Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada,
Provinces and Territories, 1981-1996 - Continued**

	Year	New- foundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario
Population Aged 65 + as a Percentage of the Total Population on July 1	1981	7.6	12.1	10.9	10.0	8.7	9.9
	1986	8.7	12.6	11.8	11.0	9.8	10.7
	1991	9.6	13.1	12.4	11.9	11.0	11.5
	1992 (PD)	9.7	13.1	12.5	12.1	11.2	11.6
	1993 (PD)	9.9	13.1	12.6	12.2	11.4	11.8
	1994 (PD)	10.1	13.1	12.7	12.3	11.7	12.0
	1995 (PD)	10.3	13.1	12.7	12.4	11.9	12.1
	1996 (PR)	10.6	13.0	12.8	12.6	12.1	12.2
Total Age Dependency Ratio (in %) ¹	1981	77.9	75.8	66.9	69.3	55.8	58.7
	1986	67.9	68.4	60.9	62.2	52.0	54.9
	1991	59.6	67.1	58.9	59.6	53.4	55.5
	1992 (PD)	58.0	66.4	58.6	58.8	53.8	55.7
	1993 (PD)	56.4	65.5	58.0	58.0	53.9	55.9
	1994 (PD)	55.0	64.8	57.5	57.3	54.1	56.3
	1995 (PD)	54.0	63.9	57.1	56.6	54.0	56.5
	1996 (PR)	53.2	62.8	56.8	56.1	53.9	56.6
Life Expectancy at Birth (in years)	1986	M	72.9	72.8	72.5	72.7	73.8
		F	79.2	...	79.5	80.1	80.0
	1991	M	73.7	73.2	73.7	74.2	75.0
		F	79.5	...	80.3	80.9	80.9
	1992	M	74.3	73.6	73.9	74.4	75.2
		F	79.7	...	80.6	81.1	81.1
	1993	M	74.0	74.4	74.1	74.5	75.3
		F	79.9	...	80.4	80.7	81.1
	1994	M	74.0	...	74.5	74.5	75.5
		F	80.2	80.9	80.5	80.9	81.1
	1995	M	74.4	...	74.7	74.7	75.8
		F	80.3	81.1	80.6	81.1	81.2
	1996	M (P)	74.9	...	75.0	74.9	76.1
		F (P)	80.6	...	80.8	81.4	81.4
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1981	9.7	13.2	11.5	10.9	8.5	8.8
	1986	8.0	6.7	8.4	8.3	7.1	7.2
	1991	7.8	6.9	5.7	6.1	5.9	6.3
	1992	7.1	1.6	6.0	6.3	5.4	5.9
	1993	7.8	9.1	7.1	7.2	5.7	6.2
	1994	8.2	6.4	6.0	5.3	5.6	6.0
	1995	7.9	4.6	4.8	4.8	5.5	5.9
Rate of Pregnancies Terminated (per 1,000 women aged 15-44) ³	1981	2.6	0.2	8.4	2.6	5.5	14.3
	1986	1.9	..	8.1	1.9	7.4	11.7
	1991	2.9	..	8.2	3.2	8.7	12.4
	1992	3.0	..	8.6	3.5	9.4	11.9
	1993	3.2	..	8.9	3.5	9.9	11.9
	1994	3.2	..	8.5	3.3	10.3	11.6
	1995	3.6	..	8.5	3.4	10.7	11.3

See notes at the end of this table.

Summary Table, Rates and Principal Demographic Indicators, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1981-1996 - Concluded

	Year	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon	Northwest Territories	Canada
Population Aged 65 + as a Percentage of the Total Population on July 1	1981	11.8	11.9	7.2	10.6	3.2	3.0	9.6
	1986	12.4	12.6	7.9	11.9	3.7	3.0	10.5
	1991	13.3	14.0	8.9	12.6	3.9	2.7	11.4
	1992 (PD)	13.4	14.2	9.1	12.7	3.9	2.7	11.6
	1993 (PD)	13.4	14.3	9.3	12.7	4.1	2.7	11.7
	1994 (PD)	13.5	14.4	9.5	12.7	4.3	2.7	11.9
	1995 (PD)	13.6	14.5	9.7	12.7	4.5	2.9	12.0
	1996 (PR)	13.6	14.6	9.8	12.8	4.7	3.0	12.2
Total Age Dependency Ratio (in %) ¹	1981	67.6	73.1	57.3	58.4	53.3	77.4	59.7
	1986	63.8	70.5	56.0	57.2	50.0	68.4	56.1
	1991	65.3	73.5	57.7	57.6	47.6	66.7	56.7
	1992 (PD)	65.3	73.5	57.9	57.3	48.3	67.4	56.8
	1993 (PD)	65.0	73.4	57.9	56.9	47.7	67.1	56.8
	1994 (PD)	64.9	73.2	57.9	56.7	48.1	66.9	56.9
	1995 (PD)	64.9	72.8	57.7	56.5	48.3	66.8	56.8
	1996 (PR)	64.7	72.3	57.5	56.2	47.9	66.9	56.7
Life Expectancy at Birth (in years)	1986	M	73.3	73.8	73.7	74.4	...	73.3
		F	80.0	80.5	80.2	80.8	...	80.0
	1991	M	74.6	75.3	75.1	75.2	...	74.6
		F	80.7	81.5	81.2	81.4	...	81.0
	1992	M	74.7	75.6	75.4	75.5	...	74.9
		F	81.0	81.9	81.3	81.7	...	81.2
	1993	M	74.7	75.5	75.5	75.5	...	75.0
		F	80.9	81.9	81.2	81.5	...	81.1
	1994	M	74.8	75.2	75.6	75.8	...	75.1
		F	80.7	81.7	81.3	81.6	...	81.1
	1995	M	75.1	75.2	75.8	76.1	...	75.4
		F	80.7	81.5	81.4	81.7	...	81.2
	1996	M (P)	75.3	75.3	76.1	76.3	...	75.7
		F (P)	80.7	81.5	81.5	82.0	...	81.5
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	1981	11.9	11.8	10.6	10.2	14.9	21.5	9.6
	1986	9.2	9.0	9.0	8.5	24.8	18.6	7.9
	1991	6.4	8.2	6.7	6.5	10.6	12.2	6.4
	1992	6.8	7.3	7.2	6.2	3.8	16.7	6.1
	1993	7.1	8.1	6.7	5.7	7.9	9.6	6.3
	1994	7.0	8.9	7.4	6.3	2.3	14.6	6.3
	1995	7.6	9.1	7.0	6.0	12.8	13.0	6.1
Rate of Pregnancies Terminated (per 1,000 women aged 15-44) ³	1981	6.8	7.6	11.5	18.7	16.9	11.9	10.8
	1986	10.6	4.1	10.1	15.8	16.3	13.0	9.9
	1991	10.3	5.6	9.9	13.6	19.8	18.6	10.4
	1992	10.4	6.4	9.5	13.0	20.5	16.9	10.4
	1993	10.7	7.3	9.8	13.0	20.9	15.1	10.6
	1994	11.7	7.9	10.3	11.5	18.4	14.6	10.5
	1995	11.6	8.3	10.1	9.9	16.3	14.5	10.3

¹ Ratio between population aged 0-17, 65+ and 18-64.

² Because of an absence of deaths in certain age groups, the mortality table could not be calculated.

³ Practised in hospitals in Canada.

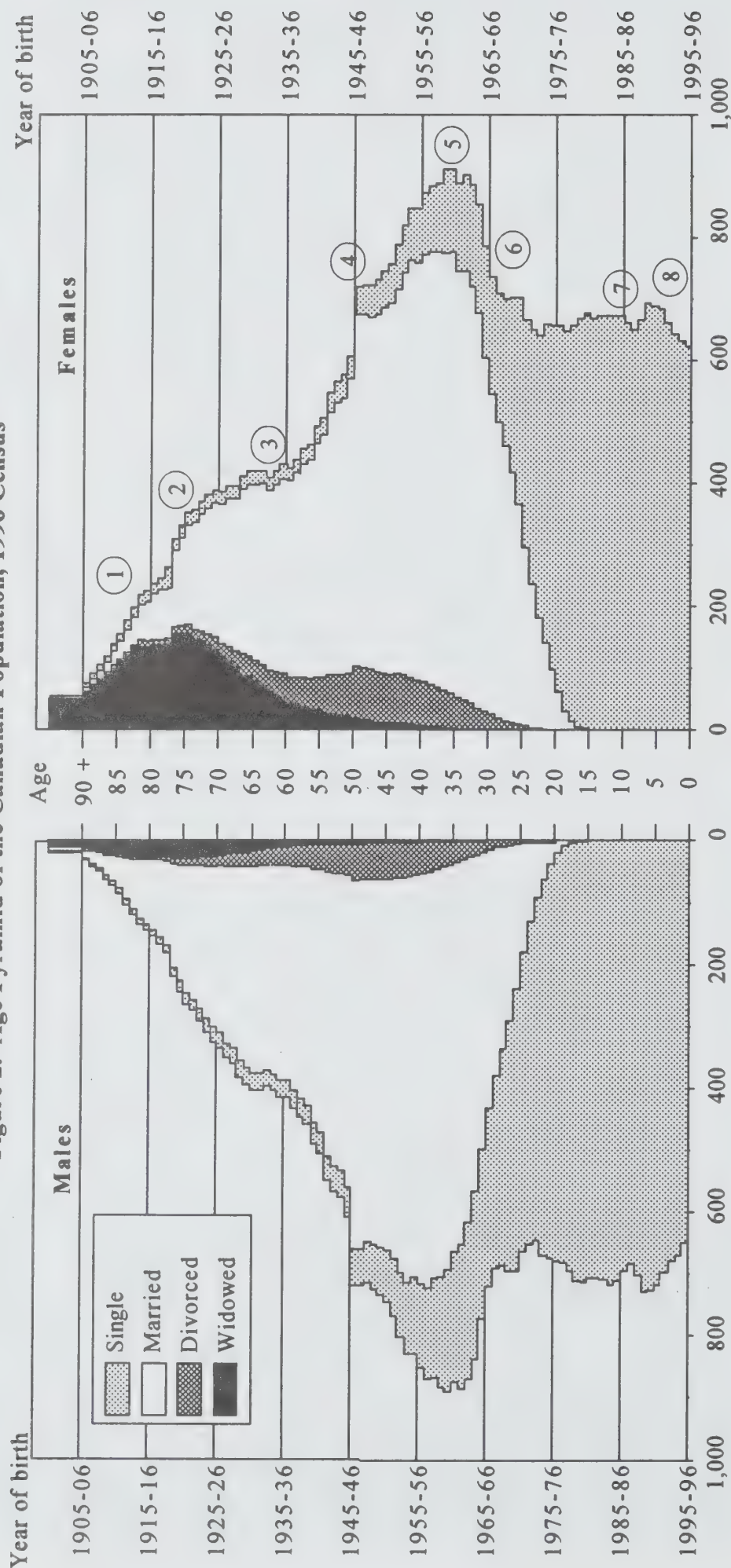
(P) Preliminary.

(PD) Final postcensal data based on 1991, as of December 30, 1997.

(PR) Revised postcensal data based on 1991, as of December 30, 1997.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, catalogue no. 84-210, *Deaths*, catalogue no. 84-211, *Marriages*, catalogue no. 84-212, *Therapeutic Abortions*, catalogue no. 82-219, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Figure 2. Age Pyramid of the Canadian Population, 1996 Census



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Canada.

The Age Structure of the Population of Canada According to the 1996 Census

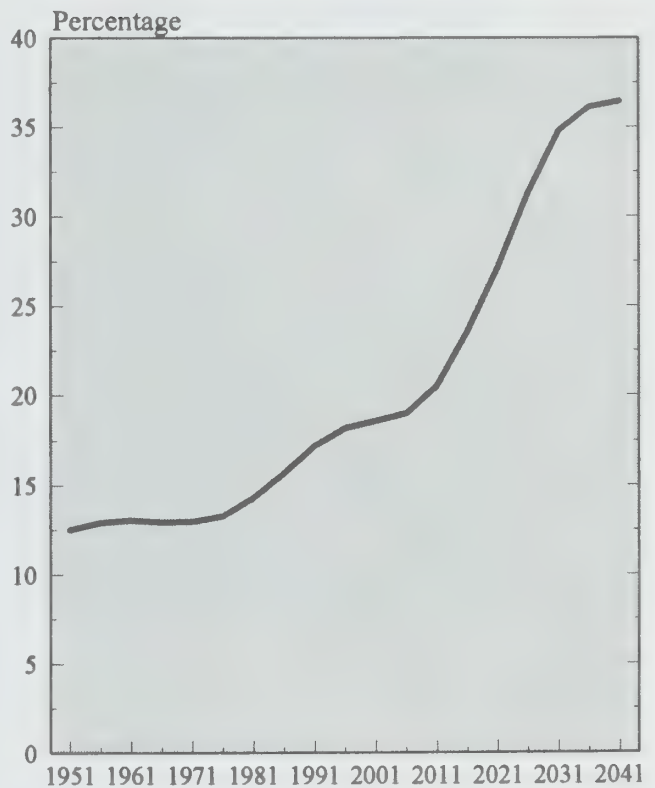
The age pyramid reveals evidence of demographic events of the past. These may have been political events or particular economic conditions such as the Great Depression, or the two world wars which had a major impact on the demographics of the day. This evidence takes the form of depleted age groups or swollen age groups. These provide a glimpse not only of future demographic consequences, but of social and economic consequences as well (Figure 2). A study of the age pyramid of the population of Canada revealed by the 1996 Census provides some food for thought along these lines.

Given its variations over the last half-century, fertility is without a doubt the most influential factor that affected the current age structure of the Canadian population.

The most visible effect in Figure 2 is the baby boom, the many cohorts of which, born between the end of the Second World War and the early sixties, are reflected by their density in the histogram. This indication, in the form of a protrusion, is all the more evident in that it is preceded by a trough generated by the low birth rate during the Depression and the sharp drop in the birth rate which began in the mid-sixties. Since its early days, the baby-boom forced Canadian society to react to the passing from one phase of the life cycle to another of large generations over the years: construction of schools in the sixties, job creation 20 years later, etc. Currently, these generations contribute to a relatively low dependency ratio among senior citizens, but as baby-boomers themselves become senior citizens, they will weigh heavily for 20 years on this demographic indicator (Figure 3).

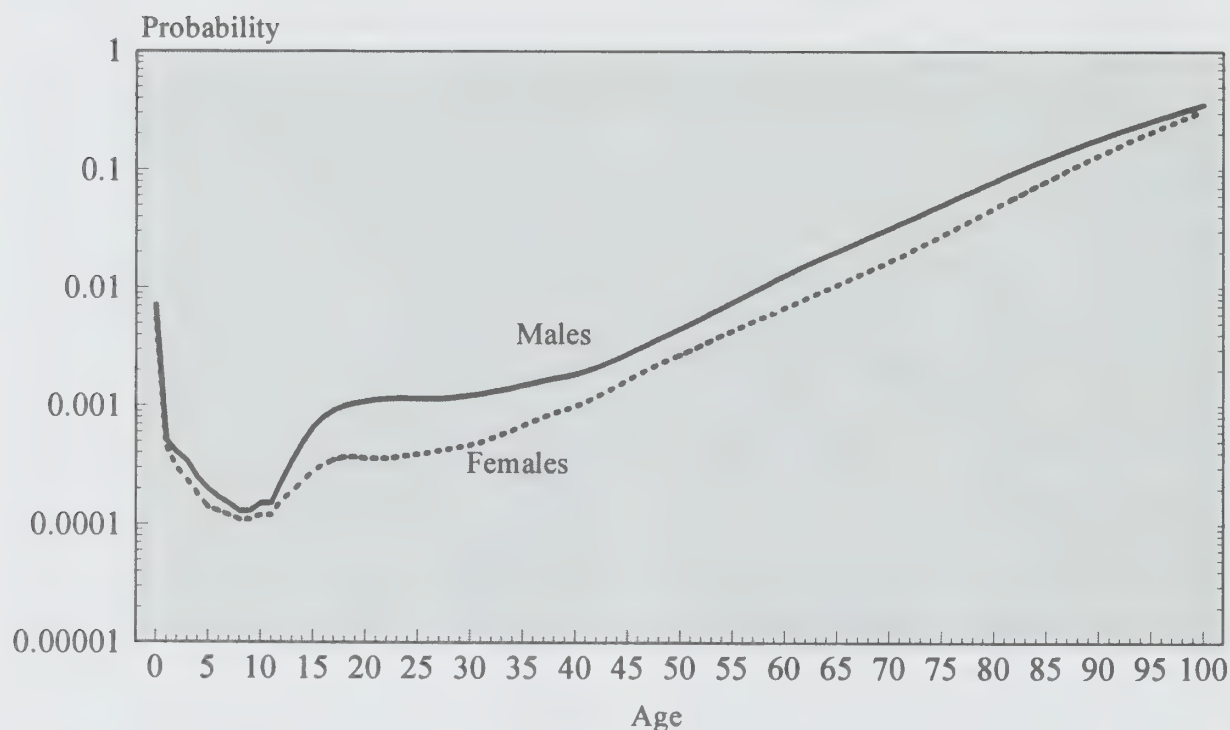
The variations in fertility have left other marks on the age pyramid (Figure 2). The decline in fertility during the 1960s, following the baby-boom, is unmistakable. It is also evidenced by the evolution of the total fertility rate of the day. Between 1959 and 1974, this rate fell by half, from 3.9 to 1.9. This change in fertility propensity in every age group has resulted in a significant

Figure 3. Ratio (in Percent) of Persons Aged 65 and Over to Persons of Working Age (15-64), Canada, 1951-2041



Sources: Statistics Canada, 1951 to 1996 Censuses of Canada and Demography Division, Population Projections Section.

Figure 4. Probabilities of Dying, by Sex, Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, *Mortality Tables, Canada and Provinces, 1990-1992* Catalogue no. 84-537.

reduction of the number of births, as illustrated in the 1996 pyramid by a sharp decline in the numbers of persons in the 22 to 37 years age group. Subsequently, fertility continued its slow decline, leaving the sides of the pyramid nearly vertical in shape. The anticipated baby-boom echo, in the form of an increase in the number of the births, resulting from an increase in the number of women of childbearing age, never materialised except for a slight and delayed increase in the late 1980s. Unless there is an immediate and significant reversal of the situation—which is highly unlikely—the decline in fertility of the 1960s will leave a gap in the age structure in the years to come and this gap will be greater than the weak echo produced by the baby-boom generations. *The decline of the birth rate in the early 1990s is evident at the base of the 1996 pyramid. Contrary to the decline noted during the 1960s, this new decrease is structural in nature: fertility fluctuates only mildly, but the number of women in the age groups where fertility reaches its peak is decreasing.*

In recent times, no other component of population movement has had a greater effect on the age structure than fertility. The change in numbers associated with migratory movements can vary significantly from one year to the next, but as immigrants are spread across several age groups, the impact on the age structure of the total population is very slight. In the absence of calamities, the slow but regular decrease in the mortality rate becomes evident at the top of the pyramid. The excess male mortality rate which is apparent in Canada

since statistics have been compiled results in an elderly female population which is greater than the corresponding male population (Figure 4). The masculinity ratio among persons aged 65 years and over is 73 men per 100 women, whereas it stands at 105 boys per 100 girls at birth. The excess male mortality has an inescapable consequence: widowhood. Nearly half of the women aged 65 years and over (46 percent) in 1996 were widows whereas only 13 percent of men in the same age group were widowers.

CANADA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

According to data gathered chiefly by Eurostat, the population of the European Economic Union increased by only 1,103,500 in 1996, compared to 1,151,200 in 1995. This was chiefly due to a decrease in net migration, which fell from 824 500 to 750,200. In spite of this, migration remained the key factor in overall growth. Growth through migration was more than twice as high as growth through natural increase, which stood at 353,300. These figures indicate that, overall, migration from Eastern to Western Europe did not reach the scale feared in the early nineties when over one million people migrated and that it has, in fact, slowed. However, because of an aging population and low fertility, the very low natural increase means that the European Economic Union will see an increase of only 2.8 per 1,000. France, Denmark and the Netherlands exceeded 4.0 per 1,000; many stand at below 2.0 per 1,000; and a few of the smaller countries stand at 7.0 per 1,000. Canada's growth rate is 10.7 per 1,000.

In the European Economic Union, the most significant change in migration patterns has been in Germany, where migration has been decreasing for several years. It decreased from 422,000 in 1995 to 281,000 in 1996. In spite of this, Germany's net migration is still higher than any other European country, followed by Italy with net migration of 152,000.

A less complete analysis is possible for the rest of Europe (Central Europe, Eastern Europe, and Russia). However, the quality of the statistics is improving even if some figures seem improbable and incomplete.

Central Europe has a total population of approximately 120 million. In almost all Central European countries, the population is declining, often because of a negative natural increase and negative net migration.

Eastern Europe, although somewhat smaller, still has a population of over 70 million. Almost all Eastern European countries having declining populations and for the same reasons as Central Europe, i.e., a negative natural increase and negative net migration.

Russia is also declining demographically. According to the available figures, the natural increase is very negative: close to 800,000. Positive net migration

Table 2. Statement of Population Change (in Thousands) for the Main Industrialized Countries, 1996

Country	Population as of January 1, 1996	Births	Deaths	Natural Increase	Net Migration	Population as of January 1, 1997	Total Growth
Belgium	10,143.0	116.2	105.3	10.9	21.1	10,175.0	32.0
Denmark	5,251.0	67.7	61.1	6.6	17.5	5,275.1	24.1
Germany	81,817.5	796.0	882.8	-86.8	281.3	82,012.0	194.5
Greece	10,474.6	100.5	100.5	0.0	0.8	10,475.4	0.8
Spain	39,220.2	352.2	337.3	14.9	84.7	39,319.8	99.6
France	58,255.9	734.0	537.0	197.0	41.0	58,493.9	238.0
Ireland	3,615.6	50.4	31.5	18.9	8.3	3,642.8	27.2
Italy	57,330.5	538.2	557.1	-18.9	152.8	57,464.4	133.9
Luxemburg	412.8	5.7	3.9	1.8	3.7	418.3	5.5
Netherlands	15,493.9	189.0	137.5	51.5	16.8	15,562.2	68.3
Austria	8,054.8	87.8	80.9	6.9	6.1	8,067.8	13.0
Portugal	9,920.8	109.8	105.8	4.0	10.4	9,935.2	14.4
Finland	5,116.8	60.2	48.7	11.5	2.9	5,131.2	14.4
Sweden	8,837.5	95.2	94.0	1.2	9.8	8,848.5	11.0
United Kingdom	58,694.0	733.3	638.9	94.4	85.0	58,873.4	179.4
Europe (15)	372,638.9	4,036.2	3,722.3	313.9	742.2	373,695.0	1,056.1
Iceland	268.0	4.3	1.9	2.4	-0.5	269.9	1.9
Norway	4,370.0	60.8	44.2	16.6	5.4	4,392.0	22.0
Switzerland	7,062.4	82.8	62.6	20.2	3.1	7,085.7	23.3
Leichtenstein	30.9	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.0	31.1	0.2
E.E.A.	384,370.2	4,184.5	3,831.2	353.3	750.2	385,473.7	1,103.5
Albania	3,167.2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bulgaria	8,384.7	72.2	117.1	-44.9	..	8,339.8	-44.9
Hungary	10,212.0	105.5	143.5	-38.0	..	10,174.0	-38.0
Poland	38,609.0	429.0	386.0	43.0	-25.0	38,627.0	18.0
Czech Republic	10,321.3	90.4	112.8	-22.4	9.8	10,308.7	-12.6
Romania	22,656.1	231.3	286.2	-54.9	-19.3	22,581.9	-74.2
Slovakia	5,367.8	60.1	51.2	8.9	3.5	5,380.2	12.4
Bosnia	4,570.3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Croatia	4,597.0	53.8	50.6	3.2	..	..	..
Slovenia	1,990.3	18.8	18.6	0.2	-3.5	1,987.0	-3.3
Yugoslavia ¹	10,568.2	137.4	111.2	26.2	..	..	..
Central Europe	120,443.9	...	...	...	...	...	...
Belarus	10,312.0	95.8	133.6	-37.8	..	..	..
Estonia	1,476.3	13.2	19.0	-5.8	-6.8	1,463.7	-12.6
Latvia	2,500.4	19.8	34.3	-14.5	-4.3	2,481.6	-18.8
Lithuania	3,711.9	49.2	42.9	6.3	-10.1	3,708.1	-3.8
Moldavia	4,334.0	51.9	49.7	2.2	-196.2	4,140.0	-194.0
Ukraine	51,334.0	467.2	776.6	-309.4	..	..	..
Eastern Europe	73,668.6	697.1	1,056.1	-359.0	...	...	...
Russia	147,976.4	1,304.6	2,082.2	-777.6	303.6	147,502.4	-474.0
Canada	29,789.0	364.7	213.6	151.1	170.6	30,110.7	321.7
United States	264,162.0	3,899.0	2,311.0	1,588.0	740.0	266,490.0	2,328.0
Mexico	92,399.5	2,279.7	422.1	1,857.6	-293.5	93,963.6	1,564.1
North America	386,350.5	6,543.4	2,946.7	3,596.7	617.1	390,564.3	4,213.8
Australia	18,187.7	253.8	128.7	125.1	114.1	18,426.9	239.2
New Zealand	3,714.1	57.1	27.8	29.3	17.3	3,760.7	46.6
Japan	125,500.0	1,206.6	896.2	310.3	89.1	125,899.5	399.5

¹ The most recent data available.

Sources: The data comes mainly from Eurostat, from data published in *Population* and, in some cases, directly from the national statistical agencies.

Table 3. Main Demographic Indicators for the Main Industrialized Countries, 1996

Country	Total Fertility Rate	Total Growth Rate (per 1,000)	Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	Life Expectancy		Marriages		Divorces		Total Divorce Rate (per 100)	Births Out of Wedlock (for 100 Births)
				Males	Females	Number (in thousands)	Rate (per 1,000)	Number (in thousands)	Rate (per 1,000)		
Belgium	1.59	2.7	5.6	73.3	80.2	50.6	5.0	28.4	2.8	58.1	15.0
Denmark	1.75	4.6	5.7	72.8	78.0	36.0	6.8	12.8	2.4	40.9	46.5
Germany	1.29	2.6	5.0	73.3	79.8	426.0	5.2	..	..	33.0	16.1
Greece	1.31	1.9	8.2	75.0	80.3	47.0	4.5	9.0	0.9	17.0	3.0
Spain	1.15	1.4	4.7	74.4	81.6	194.6	5.0	..	..	12.0	10.8
France	1.72	4.1	5.0	74.0	81.9	279.0	4.8	..	..	38.7	37.2
Ireland	1.91	7.5	5.5	73.2	78.5	16.3	4.6	..	..	..	22.2
Italy	1.22	2.3	5.8	74.9	81.3	273.1	4.8	..	..	8.0	8.1
Luxembourg	1.76	13.2	4.9	73.0	80.0	2.1	5.1	0.8	2.0	33.0	13.1
Netherlands	1.52	4.4	5.1	74.7	80.3	84.2	5.4	35.1	2.3	37.0	15.5
Austria	1.42	1.6	5.1	73.9	80.2	42.3	5.2	18.1	2.2	38.3	27.4
Portugal	1.40	1.4	6.9	71.0	78.5	63.7	6.4	13.4	1.4	16.0	18.7
Finland	1.76	3.0	3.9	73.0	80.5	24.5	4.8	13.8	2.7	49.0	33.1
Sweden	1.61	0.8	3.5	76.5	81.9	33.5	3.8	21.4	2.4	53.9	51.6
United Kingdom	1.70	3.1	6.0	74.4	79.3	..	..	..	..	46.0	33.6
Europe (15)	1.44	2.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iceland	2.09	7.2	3.7	76.3	80.8	1.4	5.0	0.5	2.0	..	61.2
Norway	1.89	5.2	4.0	75.1	81.1	..	..	..	..	46.0	47.6
Switzerland	1.50	3.2	4.8	75.7	81.9	40.6	..	16.2	2.3	38.0	6.8
Leichtenstein	..	7.1	7.4	..	..	0.1	5.7	..	1.4	..	..
E.E.A.	1.45	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Canada	..	10.7	..	..	..	156.7	5.2	71.5	2.4	34.6	..
United States	2.00	8.8	7.2	72.7	79.4	2,344.0	8.8	1,150.0	4.3	..	32.4
Mexico	2.73	16.8	28.0	71.6	76.3	717.7	7.7	55.9	0.6	..	..
Australia	1.79	13.1	5.8	..	..	106.1	5.8	52.5	2.9	..	23.0
New Zealand	..	12.5	..	..	..	21.5	5.8	10.0	2.7	..	..
Japan	1.43	3.2	4.5	77.0	83.6	795.0	6.4	207.0	1.7	..	1.2

Sources: The data comes mainly from Eurostat, from data published in *Population* and, in some cases, directly from the national statistical agencies. Life expectancy comes from annual tables, sometimes from biennial or triennial tables.

(300,000) is probably due largely to people who have returned from the former satellite republics of central Asia, bringing the negative total growth to below 0.5 million.

And so there remains a well-documented contrast between the countries that once made up the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence, where there has been a net decrease, and the countries of Northern, Western, and Southern Europe, which have experienced modest growth.

The European countries that never came within the Soviet sphere of influence display similar demographic indicators, and no net trends emerge from the short-term changes. The most that one can say for 1996, is that fertility stopped falling due to a slight increase in the total rate in most countries; however, the increase was too small to constitute a reversal. Overall, first marriages continue to fall slowly and out-of-wedlock births continue to rise. In most Western European countries, abortion rates have dropped slightly. The only singular observation is the difference between behaviour in Western and Northern Europe and behaviour in Southern Europe, where the sociodemographic indicators are very different. The four countries that make up Southern Europe (Italy, Greece, Spain, and Portugal) have distinctly lower fertility rates. It would appear that this is due to a change in timing and that young women are putting off starting a family just as older women are completing theirs. Out-of-wedlock births are rising rapidly, but levels are still much lower than in Western or Northern Europe. The same can be said of the divorce rate which is, on average, three times lower. Although abortion rates have dropped somewhat in other parts of Europe, in three of these four countries, abortion rates are stable or increasing and first marriages are falling. All of these factors suggest that Southern Europe remained conservative longer, and has only been catching up to Western Europe in recent years.

Europe and North America

Hence, in both the European Economic Union and Canada, growth is due more to immigration than to natural increase. This observation is incomplete at best, as it compares one country to a complex group of countries. There are also major differences in terms of spreads. In Canada, net migration is only slightly higher than natural increase (159,000 compared to 151,000) whereas in the European Economic Union, net migration is 750,000 compared to a natural increase of 350,000. In the United States, net migration (740,000)³, which is almost the same as that of Europe, is only half the natural increase. This natural increase reflects one of the highest fertility rates in the industrialised world which is at the replacement threshold of 2.1 children per woman. Mexico is just beginning to mirror the demographic patterns found in the other North American countries. Its population is one-third that of the

³ The difference between the official estimates of the resident population and natural increase.

United States, but its natural increase is higher. Its negative net migration brings its total increase to over 1.5 million per year. Mexico's rate of increase is 16.8 per 1,000, twice that of the United States (8.8 per 1,000). Demographically speaking, North America does not form a cohesive whole because its three members are so different. In Europe, within the four major regional areas, we see strong similarities in demographic behaviour.

The features shared by Europe and North America, the world's two major groups of industrialised countries, concern migration. Both face considerable pressure from nationals of developing countries who are prepared to travel great distances to seek asylum or live as illegal immigrants. In Europe, Kurds, Turks, and Iraqis travel via Greece and Central Europe hoping mainly to reach Italy, France, and Germany according to "Migration News". The Kurd diaspora is believed to have reached one million in Europe, including 700,000 in Germany and 120,000 in France. Moroccans target Spain (120,000 since 1970), Algerians target France (600,000 since 1990), and former colonial subjects of Portugal target that country. There are also Albanians migrating to Italy, Bosnians migrating to Germany, and ethnic Germans arriving in Germany from Russia, to mention only the most widely known migration patterns.

NUPTIALITY

Following a slight increase in 1994 and 1995, the number of marriages continued to decline in 1996, reaching 156,691 (Table A2). This represents 3,560 fewer marriages than in 1995, i.e., a 2.2% decrease Hence, the increase in 1994 and 1995 (900 marriages) was more than offset by the decrease in 1996 (Table 4). The 156,691 marriages that took place in 1996 represent only 82.2% of the last peak which occurred in 1989 (190,640 marriages). The year 1996 had the lowest number of marriages since 1966, when there were 155,600 marriages.

This decline in nuptiality is due solely to a decrease in first marriages. In 1996, 3,738 fewer single men and 3,846 fewer single women married than in 1995. On the other hand, the number of remarriages continued to increase (Table 5). However, this increase is not a sign of an increase in nuptiality among widowed or divorced individuals, but of growth in the population at risk of remarrying. The overall rate of remarriage, which is the ratio of the number of remarriages among widowed Canadians to the total number of widowed and divorced Canadians 18 years and over, continues to decline. This is particularly true among men, for whom the rate of remarriage dropped from 63.2 per 1,000 in 1991 to 45.4 per 1,000 in 1996. The number of marriages in which at least one spouse was previously married barely changed between 1995 and 1996 (Table 4), but the percentage of remarriages in which both spouses were previously married increased to 45%.

Table 4. Marriages, First Marriages and Remarriages, Canada, 1970-1996

Year	Number of Marriages	Number of First Marriages		Number and Proportion of Marriages in which at least one Spouse has been Previously Married		Number and Proportion of Remarriages in which both Spouses had been Previously Married	
		Males	Females	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1970	188,428	167,267	167,421	29,975	15.9	12,193	40.7
1971	191,324	168,944	169,072	31,698	16.6	12,934	40.8
1972	200,470	176,537	177,155	33,582	16.8	13,666	40.7
1973	199,064	173,355	174,135	36,047	18.1	14,591	40.5
1974	198,824	170,678	172,107	39,063	19.6	15,800	40.4
1975	197,585	167,022	168,817	42,300	21.4	17,031	40.3
1976	186,844	155,679	157,412	43,098	23.1	17,499	40.6
1977	187,344	154,906	156,854	44,750	23.9	18,178	40.6
1978	185,523	151,884	154,016	46,254	24.9	18,892	40.8
1979	187,811	152,731	154,982	48,309	25.7	19,600	40.6
1980	191,069	154,138	156,918	50,600	26.5	20,422	40.4
1981	190,082	151,978	154,506	52,340	27.5	21,340	40.8
1982	188,360	149,419	152,825	52,979	28.1	21,438	40.5
1983	184,675	144,960	147,968	53,342	28.9	22,080	41.4
1984	185,597	144,674	147,907	55,436	29.9	23,177	41.8
1985	184,096	144,009	146,718	54,632	29.7	22,833	41.8
1986	175,518	137,665	138,523	52,678	30.0	22,170	42.1
1987	182,151	138,454	139,324	60,106	33.0	26,529	44.1
1988	187,728	142,956	143,943	61,665	32.8	26,892	43.6
1989	190,640	145,733	146,242	62,276	32.7	27,029	43.4
1990	187,737	143,637	145,350	60,393	32.2	26,094	43.2
1991	172,251	131,996	133,584	55,278	32.1	23,644	42.8
1992	164,573	125,505	126,955	53,547	32.5	23,139	43.2
1993	159,317	121,104	122,479	52,406	32.9	22,645	43.2
1994	159,958	121,497	122,641	52,758	33.0	23,020	43.6
1995	160,251	121,312	122,131	53,477	33.4	23,582	44.1
1996	156,691	117,574	118,285	53,481	34.1	24,042	45.0

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Marriages*, catalogue no. 84-212 and unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table 5. Number and General Rate of Remarriage, by Sex, Canada, 1991 to 1996

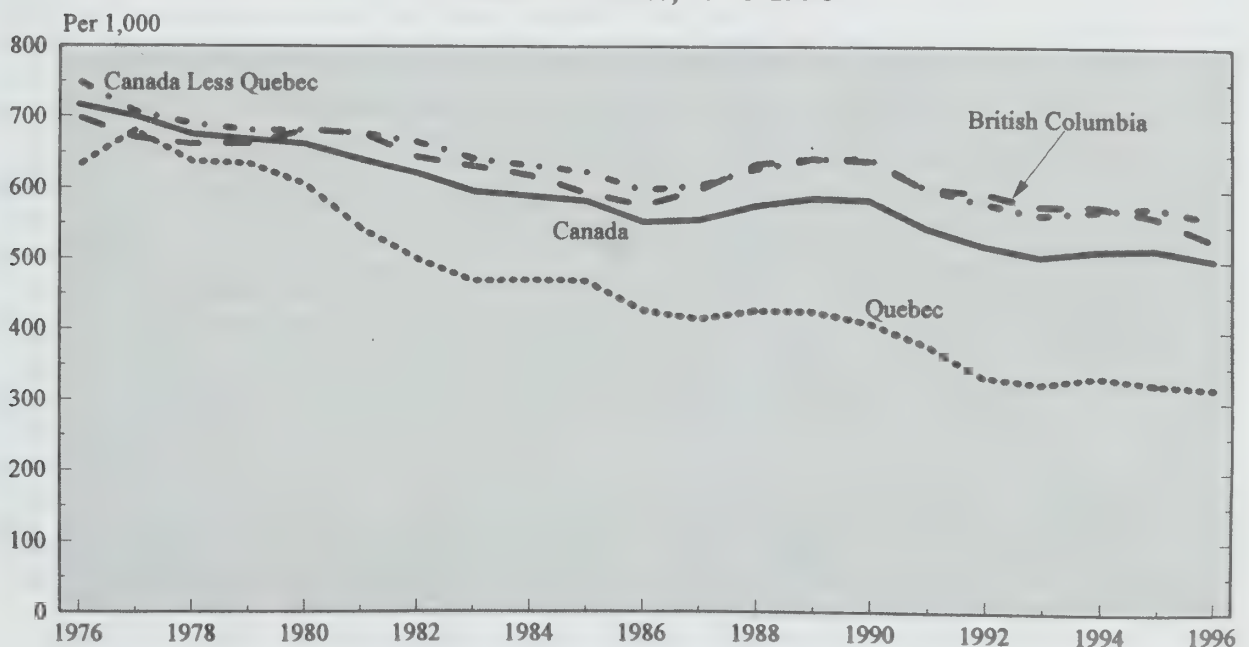
Year	Number of Remarriages		Ever Married Population Aged 18 and Over		Global Rate of Remarriage (per 1,000)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1991	40,255	38,667	637,427	1,694,750	63.2	22.8
1992	39,068	37,618	683,107	1,754,963	57.2	21.4
1993	38,213	36,838	729,266	1,814,554	52.4	20.3
1994	38,461	37,317	776,069	1,872,610	49.6	19.9
1995	38,939	38,120	821,169	1,927,997	47.4	19.8
1996	39,117	38,406	861,107	1,978,237	45.4	19.4

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

In 1996, there was a decrease in the number of marriages in all of the provinces except the three Maritime provinces (Table A2). Given the size of its population, Ontario saw the largest decrease (-1,375). However, in relative terms, the largest decreases were in British Columbia (-3.2%), Manitoba (-3.8%), Alberta (-4.2%) and, particularly, Newfoundland (-6.2%). Total first marriage rates also declined in all Canadian provinces except the Maritime provinces (Table 6).

Figure 5 illustrates the drop in male nuptiality over the past 20 years in period rates. The drop is especially pronounced in Quebec, where the total

Figure 5. Variation in the Total First Marriage Rates, for Males, Canada and Certain Provinces, 1976-1996



Source: Table 6 and calculations by the author.

Table 6. Total First Marriage Rate, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1988-1996 (per 1,000)¹

Province	1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994		1995		1996	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Newfoundland	626	628	664	669	644	658	597	611	547	571	531	554	567	596	592	624	563	591
Prince Edward Island	728	739	798	807	768	766	717	724	678	690	705	718	656	693	674	712	720	756
Nova Scotia	637	680	640	685	610	649	568	600	545	579	532	565	540	572	542	580	556	584
New Brunswick	644	675	639	680	624	659	574	599	544	573	527	554	538	555	543	570	561	590
Quebec	425	453	424	455	408	459	377	425	332	375	323	364	333	373	324	362	320	355
Ontario	635	690	647	697	653	698	606	646	579	623	553	595	560	598	569	607	560	595
Manitoba	617	669	624	679	637	690	592	647	595	643	581	628	583	627	597	645	574	613
Saskatchewan	600	647	625	677	613	665	613	650	603	634	612	642	633	658	646	658	635	648
Alberta	590	642	621	665	625	673	590	635	581	623	583	621	597	641	604	638	565	605
British Columbia	633	684	641	693	638	694	599	651	593	633	575	612	575	617	561	594	529	556
Yukon	525	623	497	558	518	591	465	514	536	562	404	465	446	465	575	553	479	495
Northwest Territories	302	314	301	326	313	327	285	308	270	292	279	308	301	333	286	317	272	281
CANADA	574	620	585	630	582	631	543	588	518	561	503	544	512	552	515	552	502	537
CANADA LESS QUEBEC	626	676	640	688	641	687	599	640	579	620	562	600	569	608	575	611	559	593

¹ Males aged 17 to 49 and females aged 15 to 49.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

marriage rate for 1996 (320 marriages per 1,000) was half what it was 20 years earlier (631 marriages per 1,000), when it was already one of the lowest rates in the country. The decline in nuptiality was less pronounced in the other provinces; nonetheless, it was considerable. For all of the other provinces, the 1996 rate is 559 marriages of single persons per 1,000 individuals, i.e., three-quarters the rate in 1976 (750 per 1,000 individuals). Quebec's population size and low nuptiality bring the rate for Canada as a whole (502 per 1,000) to below the rate for British Columbia, which has the second lowest rate of all of the provinces (529 per 1,000). This analysis is also valid for females.

The decrease in nuptiality in period rates mirrors that of the generations. The curves in Figures 6a and 6b rise increasingly slowly. For members of the youngest generation, who are just beginning to marry (generation 1975), nuptiality rates are lower for all ages than the rates for the next youngest generation.

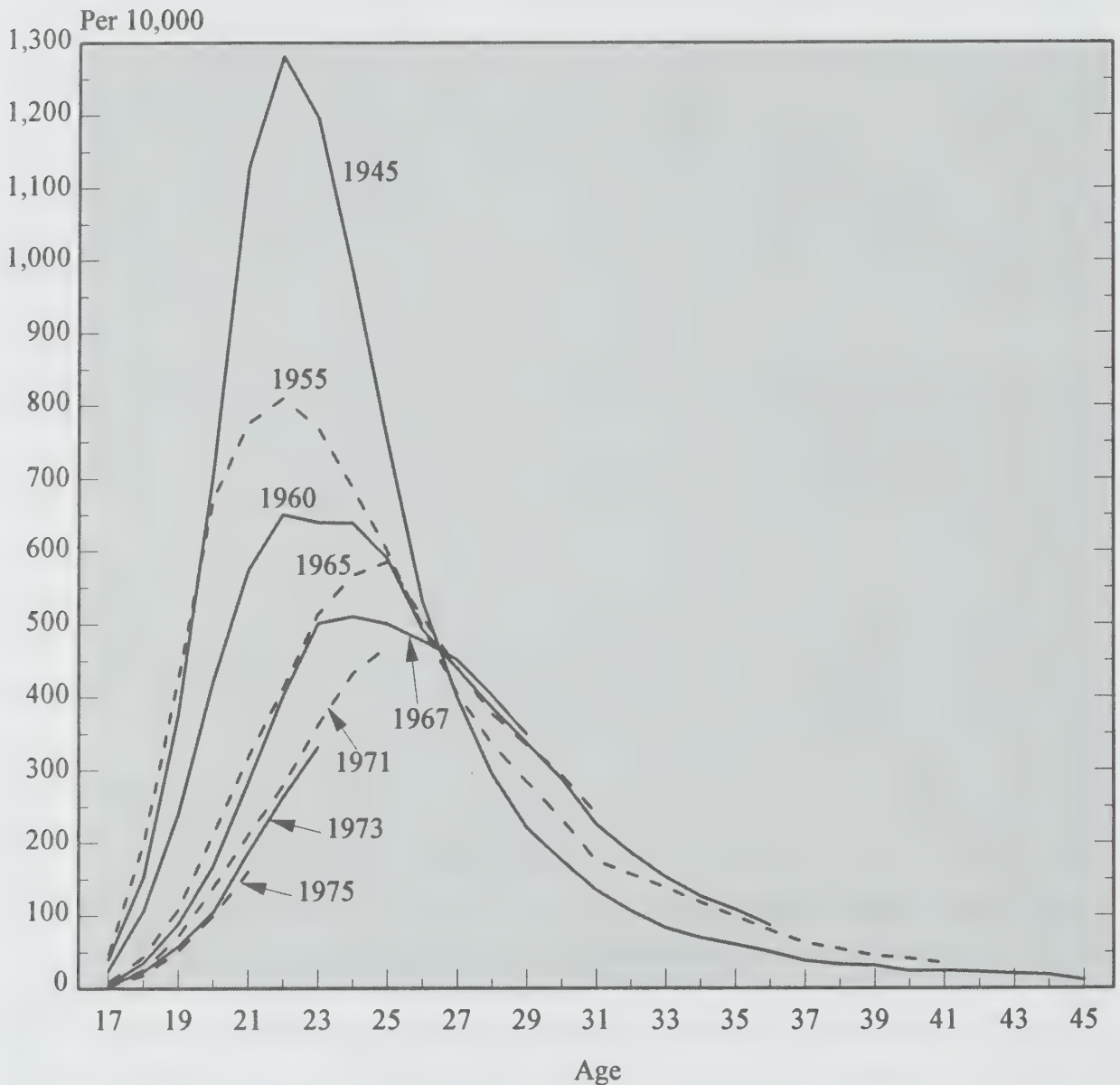
We can also see from Figures 6a and 6b, that the average age at the time of the first marriage is increasing from generation to generation. It rose⁴ from 25.2 years in 1991 to 26.0 years in 1996 for men, and from 23.4 years in 1991 to 24.2 years in 1996 for women.

The decline in nuptiality and the increase in the average age at first marriage are both due to the increasing popularity of common-law relationships and of living in a relationship that is not formalized. This is particularly true of young people. According to the 1996 Census, 1,829,000 individuals lived in common-law relationships; this represents a 26.0% increase over the previous census. Table 7 indicates that the increase in the number of married individuals is smaller than the increase in the total population in all age groups, whereas the increase in the number of people living in common-law relationships is higher, except for those 15 to 19 years of age in 1996. Clearly, the percentage of individuals living in common-law relationships continued to increase in every age group between the censuses, and this has been the case since 1981, when the phenomenon was first measured (Figure 7). We also see that the propensity of individuals to live together without being married increases not only from one generation group to the next within a given age group, but also within generations, as they increase in age. This is shown by the dotted lines linking the percentage of individuals living in common-law relationships in each generation group.

The decrease in the number of marriages is not offset by the increase in the number of common-law relationships and, between the two censuses, the percentage of individuals living in a union decreases for all age groups.

⁴ Based on the nuptiality rates of single persons.

**Figure 6A. First Marriage Rates, Males, Canada
(Some Recent Generations)**

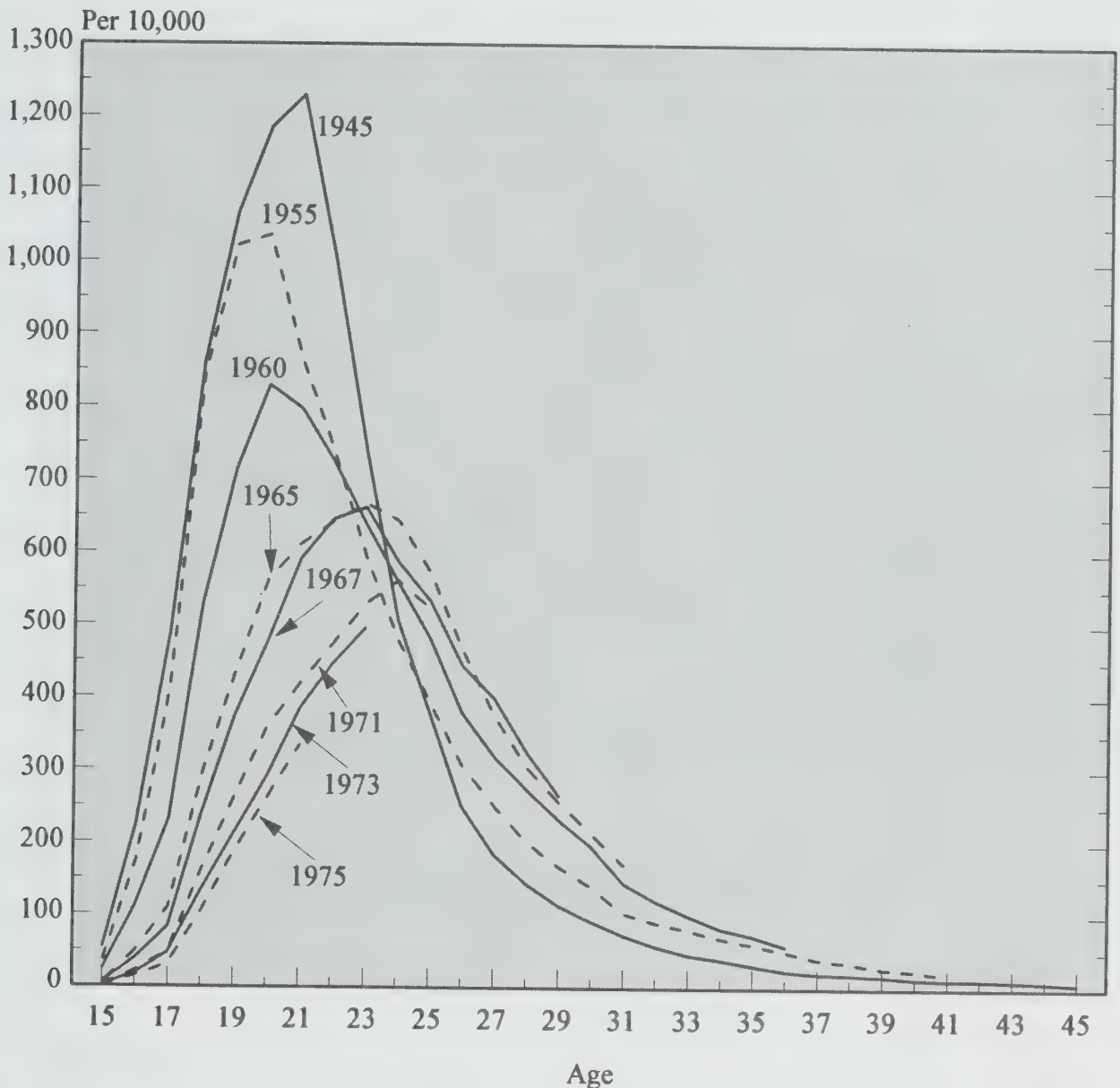


Source: Table A3.1.

Between 1991 and 1996, the number of individuals 15 years and over who were not living in a union increased by 10.7%—almost twice the rate of growth of the total population (6.2%). The increase in the number of individuals who were not living in a relationship on the day of the census is due to many things:

1. Young people are postponing living together.
2. Couples are choosing common-law relationships which are more likely to end in breakdown and periods of living alone.
3. Although more resilient than common-law relationships, marriages in recent cohorts are more fragile than marriages in earlier cohorts.

**Figure 6B. First Marriage Rates, Females, Canada
(Some Recent Generations)**



Source: Table A3.2.

4. Lastly, the tendency to remarry is declining.

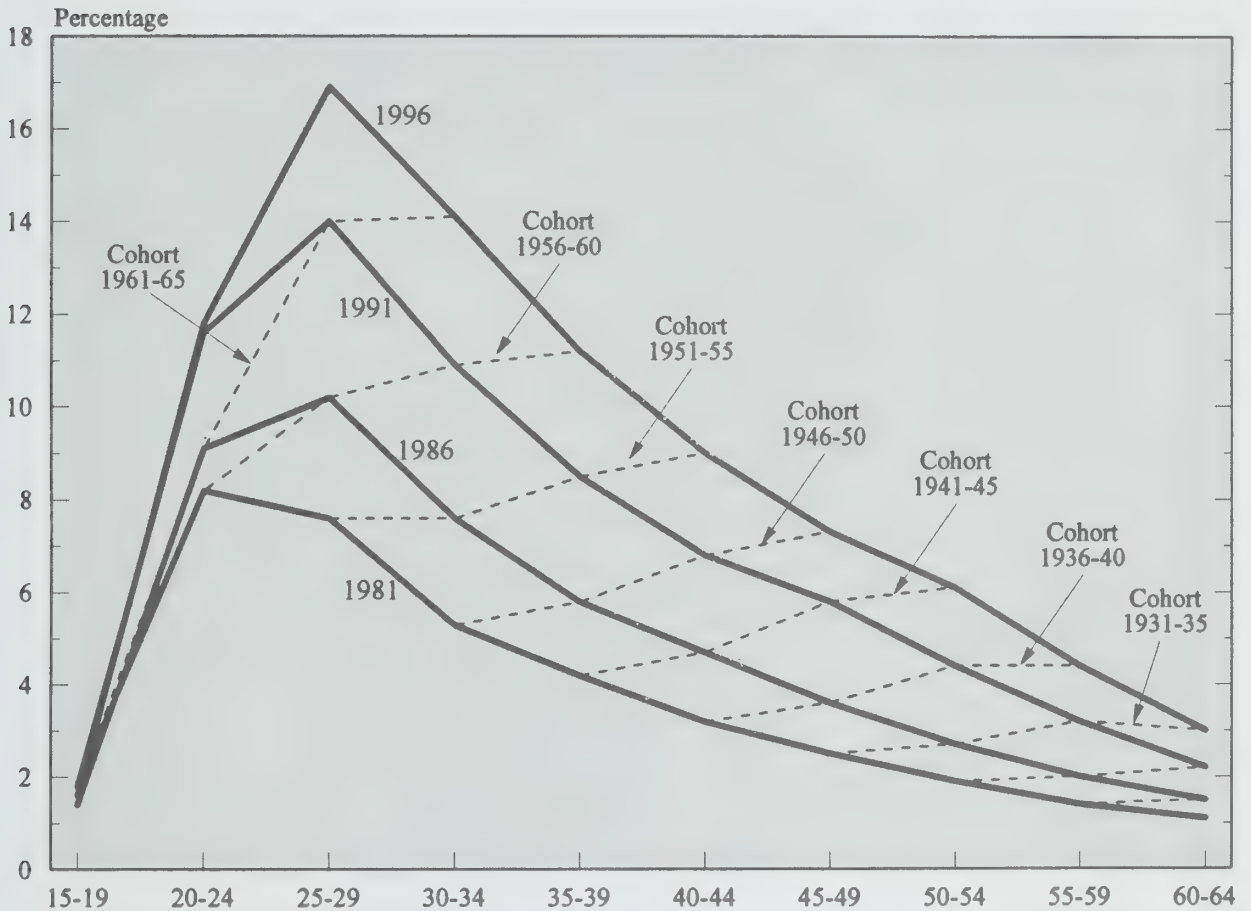
To conclude, the slight increase in the number of marriages in 1994 and 1995 which resulted in a similarly small increase in total marriage rates appears to have been temporary. It can be interpreted as a random increase of what was already a very low rate, particularly in Quebec where, depending on the period rate, only about one person in three will marry (Table 6). Common-law relationships appear to be the phenomenon with the greatest impact on the distribution of the population according to marital status. However, there are other factors at work: the postponement of first unions, unions that are less resilient, and the decrease in remarriages.

Table 7. Population Aged 15 and Over by Conjugal Status and Age Group, Canada, 1991 and 1996

Age Group	Total	In a Couple			Not in Union		
		Married	Common-Law	Total	Single	Ever Married	Total
15 - 19 20 - 24 25 - 29 30 - 34 35 - 39 40 - 44 45 - 49 50 - 54 55 - 59 60 - 64 65+ Total	Population (in thousands)						
	1991						
	1,869	16	33	49	1,817	3	1,820
	1,962	273	228	501	1,437	24	1,461
	2,376	1,050	333	1,383	897	96	993
	2,491	1,537	271	1,808	506	177	683
	2,284	1,575	193	1,768	292	224	516
	2,087	1,512	142	1,655	185	247	432
	1,641	1,216	96	1,311	114	215	329
	1,325	1,002	58	1,061	82	183	265
	1,223	922	39	960	74	189	263
	1,177	854	26	880	75	222	297
	3,170	1,724	33	1,757	234	1,180	1,413
	21,604	11,681	1,452	13,132	5,713	2,759	8,472
	1996						
	1,959	10	32	42	1,914	3	1,917
	1,898	179	225	403	1,476	19	1,495
	2,031	724	343	1,067	885	79	963
	2,468	1,348	347	1,695	596	177	773
	2,544	1,596	286	1,882	403	259	663
	2,318	1,549	208	1,756	261	300	561
	2,094	1,460	153	1,613	173	308	481
	1,617	1,156	99	1,254	107	255	362
	1,302	949	57	1,006	77	219	296
	1,188	852	36	888	69	231	300
	3,528	1,917	44	1,961	234	1,333	1,567
	22,945	11,739	1,829	13,568	6,196	3,182	9,378
	Percentage						
	1991						
	100.0	0.9	1.7	2.6	97.2	0.2	97.4
100.0	13.9	11.6	25.5	73.3	1.2	74.5	
100.0	44.2	14.0	58.2	37.7	4.1	41.8	
100.0	61.7	10.9	72.6	20.3	7.1	27.4	
100.0	68.9	8.5	77.4	12.8	9.8	22.6	
100.0	72.5	6.8	79.3	8.9	11.9	20.7	
100.0	74.1	5.8	79.9	7.0	13.1	20.1	
100.0	75.6	4.4	80.0	6.2	13.8	20.0	
100.0	75.4	3.2	78.5	6.0	15.4	21.5	
100.0	72.6	2.2	74.8	6.4	18.8	25.2	
100.0	54.4	1.0	55.4	7.4	37.2	44.6	
100.0	54.1	6.7	60.8	26.4	12.8	39.2	
1996							
100.0	0.5	1.6	2.1	97.7	0.1	97.9	
100.0	9.4	11.8	21.3	77.8	1.0	78.7	
100.0	35.7	16.9	52.6	43.6	3.9	47.4	
100.0	54.6	14.1	68.7	24.2	7.2	31.3	
100.0	62.7	11.2	74.0	15.9	10.2	26.0	
100.0	66.8	9.0	75.8	11.3	13.0	24.2	
100.0	69.7	7.3	77.0	8.3	14.7	23.0	
100.0	71.5	6.1	77.6	6.6	15.8	22.4	
100.0	72.9	4.4	77.3	5.9	16.8	22.7	
100.0	71.7	3.0	74.7	5.8	19.5	25.3	
100.0	54.3	1.3	55.6	6.6	37.8	44.4	
100.0	51.2	8.0	59.1	27.0	13.9	40.9	

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Canada.

Figure 7. Proportion of People Living Common-Law, Canada, 1981 to 1996



Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Canada and calculations by the author.

DIVORCE

Canadian courts granted a total of 71,528 divorces in 1996. This represents a decrease of 6,108 decrees (-7.9 %) from 1995. All provinces except those at the two extremities of the country, Newfoundland and British Columbia, experienced a decline (Table A4). The number of divorces increased significantly after changes to the law in 1985, but has remained stable since the early nineties. In the light of this stability, the drop observed in 1996 begs an explanation.

The number of marriages that take place each year has dropped markedly since 1990. In 1991, the number of marriages dropped by 8.2% (Table A2). In 1992, there was a further drop of 4.5%. At the present time, the risk of divorce is greatest during the third and fourth years of marriage (Table 8). It should not come as a surprise therefore—all things being equal—that we see a drop in the number of divorces four years after a year in which fewer marriages took place. One explanation for the 7.9% drop in the number of divorces granted in 1996 is the decrease in the number of marriages at the start of the decade.

Table 8. Duration-Specific Divorce Rate (per 10,000), Canada, Marriage Cohorts 1945-1946 to 1995-1996

Year	Number of Marriages per Year	Marriage Cohort	Cohort Marriages	Marriage Duration (in years)																									Year of Observation	T.D.R. ¹																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				
				0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24			25																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																			
1946	137,398	1945-46	124,387																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																															

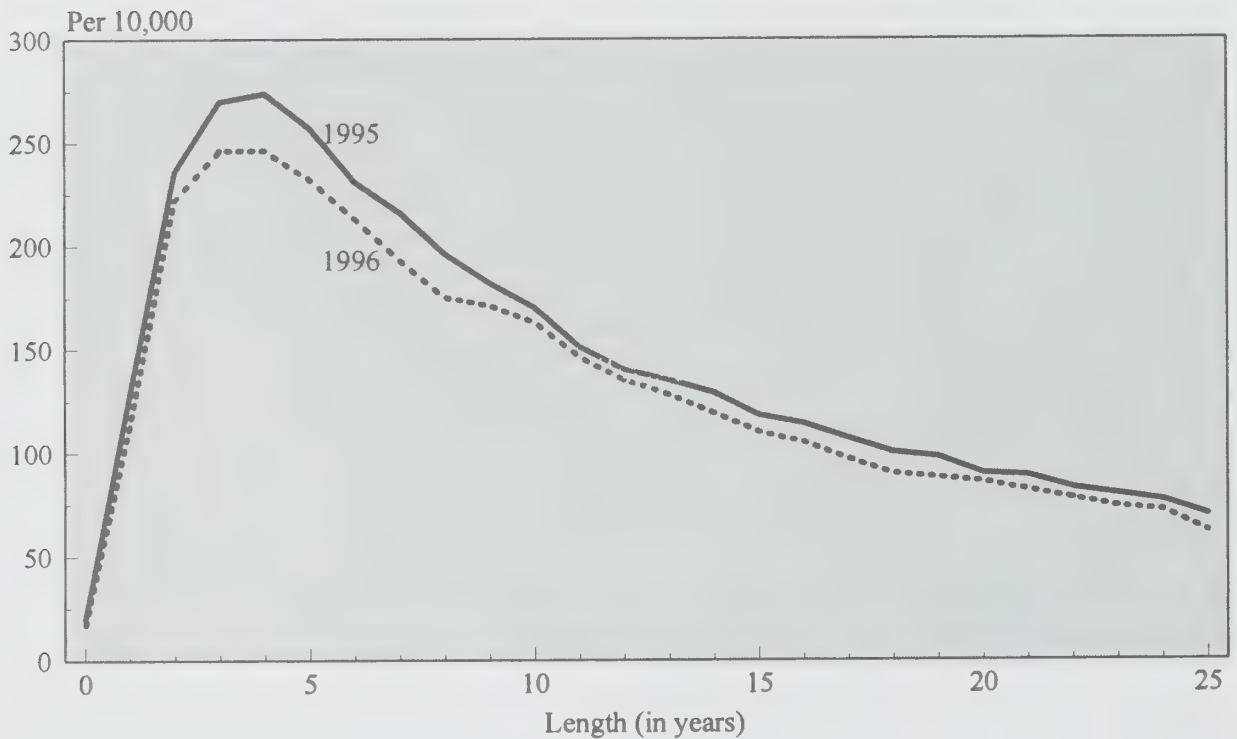
Year	Number of Marriages per Year	Marriage Cohort	Cohort Marriages	Marriage Duration (in years)																									Year of Observation	T.D.R. ¹		
				0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24			25	
1971	191,324	1970-71	189,876	4	28	61	106	161	186	189	191	184	180	173	166	151	132	115	129	151	121	113	101	93	90	84	81	77	62	1996	3,463	
1972	200,470	1971-72	195,897	4	33	74	117	174	193	196	197	191	188	186	169	145	126	145	159	131	122	111	98	97	83	87	80	72				
1973	199,064	1972-73	199,767	5	36	83	129	181	203	212	211	206	204	180	155	135	152	175	138	126	111	103	99	93	89	83	74					
1974	198,824	1973-74	198,944	5	44	94	136	184	213	227	229	218	189	168	146	160	184	149	129	111	106	104	97	87	89	78						
1975	198,085	1974-75	198,455	6	52	104	147	199	224	242	233	214	185	163	171	196	150	139	130	110	110	102	93	90	82							
1976	193,343	1975-76	195,714	8	59	111	161	217	251	246	227	194	165	195	207	165	152	131	119	113	112	103	98	86								
1977	187,344	1976-77	190,344	8	63	116	162	227	250	240	208	180	200	225	181	158	143	125	117	113	105	100	88									
1978	185,523	1977-78	186,434	7	65	123	175	235	250	221	200	230	248	196	175	155	135	130	116	107	107	90										
1979	187,811	1978-79	186,667	8	58	132	185	226	226	211	252	274	211	185	164	148	140	126	118	114	97											
1980	191,069	1979-80	189,440	7	65	135	176	206	210	268	297	227	207	184	165	148	142	131	118	105												
1981	190,082	1980-81	190,576	8	71	133	154	190	269	316	250	218	189	179	161	150	134	129	110													
1982	188,360	1981-82	189,221	9	65	118	144	260	326	263	232	216	190	177	160	153	135	119														
1983	184,675	1982-83	186,518	8	64	109	209	322	273	247	219	197	183	172	158	140	128															
1984	185,597	1983-84	185,136	8	63	150	270	263	253	237	209	202	184	171	151	135																
1985	184,096	1984-85	184,847	8	72	212	249	260	251	226	219	201	187	170	146																	
1986	175,518	1985-86	179,807	10	103	217	265	263	246	237	222	203	182	163																		
1987	182,151	1986-87	178,835	20	106	216	251	255	251	235	218	196	171																			
1988	187,728	1987-88	184,940	19	106	214	248	254	243	237	216	175																				
1989	190,640	1988-89	189,184	19	109	208	265	268	256	231	193																					
1990	187,737	1989-90	189,189	17	113	230	272	270	257	213																						
1991	172,251	1990-91	179,994	19	120	232	276	274	232																							
1992	164,573	1991-92	168,412	21	121	242	270	246																								
1993	159,317	1992-93	161,945	22	132	236	246																									
1994	159,958	1993-94	159,638	22	129	222																										
1995	160,251	1994-95	160,105	20	113																											
1996	156,691	1995-96	158,471	16																												

¹ Total Divorce Rate.

Note: Rates after 1980 have been revised.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Figure 8. Divorce Rate by Length of Marriage, Canada, 1995 and 1996



Source: Table 8.

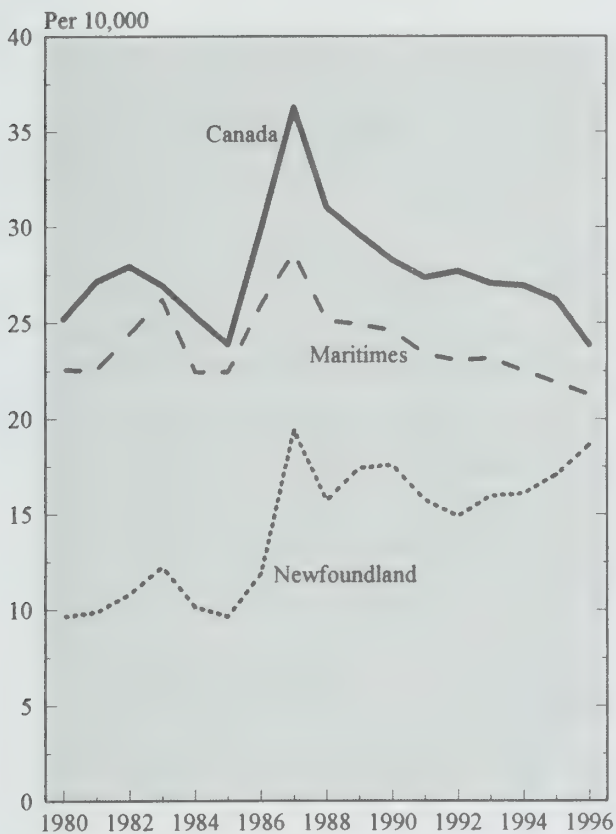
However, this decline in marriages does not explain the drop in the total divorce rate, since the calculation of this indicator allows us to remove the effect of changes in the number of candidates for divorce. In 1996, this measure fell to 3,463 per 10,000 marriages, a drop of 7.9 % compared to the 1995 figure (Table 8). *This drop results from a decline in all divorce rates by duration, but as Figure 8 shows, it is the shortest durations, and therefore the most recent cohorts, where the decline is most notable.* However, this observation is based on only one year of data.

It would require a few more years of low divorce rates to conclude that a trend towards a decline in divorce rates is underway, but certain indicators point in that direction. Age at marriage is rising and we know that marriages of very young couples are less durable. It is also possible that the growth of common-law unions selects candidates for marriage: those who are more likely, for whatever reason, to end their relationship, choose common-law unions rather than marriage.

Provincial Variations

The decline in marriages does not explain the regional variations in changes in the divorces rate. Whereas the drop in the number of marriages at the start

Figure 9. Crude Divorce Rate, Canada, Newfoundland and Maritime Provinces, 1980-1996



Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

of the decade was felt in all Canadian provinces more or less equally, with the exception of British Columbia, 1996 divorce rates varied by region. Almost all of the provinces experienced a decrease in the number of divorces, but the decrease was strongest in Ontario and Quebec. *In Ontario there were 4,317 fewer divorces (-14.7%), and in Quebec there were 2,055 fewer divorces (-10.2%). In Alberta, there were only 90 fewer divorces (-1.2%) and in British Columbia the divorce rate increased by 541 divorces (+5.2%).*

Annual variations in the divorce rate are often due to administrative factors, rather than a change in the propensity of couples to separate. Often, these variations reflect the courts fluctuating ability to handle cases, and a fluctuation in one direction is offset by a fluctuation in the opposite direction the following year. The decrease observed in Quebec in 1996 corresponds fairly closely to an increase the previous year (+10.5%). Similarly, the increase observed in British Columbia in 1996 follows a

year in which the number of divorces decreased by 9.4%, even though the average decrease in Canada was only 1.6%. In Ontario's case, part of the pronounced drop in the divorce rate in 1996 could be due to the decrease in the number of divorces funded by legal aid in that province. However, we must refrain from interpreting regional variations in the annual divorce rate—which are sometimes pronounced—as changes in behaviour. A trend must develop over a period of years before this kind of hypothesis can be put forward.

Such a trend does, however, appear to be emerging in Newfoundland. For years, divorce rates in this province were lower than anywhere else in Canada. However, since 1980, the number of divorces has risen rapidly, from 555 divorces in 1980 to 1,060 divorces in 1996. In the space of 16 years, Newfoundland's number of divorces practically doubled; during the same period; the increase for Canada as a whole was a mere 15%. In spite of the

Table 9. Crude Divorce Rate (per 10,000), Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1980 to 1996

Year	New-foundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Canada
1980	9.67	13.19	27.08	18.75	21.31	25.62	22.06	18.95	34.36	34.29	25.23
1981	9.89	15.12	26.64	18.84	29.24	24.51	23.10	19.74	36.55	33.63	27.17
1982	10.83	16.49	26.42	23.39	28.16	26.40	22.79	18.32	37.48	35.24	27.95
1983	12.25	17.12	26.84	27.08	26.22	25.42	24.86	19.91	36.57	32.00	26.94
1984	10.15	15.34	25.69	19.75	25.32	23.51	24.29	19.53	35.23	30.38	25.36
1985	9.67	16.61	26.33	18.74	23.64	22.33	21.31	18.75	33.59	27.85	23.89
1986	11.89	15.46	29.24	23.77	28.23	29.03	27.27	24.02	39.32	37.39	29.87
1987	19.38	21.29	30.80	27.34	32.50	40.39	35.67	28.72	39.03	39.72	36.25
1988	15.72	20.69	27.70	22.82	29.62	32.85	28.12	24.30	35.45	34.34	31.02
1989	17.41	18.99	27.88	22.35	28.56	30.91	26.36	24.12	32.87	33.16	29.61
1990	17.57	21.47	26.51	22.86	29.19	28.08	25.27	23.40	33.23	29.59	28.27
1991	15.73	20.53	24.84	22.09	28.61	26.41	25.12	22.30	32.27	30.64	27.37
1992	14.89	17.25	24.95	21.74	27.49	28.60	23.84	23.16	31.14	30.08	27.71
1993	15.95	17.09	25.57	21.30	27.17	26.75	23.10	22.25	32.19	30.56	27.07
1994	16.09	18.56	24.49	20.75	24.98	28.04	24.40	23.32	30.17	31.24	26.96
1995	17.07	19.19	24.48	19.19	27.40	26.41	23.67	22.90	27.68	27.57	26.22
1996	18.62	17.36	23.65	19.07	24.45	22.23	22.90	21.79	26.94	28.35	23.88

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

fact that Newfoundland's crude divorce rate is still lower than the Canadian average, it appears to be catching up and even gaining speed. Since 1992, it has progressed steadily, unlike those of the other provinces which have either remained unchanged or dropped slightly (Figure 9 and Table 9).

AN ANALYSIS OF UNION DISSOLUTION IN CANADA

Introduction

Every year, in the *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada*, the total divorce rate and the marriage-duration-specific divorce rate are analysed using vital statistics. Those studies describe the effect that divorce has on the various marriage cohorts and provide a time series of total divorce rates. They do not, however, supply any information about changes over time in the average duration of all types of unions. Common-law unions and their dissolution elude observation. As a result, the rates present an incomplete picture of the social reality.

The analysis that follows draws on data from Statistics Canada's 1995 General Social Survey. Compared with vital statistics, which provide comprehensive coverage in their area, the General Social Survey represents a relatively small sample of Canadian society. Nevertheless, the survey offers a great deal more explanatory information, though some of it concerns the respondent's characteristics at the time of the interview. In particular, the Survey provides information about all types of unions, including common-law marriage.

The survey is representative of the Canadian population aged 15 and over in 1995, excluding residents of the Territories and of institutions⁵. The responses by the 10,749 persons interviewed provide, after weighting, a detailed snapshot of Canadian society at a particular time. In addition, the survey's historical modules collect data that can be used to reconstruct the complete marital and fertility histories of respondents. To assist researchers in their analyses, Statistics Canada developed three public use microdata files: the main file, whose unit of analysis is the individual; a children file, which contains one record for each child of each respondent; and a unions file, which contains one record per union. A respondent contributed more than one record to the second and third files if he or she has had more than one child or more than one marriage at the time of the interview.⁶ Other respondents had no information to put in the files. The unit of analysis is the respondent and not the union.

⁵ The implicit assumption is that the characteristics of the small number of people who do not have a telephone (about 2% of the target population) do not differ sufficiently from those of people who have telephones to affect the survey estimates.

⁶ These two files contain no weighting factors. The weights associated with each respondent in the main file are used to ensure that the analysis is representative.

In all, the Survey's 10,749 respondents were partners in 10,938 unions. Of these, 767 were excluded for one of three reasons: the duration of the union could not be determined; the respondent did not specify the start or end date of the union; or the type of dissolution could not be determined.

Analysis of Union Duration using Data from a Historical Survey

The analysis is based on attained-duration-specific cumulative proportions of separations. This indicator is derived from demometric tables established from marital histories. Such tables are an excellent tool for analysing this type of data because they circumvent truncation problems. Truncation in this case refers to a marital episode that is incomplete at the time of the survey. Because of truncation, the total duration of the episode is unknown. Using only the known part of the duration to calculate an index such as average duration would produce an understated, and therefore inaccurate, measurement. On the other hand, using only terminated unions would make the analysis less useful because only one particular category of union would be covered.

Unlike vital statistics, the survey data provide some choices as to the duration that will be analysed. While the exact dates on which a legal marriage started and ended (wedding, divorce or death of one spouse) are known because they are recorded in legal documents, more information is required to determine when cohabitation began and concluded. For marriages preceded by common-law union, both start dates are needed. If we want to measure the length of time a couple stays together, on the implicit assumption that unions eventually “wear out”, we need a starting point: the date on which cohabitation commenced.⁷ Likewise, in the case of marriage, we need—if we are to be realistic and consistent—the separation date rather than the divorce date.

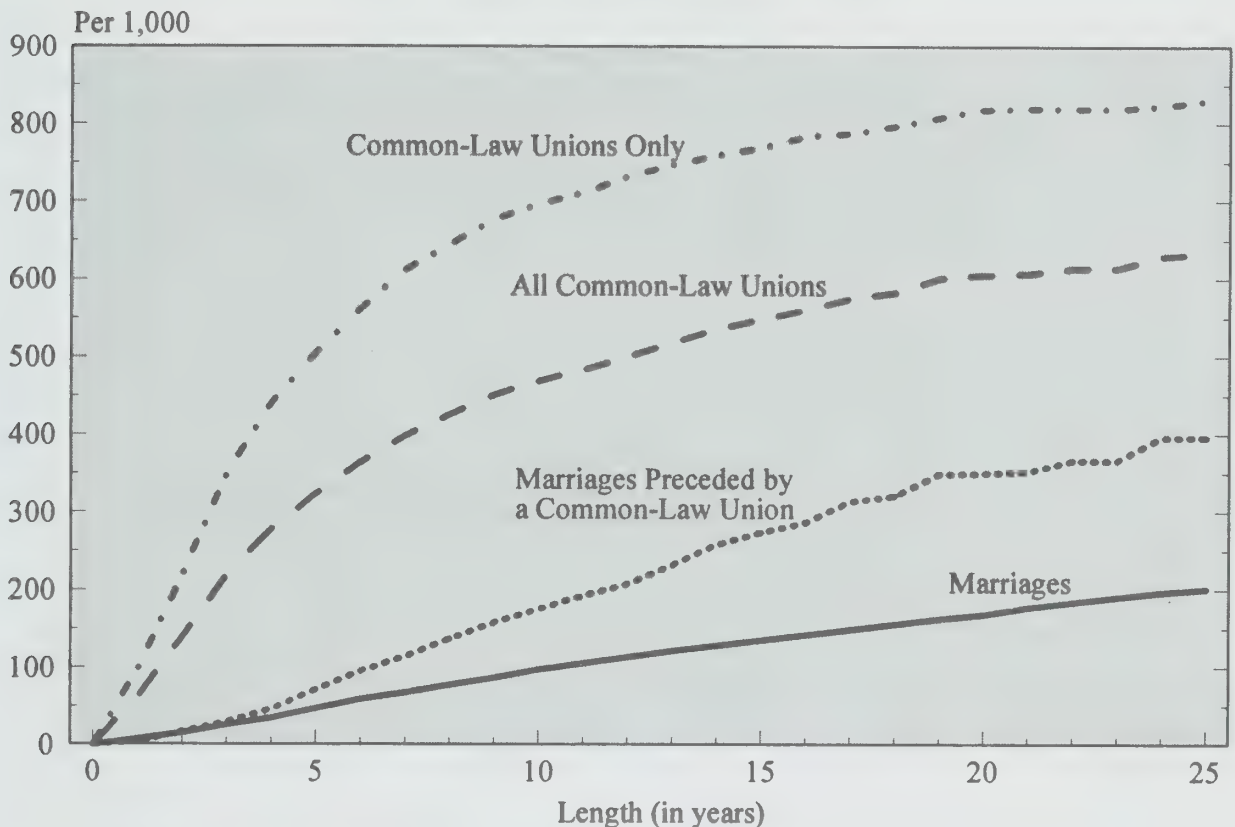
Union Duration by Type

The 1984 Family History Survey was the first survey to collect historical information about all unions formed by respondents. For the first time, the duration of legal marriages could be compared with the duration of common-law unions, and the difference between the two was found to be substantial.⁸ Figure 10 shows that the situation has not changed appreciably: *common-law unions are much shorter-lived than legal marriages. For example,*

⁷ However, this duration cannot be compared with the duration of a marriage not preceded by cohabitation, especially if the duration is short, because a common-law union preceding the marriage of the two partners is, by definition, at no risk of dissolving before the marriage. Since prenuptial cohabitation is usually brief, however, the first of the two dates was used to measure the length of time the couple remains together.

⁸ Burch, T. K., and A.K. Madan (1986). *Union Formation and Dissolution: Results from the 1984 Family History Survey*. Statistics Canada Catalogue No. 99-963. Ottawa, Canada.

Figure 10. Cumulative Proportions of Separations by Length of Union per 1,000 Unions of Each Type, Canada, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

within five years of their formation, half of all common-law unions that did not lead to the marriage of the two partners dissolved, whereas only 5% of marriages not preceded by cohabitation of the two partners failed.

Legal Marriage Preceded by Common-law Union

The figure also shows that marriages preceded by cohabitation of the two partners seem less stable than unions that begin with marriage. While the differences are marginal for the shortest durations, the two lines diverge noticeably for longer durations. *Ten years after the beginning of conjugal life, 18% of marriages preceded by common-law union have dissolved, compared with only 10% of marriages without prenuptial cohabitation.* In a way, this finding defies logic since people who have lived together before marriage have supposedly had a chance to test their union and based their decision to legalise it on a better appreciation of the difficulties involved. Studies in many Western countries, including the United States, have produced similar observations, sparking controversy about the possible reasons. One common theory is that there is a selection effect: people who choose common-law union have different characteristics from people who opt for marriage. In

Table 10. Cumulative Proportions of Separations, by Union Length and Formation Period for 1,000 Unions, Marriages Preceded or Not by a Common-Law Union, Canada, 1995

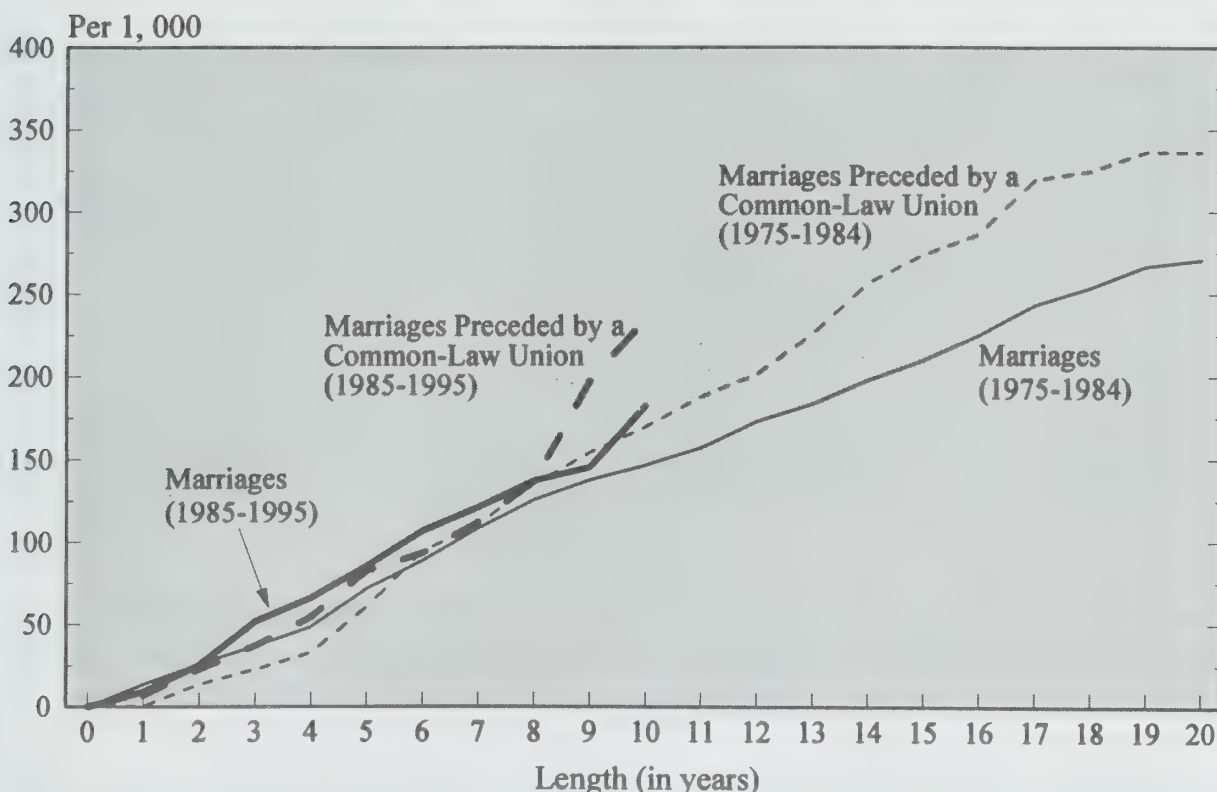
Length (in years)	Union Formation Period						Total	
	Before 1970	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1995		
Marriages Not Preceded by a Common-Law Union	5	22	69	73	70	78	89	47
	10	57	132	142	150	176	...	97
	15	88	173	197	233	...	...	135
	20	11	223	259	...	...	...	169
	25	15	265	...	...	...	...	202
	Number	3,354	730	624	680	571	435	6,394
	Percentage	52.5	11.4	9.8	10.6	8.9	6.8	100.0
	Marriages Preceded by a Common-Law Union							
	5	..	75	60	61	67	142	71
	10	..	167	182	158	222	...	176
	15	..	241	297	240	...	...	274
	20	..	311	358	...	...	...	350
	25	..	442	...	...	...	...	396
	Number	72	152	282	303	349	186	1,344
	Percentage	5.4	11.3	21.0	22.5	26.0	13.8	100.0
	Percentage of Marriages Preceded by a Common-Law Union	2.1	17.2	31.1	30.8	37.9	30.0	17.4

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

other words, it may be that people who choose common-law union belong to the same category of people as those who marry and get divorced shortly after.

There may also be a period effect. The two groups being compared do not belong to the same marriage cohort groups. Marriages preceded by cohabitation are, on average, much more recent than marriages not preceded by cohabitation. *For all durations, recent unions are less stable than older unions, whether the type of union is legal marriage or common-law marriage* (Table 10). In fact, when the period of formation is taken into account (Figure 11), the differences between the two groups diminish considerably, especially for unions that dissolve quickly. For the first 10 years following formation of the union, the lines representing the cumulative proportion of separations for marriages preceded by common-law union overlap the lines representing marriages not preceded by common-law union, both for unions formed between 1975 and 1984 and for unions formed between 1985 and 1995. Only then do the lines diverge, though not as much as in Figure 10.

Figure 11. Cumulative Proportions of Separations (for 1,000 Unions) by Union Length, Marriages Preceded or Not by a Common-Law Union and Formed Between 1975-1984 and 1985-1995, Canada, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

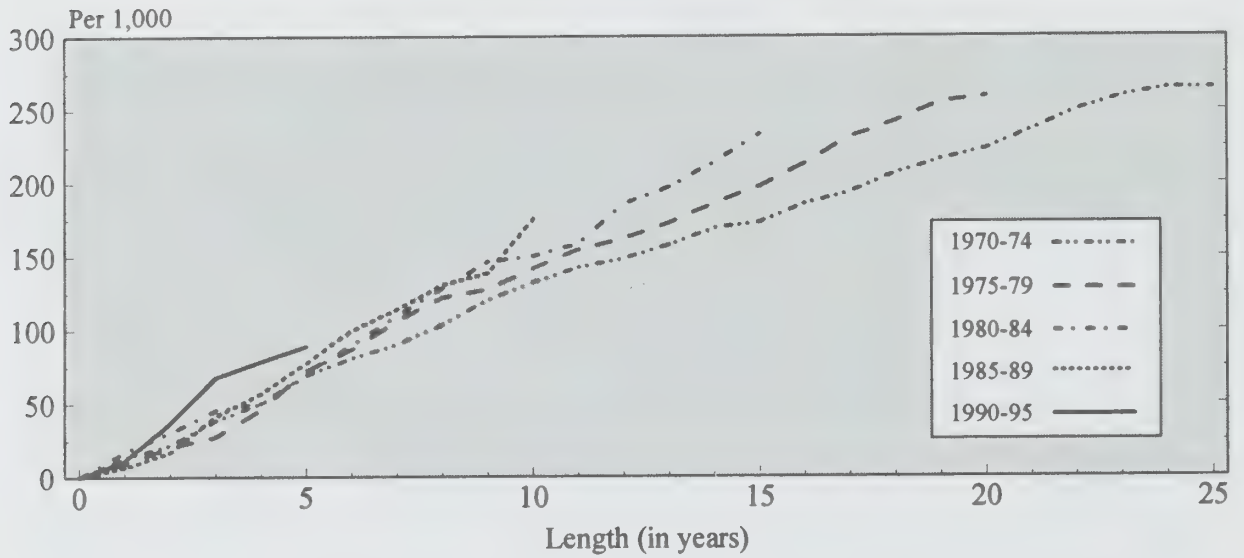
Significant as it is, the period effect cannot account for the entire difference. For unions formed between 1975 and 1984, 34% of marriages preceded by cohabitation had dissolved after 20 years, compared with only 27% of marriages without prior cohabitation.

Dissolution of Legal and Common-law Marriages Formed after 1970

The figure above illustrates how important it is to differentiate unions by their period of formation. Divorce did not become legal in all provinces of Canada until 1968. The effect that amendment of the federal *Divorce Act* had on the average duration of legal unions in Canada is well known. Since the early 1970s, the number of common-law marriages, like the number of divorces, has been on the rise.⁹ In addition to taking period of formation into account, an analysis of the dissolution of modern marriages would do well to include another dimension: the type of union chosen by the partners when they formed their union. Because of its historical nature, the survey

⁹ For a description of these trends, see Part II of the *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada, 1996*, entitled "Common-law Unions in Canada at the End of the 20th Century".

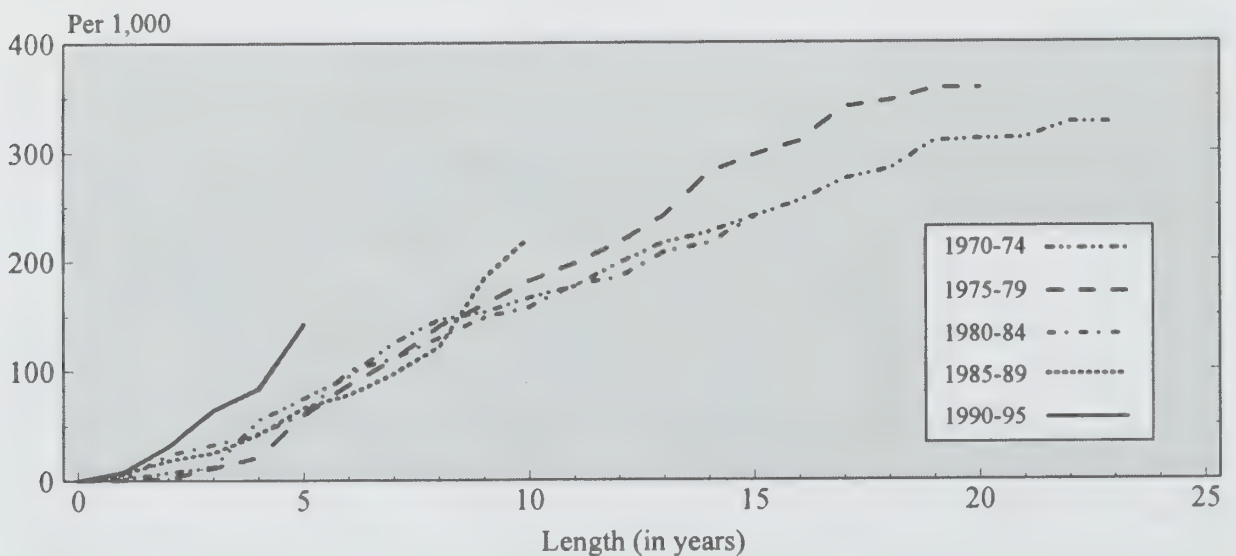
Figure 12.1. Cumulative Proportions (per 1,000) of Separations, by Union Length and Union Formation Period, Marriages Not Preceded by a Common-Law Union, Canada, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

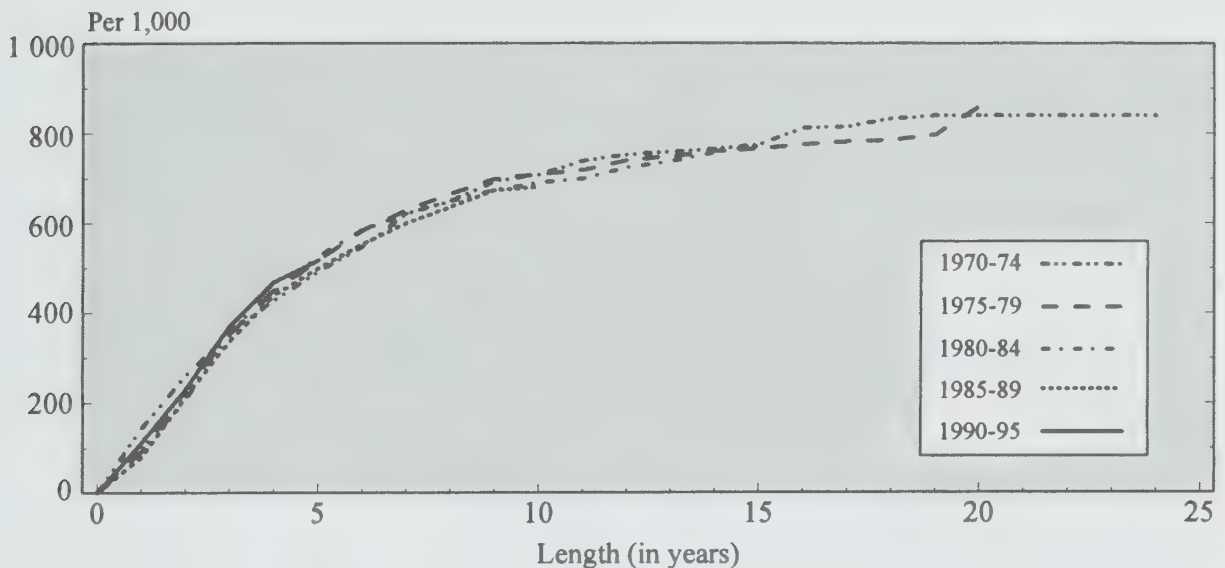
enables us to distinguish three types of unions *a posteriori*: unions that began with the marriage of the partners, marriages preceded by a period of cohabitation, and common-law marriages that have not been converted into marriages. For each type, the cumulative proportion of separations by duration and period of formation are shown in Figure 12.1-12.3.

Figure 12.2. Cumulative Proportions (per 1,000) of Separations by Union Length and Union Formation Period, Marriages Preceded by a Common-Law Union, Canada, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

Figure 12.3. Cumulative Proportions (per 1,000) of Separations by Union Length and Union Formation Period, Common-Law Unions Not Followed by a Marriage, Canada, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

The first thing we learn is, as previously noted, the substantial difference in durability between the types of union. For example, for unions formed between 1970 and 1974 (the first marriage cohorts formed after the divorce law was liberalised), there were 225 separations for every 1,000 marriages without prior cohabitation 20 years later, 310 separations for every 1,000 marriages preceded by a period of cohabitation, regardless of its length, and 840 separations for every 1,000 common-law unions that did not lead to marriage.

The second thing it illustrates is the extreme fragility of common-law unions not followed by marriage between the two partners, regardless of the period of formation. While common-law marriage has increased in popularity from period to period, to the point where it is becoming the usual way in which first unions are formed, its instability has declined only slightly from cohort to cohort. This consistency contrasts with the trend for legal marriage: from one marriage cohort group to the next, it has become less and less stable.

Even if we look exclusively at the most recent marriage cohorts since there are too few common-law unions formed before 1970, we find that the proportion of separated couples at each duration differs much more, from cohort to cohort, for married couples than for common-law couples. For marriages with or without prior cohabitation, the line representing the cumulative proportion of separations for each cohort group lies above the line representing the preceding cohort group, whereas for common-law unions not followed by marriage, the lines overlap. For example, 10 years after formation there

were, depending on the cohort group, between 130 and 175 separations for every 1,000 marriages without prior cohabitation, between 160 and 220 separations for every 1,000 marriages preceded by cohabitation, and between 710 and 680 separations per 1,000 common-law unions that did not lead to marriage. Between the unions formed in the 1970-1974 period and those formed in the 1990-1995 period, the cumulative proportion of unions dissolved by separation after 10 years increased by 35% for marriages without prenuptial cohabitation and by 33% for marriages preceded by cohabitation, but declined by only 4% for common-law unions. *Thus, while legal marriage appears to be less and less stable, the proliferation of common-law marriage has not been accompanied by an increase in its durability. The growing fragility of marriage, combined with the rising popularity and extreme instability of common-law union, has made marital histories increasingly complex.*

Duration of Common-law Unions

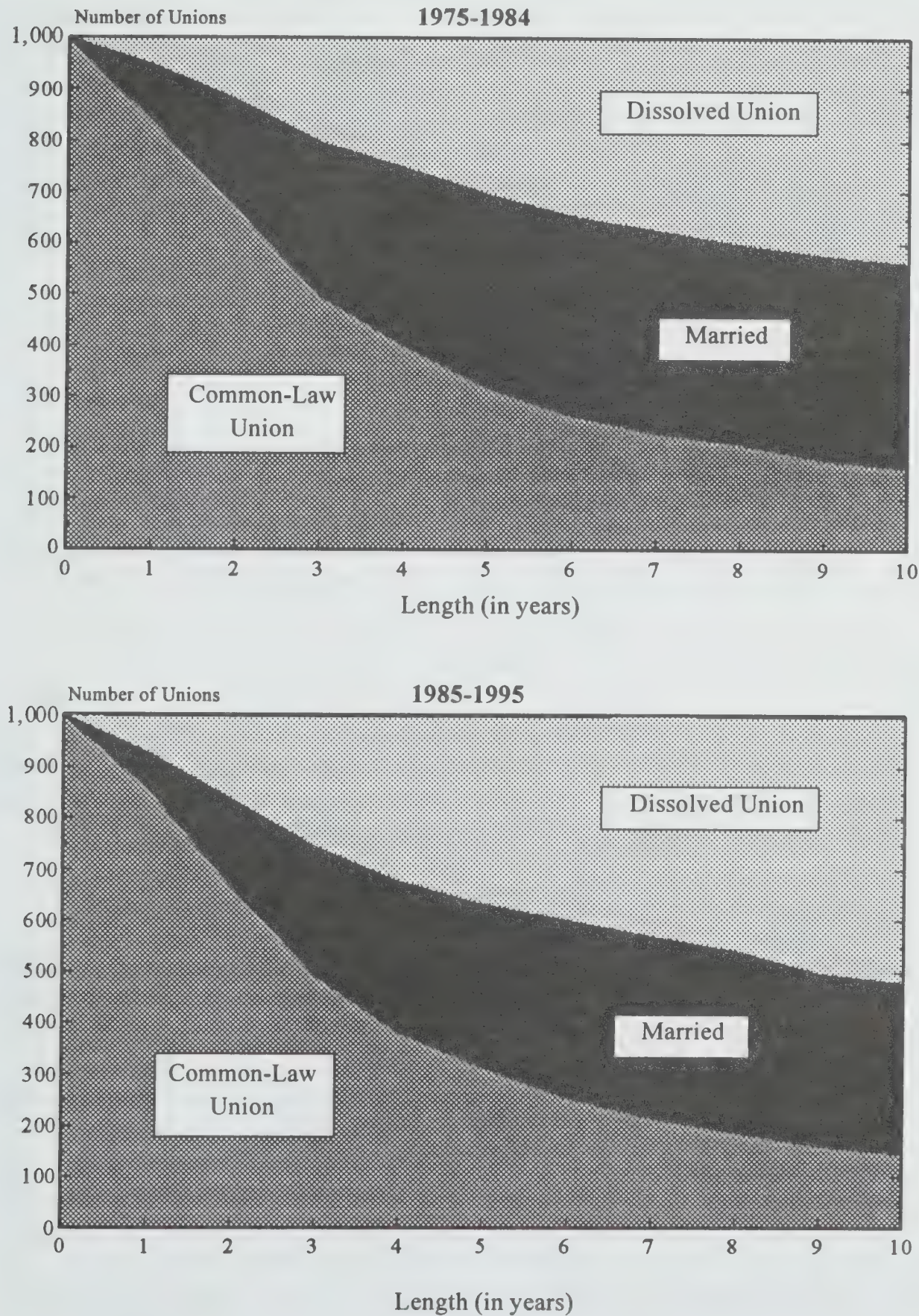
Aside from the death of one partner, common-law unions can end in only one of two ways: separation or marriage. To measure the longevity of common-law unions, we need to consider the probabilities of dissolution, the probabilities of marriage and the probabilities of divorce for couples who marry after cohabiting. Each probability is based on the length of time since the union was formed. When the three series of probabilities are combined in a multiple entry-exit table, we can calculate the proportion of common-law unions that survive, either as common-law unions or as marriages, and the proportion of common-law unions that dissolve. Those proportions are shown in Figure 13 for two different groups of common-law marriage cohorts.

Common-law unions appears to be a temporary state. They are quickly dissolved or converted into marriage. The proportion of intact common-law unions has changed little over time. Less than a third (32%) of common-law marriages formed in each period described above are still common-law marriages five years after they were formed. Ten years after formation, only about 15% remain.

By contrast, the proportion of common-law unions that became legal marriages declined slightly between the two periods. Five years after moving in together without being married, 38% of couples from the 1975-1984 period were married, compared with 32% of couples from the 1985-1995 period. Ten years after formation, the gap remains the same: the proportion of married couples is 40% for the older group and 33% for the more recent group.

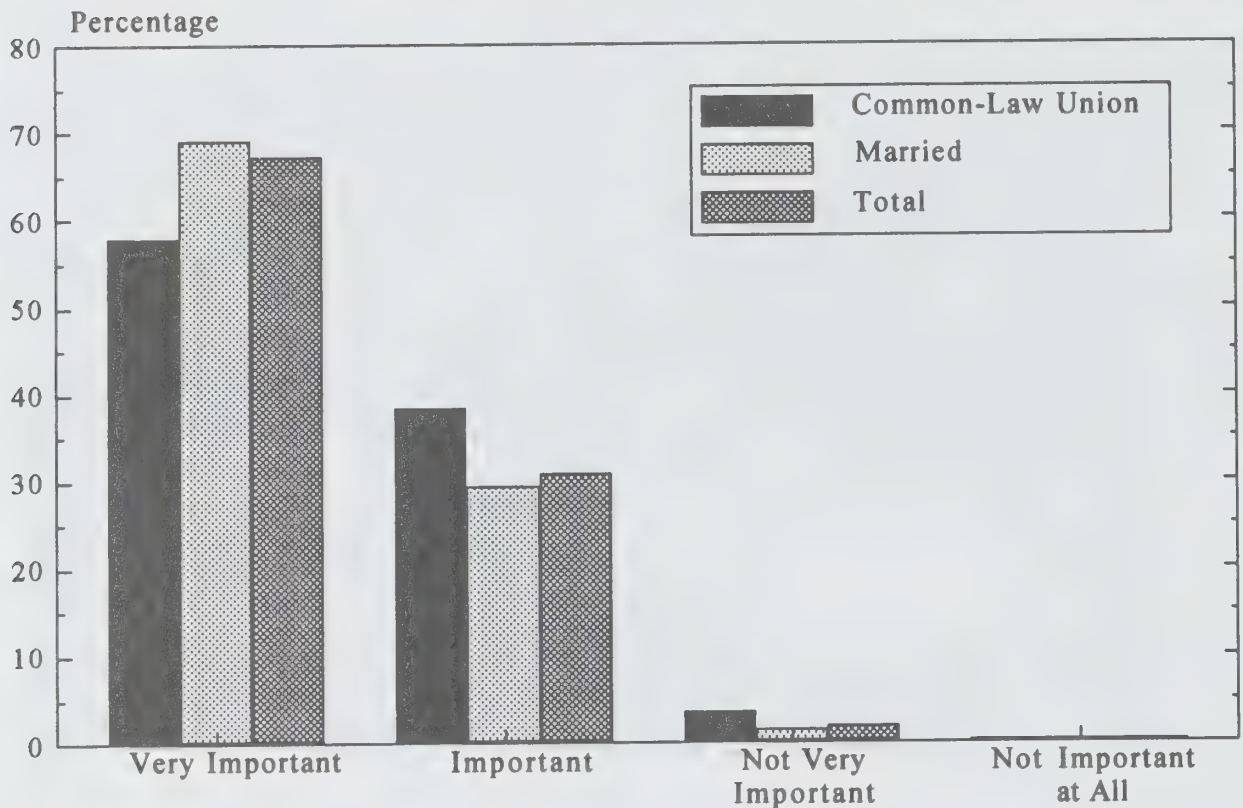
Hence, *dissolution is more frequent among common-law marriages formed in the 1985-1995 period than among those formed 10 years earlier.* This conclusion is based on *the fact that common-law unions formed in*

Figure 13. Status of 1,000 Common-Law Unions Formed Between 1975-1984 and Between 1985-1995, by Union Length Since Formation, Canada, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

Figure 14. Distribution of Population Living as a Couple According to the Importance They Place on Living in a Long Relationship in Order to Be Happy, by Type of Union, Canada, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

the second period were converted less often into marriages and, to a lesser extent, on the fact that the risk of separation for marriages with prenuptial cohabitation is slightly higher in the more recent period.

Conclusion

The finding that common-law marriage is more unstable than legal marriage hardly comes as a shock. What is surprising, however, is the magnitude of the differences between the various types of unions, particularly for more recent cohorts. And it is even more surprising when we consider that a large proportion of people regard a lasting relationship as important or very important to their happiness (Figure 14). Almost all legally married people (98%) and people in common-law unions (96%) feel that for their happiness it is important or very important to have a long-term relationship. Since about half of all common-law unions that do not end in the marriage of the partners, regardless of the cohort, dissolve after five years (Figure 12.3), it may well be asked whether the 2 million Canadians who have opted for this marital arrangement are deluding themselves about how long their relationship is likely to last.

FERTILITY

Vital statistics on births in 1996 were not available at the time of writing. The estimates for 1996 contained in the population accounting tables for Canada and in Table A5 (appendix) were obtained using very short-term projections: the estimated population in 1996 multiplied by the fertility rates for the previous year, according to age and province. These statistics indicate a decline in the number of births between 1995 and 1996, resulting strictly from the change in the population structure and size. Only a rise in fertility rates could reverse this situation. Hence, an analysis of fertility for the year 1996 will only be possible once the final data have been released.

A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF THIRD-ORDER FERTILITY IN CANADA

Introduction

The sudden, rapid change that has occurred in Canadian fertility since the 1960s has been described so often that there is no need to do so here. In the 1991 Census, about 40% of ever-married women aged 45 to 49 reported that they had two children, while only 6% had five or more children. Ten years earlier, 23% of women in the same age group reported having only two children, and 22% had five or more (Figure 15).

From one cohort to the next, the number of births has declined rapidly and steadily. A third child has become a rarity. A comparison of parity progression ratios for older cohorts and younger cohorts leaves no doubt (Table 11).

Table 11. Parity Progression Ratios by Specified Ages in 1991 by Five-Year Birth Cohorts of People Born from 1927 to 1956, Canada, 1991

Parity Progression Ratio	Birth Cohorts					
	1927-31	1932-36	1937-41	1942-46	1947-51	1952-56
	By Age 50			By 45-49	By 40-44	By 35-39
a_0	866	880	879	863	841	802
a_1	895	903	887	856	828	799
a_2	742	728	647	512	422	393
a_3	663	619	523	399	311	273
a_4	615	568	482	380	305	267

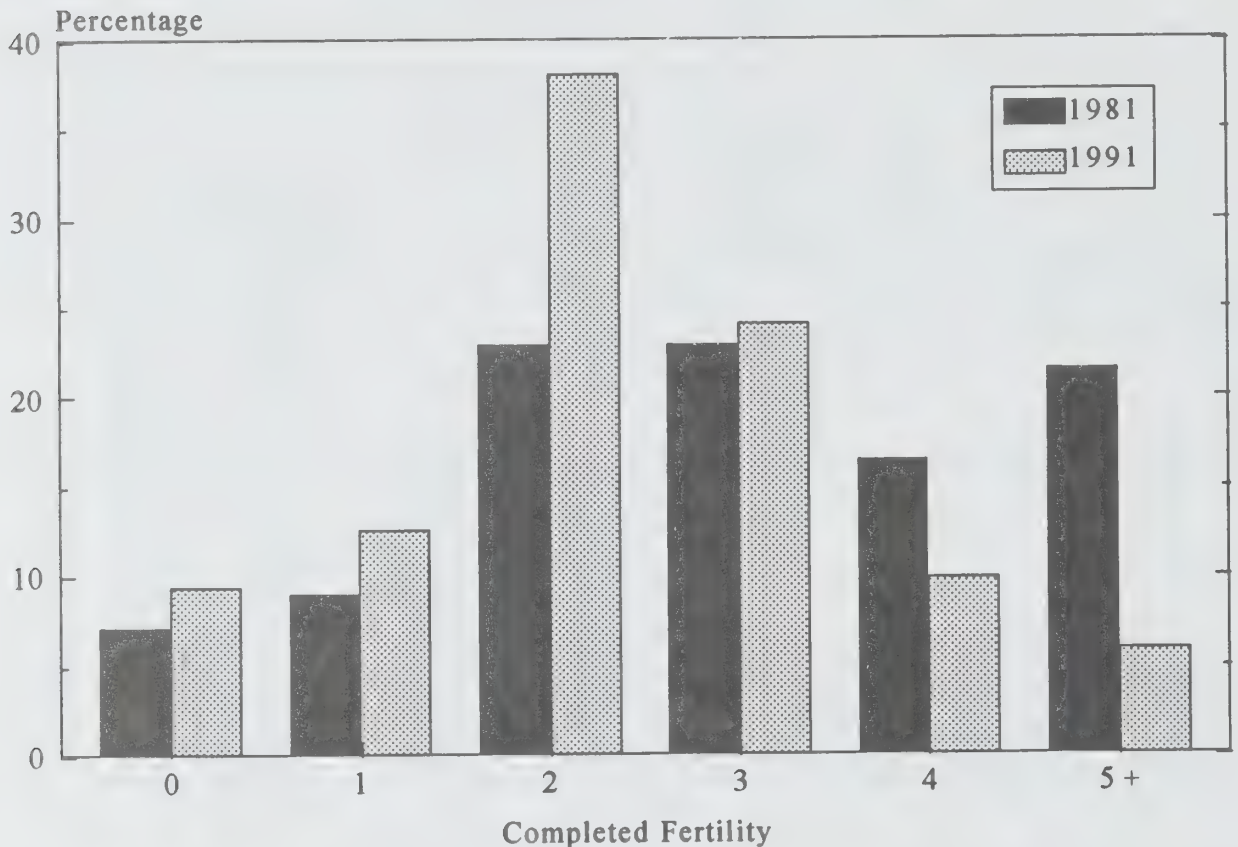
Note: a_0 : proportion of women who proceed to have at least a first child.

a_1 : proportion of women who, having had a first child, proceed to have at least a second.

a_2 : proportion of women who, having had two children, proceed to have at least a third.
All births are assumed to have occurred by age 50, and only births before Census Day 1991 are included.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue no. 93-321, Table 2.

Figure 15. Percentage Distribution of Women Aged 45-49 by Completed Fertility, Canada, 1981 and 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 and 1991 Censuses of Canada and calculations by the author.

Although they decline over time, the first two probabilities remain high from one five-year cohort to the next. For example, 80% of women in the youngest cohort group (1952-1956) have had a second child, while 90% of women in the oldest cohort (1927-1931) did so. With third-order births, major changes begin to appear as we move from cohort group to cohort group. While 75% of women born between 1927 and 1931 had a third child, only 40% of women born between 1952 and 1956 did so. According to calculations, more than three quarters (77%) of the women in the 1927-1931 group have had at least two children, compared with only 64% of the women in the 1952-1956 group. That is a decrease of 13 percentage points, but it is small in comparison with the decline in the proportion of women who have had at least three children. While three out of five women (58%) in the oldest group had a third child, the corresponding proportion in the youngest group is unlikely to exceed one in four (25%).¹⁰

¹⁰ At the time of the 1991 Census, the fertile period of women born between 1952 and 1956 was incomplete since they were between 35 and 39 years of age. However, fertility in Canada is very low after age 39. The fertility rate for women aged 40 to 44 ranges between 4.0 and 6.0 births per 1,000 women depending on the province. The rate for women aged 45 to 49 is virtually zero.

Parity progression ratios are based on attained birth order. The first probability, denoted a_0 , is given by the proportion of women who have had at least one child. The subsequent probabilities, denoted a_n , represent the probability that a woman who has had n children will have at least one more. For example, enlargement probability a_1 is the probability that a woman with one child will have at least one more (i.e. a second child). Hence, probability a_2 is the probability that a woman who already has two children will have a third.

Although there is a strong trend toward uniformity in reproductive behaviour across the country, analysis shows that the small differences that persist are largely due to the third child. In 1993, for instance, the ratio of the first-order fertility rate of the province with the lowest total fertility rate in the country (Newfoundland, 20.3 per 1,000) to the rate of the province with the highest (Saskatchewan, 23.7 per 1,000) was 0.86. The ratio of third-order fertility rates for the same provinces was 0.51.

Hence, the third child continues to have an appreciable impact on the country's fertility. Since *the current third-order fertility rate makes up about 15% of the total fertility rate for the year*, it makes sense to study the characteristics of women who decide to have a third child. In this section, we will use a technique called event history analysis to examine those characteristics, as reflected in the 1995 General Social Survey.

Data Source

The 1995 General Social Survey is a good source of information on the recent fertility behaviour of Canadian women. With its coverage of respondents' fertility history, the survey provides information not only about the number of children each one has had, but also about the intervals between successive births. Since the survey collected data about respondents' marital history and the dates they started and stopped working, their marital status and employment status at the time of their children's birth can also be determined. From this information it is possible to obtain a dynamic picture of the relationships between those statuses and the probability of having a child. Marital histories are not confined to legal marriage; they rightly include common-law unions, since more and more children are being born to parents who live together but are not legally married. Finally, the survey covers almost the entire period during which the Quebec government offered parents a financial incentive to have more children. The survey data can therefore be used to perform a statistical assessment of the incentive program's effectiveness.

THE ANALYTICAL TOOL: EVENT-HISTORY ANALYSIS

Event-history analysis is a time-honoured technique in medicine, biology and engineering. The parametric variants of these models are rarely used in the social sciences because it is necessary to specify the effect of time on the risk being studied, which is often impossible in this field where experimental research is rare. Not until Cox (1972) developed the theory for a less restrictive semi-parametric model did the first social-science applications appear. This model, known as the proportional-hazards model, deals with the problem of the effect of time on hazard by proposing that the hazards for any two individuals have a constant ratio over time. Now that statistical software such as SAS and SPSS, which make it easier to estimate the parameters of the model, have become widely available, more applications of this kind of analysis have been developed.

Its growing popularity can be explained by the fact that it combines two familiar tools of analysis: attrition tables and regression. The dependent variable in these analytical models is a measurement comparable to the probability in a life table: the probability of a transition from one state to another, but conditional on the fact that the individual is still at risk of experiencing the transition. The use of conditional probabilities is necessary to obtain an unbiased estimator when there is the possibility of censorship, such as when only one part of the history is known.

Unlike the classic regression model, the parameters of this model are not determined by the least-squares method, but by the maximum-likelihood method. Nevertheless, as with the coefficients obtained by the least-squares method, we can estimate the standard error associated with the distribution of each coefficient, and compare it to the normal distribution in order to establish a statistical significance test (Student's-t test). For this analysis, we have used the 5% threshold most often used in the social sciences. That means we are prepared to be wrong one time out of twenty by inferring a relationship that does not really exist. Another important difference compared to the classic regression model is the possibility of easily integrating explanatory variables that vary over time. Note also that the objective of the event-history-analysis model is not to explain the relation between duration and the transition rate, since this is eliminated by using a semi-parametric model, but rather to estimate the effect of each of the independent variables on the differences observed between respondents holding constant the effects of all the other independent variables included in the model.

In the General Social Survey, 3,229 women reported that they had two children. Of this number 211 had to be removed from the sample because the birth date of one or both children was missing. Another 403 respondents were excluded because they did not answer one of the questions used by the model to explain variations in fertility.¹¹ The 47 women whose second pregnancy ended in a multiple birth were also excluded. Thus, the sample used to compute the risk ratios shown in Table 12 consists of 2,568 women.

At the time of the survey, many of these women had not yet had a third child. Some will never have a third child since they were 50 years old when the survey was conducted and their childbearing years were behind them. For others, the data provide no information because at the time of the interview, they still had neither had a third child nor reached the age limit for reproduction. What is known about the 2,568 respondents is that 1,325 (51.6%) had a third child and 1,243 (48.4%) had not or were over 50 at the time of the survey. The term used in the model to denote the period of their lives during which these women were likely to have a third child is *episode*. For those who gave birth to a third child, the episode ended with the event being studied. For the others, the episode was truncated since, while they had not yet had their third child, they might still do so before they turned 50. The method attempts to consider not only women who have completed their childbearing years, but also those who may not have completed them.

Objectives

In this analysis, data from the 1995 General Social Survey will be used to determine the factors influencing the probability that a woman who has two children will give birth to a third. The primary objective is to identify the demographic, cultural and socioeconomic characteristics that affect the probability of having a third child and to measure those effects after compensating for the effects of the other factors included in the model. Each characteristic plays a role in explaining the variation in the probability of a third child, since only women who have had two children are considered in the analysis. The demographic, cultural and socioeconomic characteristics of the regression model are regarded in this case as the only ones that can have an impact.¹²

¹¹ The number of respondents excluded from the study may seem high, but since a number of variables rely heavily on respondents' memories (fertility history, marital history and employment history), the large number of respondents excluded for missing responses is not surprising.

¹² For example, the relationship between employment status and fertility is not necessarily a one-way street. For a number of women, having a third child will certainly have a substantial effect on the probability of being off work for a period of time, but that effect is not measured by the model. The object of the study is to measure the effect of each woman's employment status on her probability of having a third child. For that reason, employment status is measured six months before the birth.

The second objective is to examine the effect that the Quebec government's baby bonus program had on third-order births. The baby bonus program was in effect for 10 years (starting in 1988 and ending in September 1997). Initially, the allowance provided at the birth of the third child was \$3,000. It was increased every year until 1992, when it peaked at \$8,000.

Economists, sociologists and demographers have long identified a number of factors affecting fertility. Economists of the Chicago School, for example, argued that women who have been on the labour market tend to have fewer children than do women who have not worked, and highly educated women tend to have fewer children than do women with less schooling. Other researchers have focused on cultural characteristics such as attendance at religious services, country of birth and number of siblings. Demographers, on the other hand, have emphasized the timing of life-cycle events, such as age at first birth and intervals between births, in explaining the differences.

The effects of a number of these characteristics manifest themselves in the fact that older cohorts were more fertile than younger cohorts. However, are there significant third-order fertility differences between women born in the first half of the baby boom (between 1945 and 1954), women born in the second half of the baby boom (between 1955 and 1964) and women born early in the baby bust (after 1965)? It is also important to determine whether this and other relationships persist once the other factors have been neutralised.

The results presented here are net effects, i.e., the effects after other factors included in the model have been neutralised. They are expressed in terms of "risk ratios" and hence are interpreted in relation to a reference group. A factor has a risk ratio of one if in relation to the excluded group it has no influence on a woman's probability of having a third child. If the risk ratio is greater than one, the factor's effect is positive, and the ratio is less than one, its effect is negative. For instance, according to Table 12, the probability of having a third child is 46% higher for women who attend religious services every week (1.46) than for other women, who are by definition assigned a value of one.

In addition, as for multivariate linear regression coefficients, we can compute the standard error associated with each parameter to establish a test of statistical significance. In this analysis the threshold of 5%, generally used in the social sciences, is employed. Risk ratios that are significant at this level are shown in boldface in the result's table.

Results

Effects of Demographic Variables

The model includes four potentially influential demographic variables: cohort group, conjugal status at the time of the third child's birth, age at first birth,

Table 12. Risk Ratios¹ for Models of Third Birth Fertility, for Specified Sociodemographic Variables, Women With 2 Births, Canada, 1995

		Model	
		Univariate	Multivariate
<u>Demographic Variables</u>			
Period of Birth	-Born Before 1945	1.76	1.76
	-Born Between 1945 and 1954	0.87	1.06
	-Born Between 1955 and 1964	0.91	1.07
	-Born After 1965	1.00	1.00
Age at First Birth	-Less Than 25	2.36	2.53
	-Between 25 and 29	1.31	1.60
	-30 or More	1.00	1.00
Interval Between the First Two Births	-Less Than 30 Months	1.00	1.00
	-Between 30 and 53 Months	0.57	0.66
	-More Than 53 Months	0.29	0.31
Marital Status	-Common-Law Union	0.93	1.05
	-Not in Union	0.53	0.63
	-Married	1.00	1.00
<u>Socioeconomic Variables</u>			
Employment Status	-Working	0.49	0.65
	-Unemployed	1.00	1.00
Education	-No Secondary Diploma	1.64	1.31
	-Secondary Diploma	1.00	1.00
	-Post-Secondary	0.89	1.02
<u>Cultural Variables</u>			
Region	-Superior Fertility	1.20	1.17
	-Others	1.00	1.00
Religious Practice	-Weekly	1.59	1.46
	-Other	1.00	1.00
Number of Siblings	-No Siblings	1.05	0.96
	-One Sibling	1.00	1.00
	-More Than One Sibling	1.34	1.11
Place of Birth	-Born in Canada	1.00	1.00
	-Europe and North America	0.76	0.80
	-Other Countries	0.98	1.48

¹ The risk, relative to that of the reference group (1.00), of giving birth to a third child, holding constant the other independent variables in the model.

Note: Risk ratios that are significant at the 5% level are in boldface.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

and interval between the first two births. For all these variables, at least one response category has a statistically significant effect on the probability of having a third child.

Fertility history turns out to be the most important factor in the analysis of third-order fertility. Of all the variables in the model, the interval between the first two births appears to have the greatest effect on a woman's probability

of having a third child. Age at first birth ranks second, its effect being only slightly weaker. The size of the differences between the risk ratios for the categories defined by these two variables sets them clearly apart from the others. The effects of the other two demographic variables are appreciable, but comparable to those of socioeconomic and cultural variables such as employment status prior to the birth and mother's country of birth.

The earlier the first birth and the shorter the interval between the first two births, the higher the probability of a third. Specifically, the effects of other variables having been taken into account, the risk of a third birth is one third as high (0.31) for women who had a long interval between their first two children (over 53 months) as for women who had their second child fairly quickly (interval of less than 30 months). The risk ratio of 0.66 for the intermediate category (interval of 30 to 53 months) is statistically different from the other two. *The dissuasive effect that the interval between the first two births has on third-order fertility appears to increase with the length of the interval:* the quotient of the risk ratios for the long-interval category (over 53 months) over the ratios for the intermediate category (30 to 53 months) is greater than the quotient of the ratios for the latter category over the ratios for the short-interval category ($1.00 / 0.66 = 1.5$ and $0.66 / 0.31 = 2.1$). As for the effect of the mother's age at first birth, we found that among women who have had at least two children, *those who bore their first child before age 25 are 2.5 times more likely to have a third than those who were still childless at age 30, and 1.6 times more likely than those who had their first child between 25 and 29 years of age* ($2.53 / 1.60 = 1.56$).

The mother's birth cohort is also a very important factor in the probability of having a third child. *For women born before 1945 who had two children, the probability is 76% higher than for women born after 1965 (the reference group). The former took part in the increase in fertility at the time of the baby boom*, an increase that affected both the current fertility rate and completed fertility. *By contrast, the probability of a third child for women in the other two cohort groups (cohorts born between 1945 and 1954 and between 1955 and 1964) is not statistically different from the probability for women in the reference group (born after 1965). This finding implies that for women with two children, the probability of having a third child was essentially the same, whether they were born in the first half of the baby boom, in the second half, or during the baby bust that followed.* This analysis deals only with third-order fertility, but if a similar relationship were found for higher-order births, it might be viewed as a refutation of Easterlin's cyclical theory.

Marital status has a weaker effect on third-order fertility. The risk of having a third child is certainly far lower for women who are not married or living common-law (0.63) than for women who are. *However, compared with marriage, common-law union does not significantly reduce the risk of bearing a third child.*

Cultural Variables

Three cultural variables have a statistically significant effect on the risk of having a third child: region of residence, attendance at religious services and country of birth.

Region of residence has a significant effect. For women in Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, provinces whose total fertility rates have long been slightly above the national average, the probability of having a third child is 17% higher than for residents of other Canadian provinces. This probability is only slightly lower than the one in the univariate model (1.20). Consequently, the explanation for the persisting fertility differences must lie outside the variables in the model.

Women with two children who attend religious services every week are about 50% more likely to have a third child than other women. This relationship appears fairly robust since the model neutralises the effects of several other important variables (birth cohort, fertility history and conjugal status) that are strongly correlated with religious-service attendance. In other words, the promotion of certain behaviours or attitudes expressed through religious-service attendance has an effect on fertility that goes beyond the indirect effects associated with those other variables.

The woman's country of birth also plays an important role in determining the probability of a third child. Studies based on vital statistics have shown¹³ that Canadian-born women have a higher fertility rate than women who immigrated many years ago, but a lower rate than more recent immigrants. This difference is probably due to a shift in immigrants' countries of origin. A majority of women who immigrated in the more distant past came from Europe, where fertility declined earlier than in Canada, while a majority of more recent immigrants are from developing countries, where fertility is generally higher than in Canada. However, such studies do not take into account other variables such as level of education, fertility history and religious-service attendance. The results in Table 12 show that even when the effects of those variables are neutralised, the part of the world in which the mother was born still has a significant effect on the probability of a third child. ***Women born in Europe and elsewhere in North America have a lower probability (0.80) than Canadian-born women of bearing a third child, while women born in other parts of the world have a higher probability (1.48).***

On the other hand, the number of siblings a woman has does not have a statistically significant effect on her probability of increasing her lifetime fertility beyond two. The univariate model, in which the other variables are ignored,

¹³ See, for example, the *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada, 1994*

indicates that women who have one sibling have a greater probability of bearing a third child, but this relationship is illusory since it becomes statistically insignificant when the effects of the other variables are neutralised.

Socioeconomic Variables

The two socioeconomic variables in the model have a statistically significant effect on the probability of a third birth. This finding is interesting in the sense that a pronatalist policy could target those variables in an effort to influence the fertility of Canadian women. ***Women who did not finish high school are 31% more likely to have a third child than women who graduated from high school. On the other hand, the risk ratio for women who pursued a higher education is not statistically different from the ratio for women who completed secondary school.***

Employment status has a substantial effect. Employed women have a much lower risk (0.65) of having a third child than women who are not in the labour force. This effect is a powerful one: the risk ratio is of the same order of magnitude as the ratio between women not living in an union and married women. In other words, the proportion by which an employed woman's probability of having a third child is lower than that of a woman not in the labour force is approximately equal to the proportion by which the probability of a woman not living in an union is lower than a married woman's.

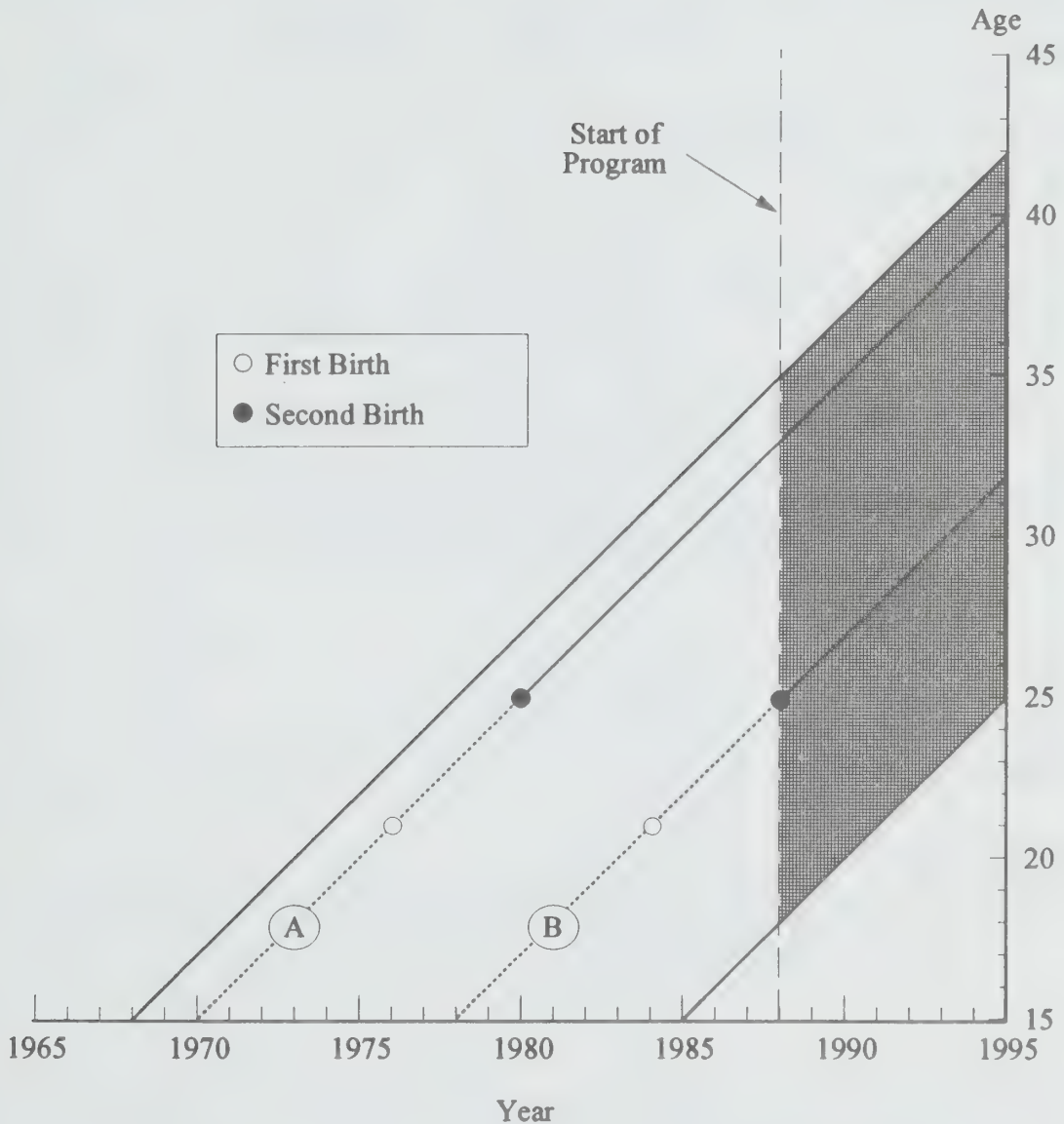
These findings provide statistical support for the theoretical arguments advanced by the proponents of neoclassical economics. For the latter, the decline in fertility stems from the increase in women's level of education and labour market participation, which has given them greater economic independence and thus reduced the benefits they might derive from motherhood. In particular, higher employment among women has led to an increase in both direct costs (day-care, education) and indirect costs (loss of income, setbacks or delays in career advancement), which mount with every birth. Lowering those costs might have a positive effect on fertility.

A Statistical Assessment of the Quebec Baby Bonus Program's Impact

Realising the importance of increasing third-order births, the Quebec government developed an incentive policy to address the problem. A baby bonus was considered the best way to increase total fertility and thus narrow the large gap between the total fertility rate and the replacement level. When fully implemented (after 1992), the program provided Quebec families with an allowance of \$500 for the birth of the first child, \$1,000 for the birth of a second child, and \$8,000 for each subsequent child.

To measure the impact of this third-order fertility incentive program, we limited the sample to women who were between 25 and 35 during the life of

Figure 16. Lexis Diagram Showing Female Cohorts in Which their Most Fertile Period Coincides with the Birth Benefit Program



the program because they were the only ones eligible (see hatched part of Lexis diagram). The average age of women at the birth of their third child was about 30, and those women, aged 25 to 42 at the time of the survey, were at their most fertile while the program was in effect. The subsample initially consisted of 1,007 but was reduced to 952 after the elimination of non-responses affecting one of the model's variables.

The multivariate model used to gauge the program's effects is a scaled-down version of the previous model. The various categories of the variable measuring the effect of the mother's birth cohort were not needed because the sample includes only a few younger cohorts. Number of siblings and place of birth were discarded as variables, the former because it had no significant effect, and the latter because the sample was small. On the other hand, two dichotomous variables were added. The first was assigned a value of one if

Table 13. Risk Ratios¹ for Models of Third Birth Fertility for Specific Sociodemographic Variables and Measuring the Effect of the Third Birth Benefit Program from the Quebec Government, Women Born Between 1953 and 1970 Who Had 2 Children, Canada, 1995

		Models	
<u>Demographic Variables</u>			
Age at First Birth	-Less Than 25	1.56	1.60
	-Between 25 and 29	1.00	1.01
	-30 or More	1.00	1.00
Interval Between the First Two Births	-Less Than 30 Months	1.00	1.00
	-Between 30 and 53 Months	0.72	0.72
	-More Than 53 Months	0.43	0.42
Conjugal Status	-Common-Law Union	1.04	1.04
	-Not in Union	0.55	0.55
	-Married	1.00	1.00
<u>Socioeconomic Variables</u>			
Employment Status	-Working	0.53	0.53
	-Unemployed	1.00	1.00
Education	-No Secondary Diploma	1.22	1.22
	-Secondary Diploma	1.00	1.00
	-Post-Secondary	0.97	0.97
Birth Allowances	-Yes	0.81	0.75
	-No	1.00	1.00
Period of 2nd Birth	-Before 1988	...	1.00
	-1988 and After	...	1.24
<u>Cultural Variables</u>			
Region	-High Fertility	0.98	0.98
	-Others	1.00	1.00
Religious Practice	-Weekly	1.46	1.46
	-Other	1.00	1.00

¹ The risk, relative to that of the reference group (1.00), of giving birth to a third child, holding constant the other independent variables in the model.

Note: Risk ratios that are significant at the 5% level are in boldface.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

the woman lived in Quebec, but only after the baby bonus program was launched in 1988. Its purpose was to measure the effect that the program might have had on the probability of having a third child. The hypothesis that the program might have had a greater effect on women who had their second child during the program's life is also tested using a second dichotomous variable which takes the value of "one" for women, who have had their second child during the program's life.

The risk ratios for the model's variables are presented in Table 13. The effects that the program might have had on a woman's probability of having

a third child are discussed in the notes. Only the two new variables are of questionable worth. The risk ratios for the other variables are of roughly the same order of magnitude as the ratios shown in Table 12. On the other hand, the parameters estimated for some variables (age at first birth, marital status, level of education, region) are not statistically significant, either because the sample is smaller or because the relationship does not apply to this subsample. The risk ratios for the two new variables are not statistically significant.

On the basis of these results it cannot be concluded that the baby bonus program led to a significant increase in third-order fertility, even among the women who could theoretically have benefited from it most, i.e., women in their thirties who had their second child after the program came into effect. It may not be valid to conclude from these findings that the program was ineffective, since the sample was small and the period covered was short. It is also impossible to say what the third-order fertility of women in Quebec would have been if the program had not existed.

Conclusion

The risk ratios presented in this study and their statistical significance indicate that the following characteristics have the greatest effect on third-order fertility:

- ***the interval between the first and second births***: the shorter it is, the greater the risk of having a third child;
- ***the woman's age at the birth of her first child***: the younger she is, the greater the risk of having a third child;
- ***the woman's employment status***: women who are not employed are 50% more likely to have a third child than employed women;
- ***marital status***: women living with a male partner have a greater chance of having a third child, but there is no significant difference between married women and women living common-law;
- ***attendance at religious services***: women who attend services every week are 50% more likely than others to have a third child.

Hence, information about women's fertility history is vital to the analysis of higher-order fertility. Women who had their first child young and quickly had a second child have the greatest chance of bearing a third child. It is also true, however, that even when the influence of previous fertility is taken into account, certain cultural and economic characteristics have a substantial effect on the risk of a third birth. Employed women in particular are much less likely to bear a third child than are women who are not in the labour market, even when their fertility history and other variables have been factored in.

The analysis failed to establish a clear statistical relationship between third-order fertility and the financial incentives offered by the Quebec government's baby bonus program. On the other hand, labour market participation by women has a strong negative effect on third-order fertility.

CONTRACEPTION IN CANADA, 1995

Canadian women have more control over their fertility than ever before. Access to effective contraceptive methods over the past 30 years, though not the cause of their reproductive behaviour, has certainly been a key factor in their gaining control of it. The 1995 General Social Survey has provided the data for a more up-to-date look at contraception and sterilization practices in Canada. By comparing those data with the results of previous surveys, we can measure changes in the use of the various contraceptive methods and of sterilization. And by cross-tabulating the data on contraceptive use with the respondents' socioeconomic characteristics, we can determine whether all groups exhibit the same use patterns.

For the demographer, two aspects of contraception are important:

1. the effect on the lifetime fertility of women or couples;
2. the effect on the timing of births, i.e. the mother's age at the birth of her first child, and the interval between successive births.

The increase in fertile common-law unions results in more out-of-wedlock births but does not affect non-conjugal fertility, which remains low. For these reasons, unless otherwise specified, the analysis that follows will focus on married or common-law couples whose female partner was under 50 years of age at the time of the survey. Age-specific distributions will be based on the age of the female partner.

Contraception and the 1995 General Social Survey

For the purposes of the questions on contraception, the universe of the 1995 General Social Survey consisted of the population at risk of reproducing, i.e. all respondents under the age of 50¹⁴ and married or common-law male respondents whose spouses were under 50. Of the 10,749 respondents, 5,457 had to be excluded because the questions did not concern them. Of the remaining 5,292 respondents, 2,243 replied affirmatively to the question "Are you currently using any form of contraception?"¹⁵ People who reported that

¹⁴ Pregnant women and respondents whose spouses were pregnant at the time of the interview were not asked to respond to this part of the questionnaire.

¹⁵ Married people and people living common-law were asked the question "Are you or your spouse/partner currently using any form of contraception?"

they had had operations resulting in sterility (or whose spouses had had such operations) were also excluded. A small percentage of respondents refused to answer (7.2%), and for a number the question was not relevant because they or their spouses were pregnant.

For the question “What method(s) of contraception are you or your spouse currently using”, respondents were given a choice of nine different methods. Several methods had so few users that they had to be grouped with related methods.

Natural methods have been around the longest: coitus interruptus (withdrawal), periodic abstinence and the rhythm method. It is worth noting that until 1969, the sale of contraceptives and the publication of information about contraceptive methods were prohibited in Canada under the Criminal Code.¹⁶ Because natural methods do not involve the use of any devices or products, they were, until fairly recently, the leading means of contraception in Canada. *According to a 1971 Quebec survey,¹⁷ an estimated 40% of married women under age 45 who were practising contraception were using periodic abstinence or withdrawal to limit the number of children they would bear.* The results of the 1995 survey suggest that *these methods are now a thing of the past: only 63 respondents reported using natural methods. All natural methods combined were practised by only 2.8% of respondents.*

The second category can be described as *barrier methods*: condoms, diaphragms and spermicides (sponge, foam and jelly). An overwhelming majority of those who practised the methods in this group (96%) used condoms.

Medical methods include the birth-control pill and the intra-uterine device (IUD). The “pill” was by far the more popular of the two, as 87% of couples in the group were using it. *The low rate of IUD use in Canada was comparable to the rate in the United States (less than 1%), but quite different from European rates (16% of French women using a contraceptive method opt for an IUD).*

Sterilization is a very different phenomenon. When voluntary and performed only to control fertility, it involves, at the very least, tying the woman’s fallopian tubes or cutting the man’s vas deferens (vasectomy). The General Social Survey distinguishes between people who had the operation for contraceptive purposes and those who were sterilized for medical reasons or knew they were sterile but had not undergone an operation. The following two tables show the distribution of sterile couples by reason; only respondents who reported having been operated on for contraceptive reasons are included in the other tables.

¹⁶ In this area, however, perhaps more than in others, changes in practices preceded changes in the law.

¹⁷ This is the second oldest Canadian survey on the use of contraceptives, the oldest being a 1968 survey of a smaller, more homogeneous population in the Toronto urban area.

Table 14. Distribution (in Thousands) of Respondents Living as a Couple in Which the Female Partner is Aged 15 to 49 and One or the Other is Sterile and the Reason for the Sterility, Canada, 1995

	Female Partner: Cause of Sterility				Sub-Total	Fertile	Total
	Operation for Contraceptive Reasons	Operation for Medical Reasons	Both Reasons	No Intention			
Male Partner: Cause of Sterility							
Operation for Contraceptive Reasons	55	130	**	34	241	1,515	1,756
Operation for Medical Reasons	**	**	**	**	25	33	58
Both Reasons	**	**	**	**	16	41	57
No Intention	**	**	**	**	34	72	106
Sub-total	66	168	24	60	318	1,659	1,977
Fertile	1,441	689	261	189	2,580	5,268	7,848
Total	1,507	857	285	249	2,898	6,927	9,825

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

Separating the methods into various categories minimises the differences in effectiveness between methods and maximises the differences between categories. Needless to say, sterilization is by far the most effective method of contraception.

Sterility and Voluntary Sterilization in Canada, 1995

In a comparison with practices in other Western countries, most of them European, the high rate of sterilization in Canada stands out. Because the practice is so widespread, because the people having it done are so young, and because it is nearly irreversible, it cannot help but affect fertility. That is why sterilization is the first topic in this study.

A total of 4.5 million Canadian couples whose female partner was under age 50 in 1995 were sterile for either natural, medical or contraceptive reasons. They made up nearly half (46%) of all couples in that age range, i.e. in their reproductive years (Table 14). Overall, despite an appreciable increase in male sterilization since 1984, *the woman is the sterilized partner in a majority of sterile couples (58%)*. An estimated 2,650,000 Canadian women under age 50 who were living with a male partner had been surgically sterilized: 1.5 million (57%) solely for contraceptive purposes, 857,000 (32%) for medical reasons, and 285,000 (6%) for both reasons.¹⁸ In addition, a quarter of a million Canadian women were sterile for natural reasons.¹⁹ *Male sterility is*

¹⁸ Possibly women who decided to undergo surgical sterilization after considering whether to have a family or whether to add to their family.

¹⁹ This is probably a minimum figure since some people may be sterile, or in the case of male respondents, may be living with a sterile woman, without knowing it.

less common, primarily because surgical sterilization for medical reasons is rare among men in this age group. Only 58,000 men living with a female partner aged 15 to 49 had undergone an operation resulting in sterilization for medical reasons. As well, only 106,000 men living with a female partner knew they were naturally sterile. On the other hand, *male partners who had had a vasectomy (1,756,000) outnumbered female partners who had had their tubes tied (1,507,000),* assuming that operations performed exclusively for contraceptive reasons were tubal ligations. *Almost all men (93%) who had undergone surgical sterilization did so for contraceptive reasons; the corresponding proportion of women was only 57%.* Finally, in 315,000 couples (3%), both partners were sterile.

Voluntary Sterilization by Age of Female Partner

Because voluntary sterilization is virtually irreversible, its use for contraception is inversely related to age (Table 15). *The youngest age group with a significant sterilization percentage (10%) was the group in which the female partner was between 25 and 29.* This was also the group in which fertility was at its peak, though it still was not very high. Because sterilization is cumulative, the percentage rises from age group to age group, and in the age group at the end of the reproductive cycle (45-49), in nearly half of the couples in which the female partner was approaching menopause, one of the two partners had been sterilized. The table shows that the proportion of voluntarily sterilized couples increased rapidly from age 30 on, and *that in more than one quarter (26%) of all couples in which the female partner was aged 30 to 34, one partner had been surgically sterilized for contraceptive purposes. In the 35-39 group, the proportion was nearly one half.* A generation effect has also an impact. The fact that the percentage of men who had had a vasectomy increased from one age group to the next simply reflects the cumulative effect, since vasectomy is considered irreversible. However, starting with the 40-44 age group, the male partner being a few years older—the proportions were lower. *Older men knew less about vasectomy or were more reluctant to have it done.*

Table 15 also shows which partner underwent contraceptive sterilization, by age group of the female partner. *The younger the female partner was, the higher the proportion of male sterilization was: two thirds (66%) of couples in which the woman was between 25 and 29, compared with less than half (45%) of couples in which the female partner was between 45 and 49.* More than a single observation is needed to be sure that this is truly a generation effect, but younger men appear to be more inclined than older men to take the responsibility of sterilization.

The large number of couples in which both partners were sterile stemmed from the combined effect of three factors whose frequency was relatively high: early male sterilization for contraceptive purposes, medical or natural

Table 15. Number (in Thousands) of Couples Where One of the Partners Had an Operation Solely for Contraceptive Purposes, by Sex of the Person Who Had the Operation and the Female Partner's Age Group, Canada, 1995

Age Group	Males		Females		Total		Total Number of Couples	Percentage of Couples in Which One of the Partners Had an Operation for Contraceptive Reasons	Percentage Who Had a Vasectomy
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%			
15-19	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
20-24	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
25-29	90	65.6	47	34.4	138	100.0	1,432	9.6	6.3
30-34	361	62.9	213	37.1	575	100.0	2,193	26.2	16.5
35-39	494	56.1	386	43.9	880	100.0	1,960	44.9	25.2
40-44	411	51.6	386	48.4	797	100.0	1,739	45.8	23.6
45-49	385	45.2	466	54.8	851	100.0	1,735	49.0	22.2
Total	1,756	53.8	1,507	46.2	3,263	100.0	9,825	33.2	17.9

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

sterility in the woman, and formation of a new union following dissolution of an earlier one in which one partner had undergone sterilization. A quarter of couples in which the woman was between 30 and 34 were sterile, usually because the male partner had had a vasectomy. About 9% of women who were living with a male partner had undergone a sterilising operation for medical reasons. Thus, it is no surprise to find that some 7% of women sterilized for medical reasons were living with a male partner who had been sterilized for contraceptive reasons.

Voluntary Sterilization by Number of Children Borne or Fathered²⁰

Today, large families make up only a tiny proportion of all families, and two-child families are becoming the norm. In the 1991 Census, for example, roughly 40% of ever-married women aged 45 to 49 reported having borne two children, whereas only 6% had had five children or more. Ten years earlier, 23% of women in the same age group reported having had two children, and 22% five or more.

In Canada, family size is becoming uniform, and voluntary contraceptive sterilization appears to be the means favoured by Canadian couples who want to ensure that their attained fertility does not exceed their intended fertility. This conclusion is based on Table 16. Sterilization becomes much more common following the birth of the second child. The proportion of couples in which one partner has undergone contraceptive sterilization increases from 14% for couples with one child to 47% for couples with two children, but it is only four percentage points higher for couples with three or more children.

²⁰ The number of children borne or fathered as reported by the respondent. The sterilized partner may have produced a different number of children.

Table 16. Number (in Thousands) of Couples of Which One of the Partners Had an Operation Solely for Contraceptive Purposes, by Sex of the Partner Who Had the Operation and the Number of Children Born, Canada, 1995

Number of Children Born in the History of the Respondant	Males	Females	Total	Number of Couples on Survey Day	Percentage of Sterile Couples
0	99.2	80.3	179.5	2,118.7	8.5
1	147.7	124.0	271.7	1,925.0	14.1
2	922.7	756.0	1,678.7	3,574.8	47.0
3+	586.5	546.5	1,133.0	2,205.1	51.4
Total	1,756.1	1,506.9	3,262.9	9,823.6	33.2

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

Changes in contraceptive use in Canada

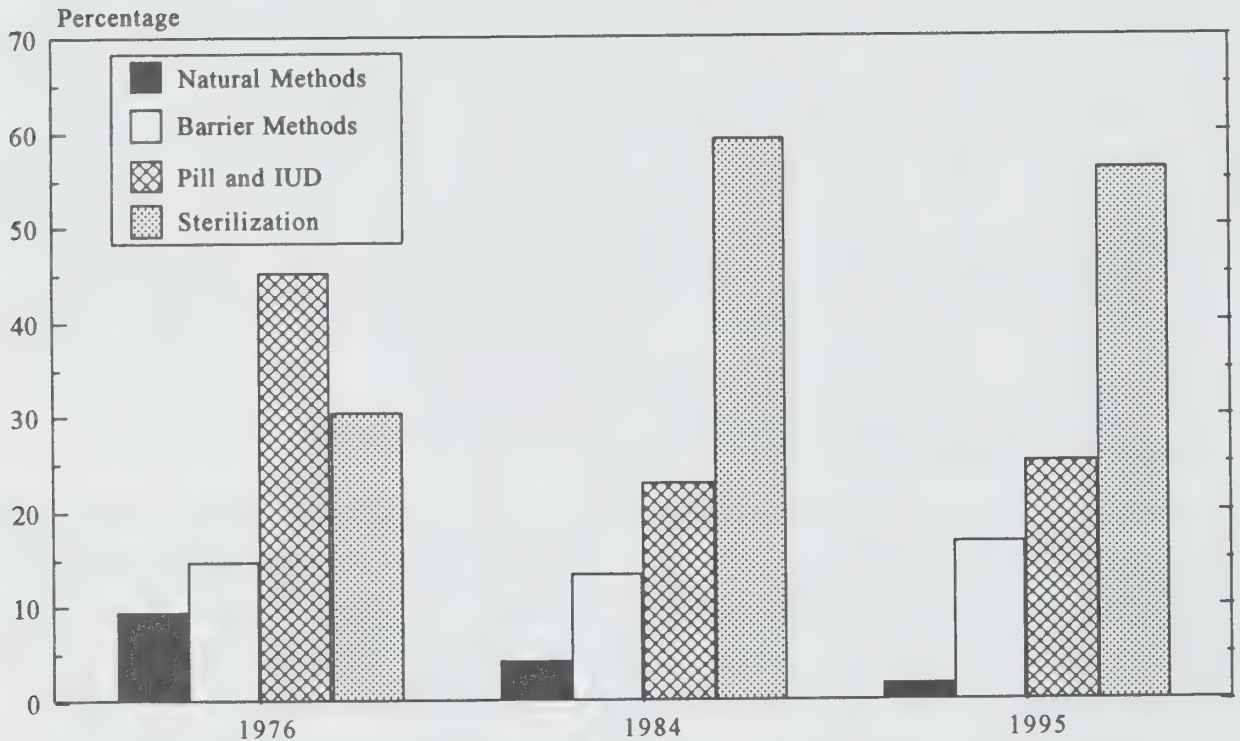
Comparing the results of different surveys is always difficult because the goals of the surveys usually are or were different; asking people about very private subjects, such as sterilization and contraception, compounds the difficulties. The wording of questions, the order in which they are asked, and more generally the structure of the questionnaire affect the respondent's state of mind.

The 1995 General Social Survey was the first national survey to address the issue of contraceptive use since the 1984 Family History Survey. Before that, the only surveys on the subject were regional (Toronto and Edmonton in 1968 and 1973 respectively) or provincial (the 1971 Quebec survey and its 1976 update). However, apart from some data provided from the 1976 study by the Committee on Abortion (Guilbert-Lantoine, 1990)²¹, there was very little national information about the contraceptive practices of Canadian women. Unlike the 1984 survey, the General Social Survey was not intended primarily to gather data about the fertility of Canadian women, and it provided much less information than the earlier survey about contraceptive use. The questions in the 1984 survey provided a history of the respondents' contraceptive practices (for example, they were asked what methods they used before the birth of their first child), whereas the 1995 survey included only a few questions about the contraceptive methods respondents were *currently* using. Of the three surveys, the 1984 study probably supplied the most information about contraceptive practices. It is difficult to draw comparisons between different times, especially regarding the proportion of women who used contraceptives.

According to the 1995 survey, 31% of all respondents aged 18 to 49 were not using any form of contraception. Catherine Guilbert-Lantoine (1990)

²¹ Guilbert-Lantoine, C. (1990). Révolutions contraceptives au Canada. *Population*, Vol. 45: 361-398.

Figure 17. Distribution (in Percent) of Married Women Who Use Contraception, by Method, Canada, 1976 to 1995



Source: Table 17.

estimates that the corresponding proportion for the 1984 survey was 25%. It is difficult to account for this apparent decline in contraceptive use. One possible explanation is that since in the 1984 survey the questions about past practices preceded the ones about current practices, respondents were more inclined to give accurate answers.

Changes in Contraceptive Practices

Figure 17 shows, for three different surveys approximately 10 years apart, the distribution of married women practising contraception by category of method used. *There were more changes in contraceptive preferences during the first period (1976-1984) than during the second interval (1984-1995). The latter appears to have been a period of consolidation of the practices begun 10 years earlier.* Examination of Figure 17 leads to a number of observations.

First, *natural methods have been almost completely abandoned. In 1976, one out of 10 married women reported using periodic abstinence or withdrawal as birth control. In 1984, only one women in 23 was using these methods, and by 1995 the proportion was down to one in 52.*

Table 17. Distribution (in Percent) of Married Women Who Use Contraception by Method, Various Surveys, Canada, 1976, 1984 and 1995

Contraceptive Method	1976 (Aged 15 and Over)	1984 (Aged 18 to 49)	1995 (Aged 18 to 49) ¹
Natural Methods	9.5	4.3	1.9
Periodic Abstinence	6.1	3.0	0.8
Withdrawal	3.4	1.3	1.0
Barrier Methods	14.8	13.5	16.8
Condom	6.0	10.8	15.7
Diaphragm	2.2	1.4	0.6
Douche, Jelly	2.5	0.7	0.2
Others	4.1	0.6	0.3
Pill and IUD	45.2	23.0	25.2
Pill	39.2	15.0	20.8
Intra-Uterin Devices	6.0	8.0	4.4
Sterilization	30.5	59.3	56.1
Females	30.5	41.7	30.0
Males	..	17.6	26.1

¹ The 1995 sample includes women in common-law unions or married.

Sources: For 1976 and 1984: C. Guilbert-Lantoine (1990). Révolutions contraceptives au Canada. *Population*, Vol. 45 (2), pages 361-398. For 1995: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

The key observation, however, is *the increase in male sterilization between 1984 and 1995, and the corresponding decline in female sterilization*. The proportion of couples in which one partner had undergone contraceptive sterilization remained almost unchanged during the period (59% and 56%), but the distribution by the sex of the sterilized partner changed markedly. *The male partner was sterilized in less than a third (30%) of sterilized couples in 1984, compared with nearly one half (47%) in 1995.*

Furthermore, *the birth-control pill appears to have become more popular at the expense of the IUD*. According to the figures in Table 17, the proportion of married respondents using the pill rose from 15% of all married women using contraceptives in 1984 to 21% in 1995, a 6 point increase. Over the same period, the proportion using the IUD declined from 8% to 4%.

Condom use increased as well. The surveys indicate that the proportion of contraceptive-using couples who reported using condoms rose from 6% in 1976 to 11% in 1984 and 16% in 1995, while the use of other barrier methods (diaphragm and spermicide) dropped steadily over the 20-year period to almost negligible levels in 1995. The rising popularity of the condom may be related to its prophylactic advantages over other methods. There are more

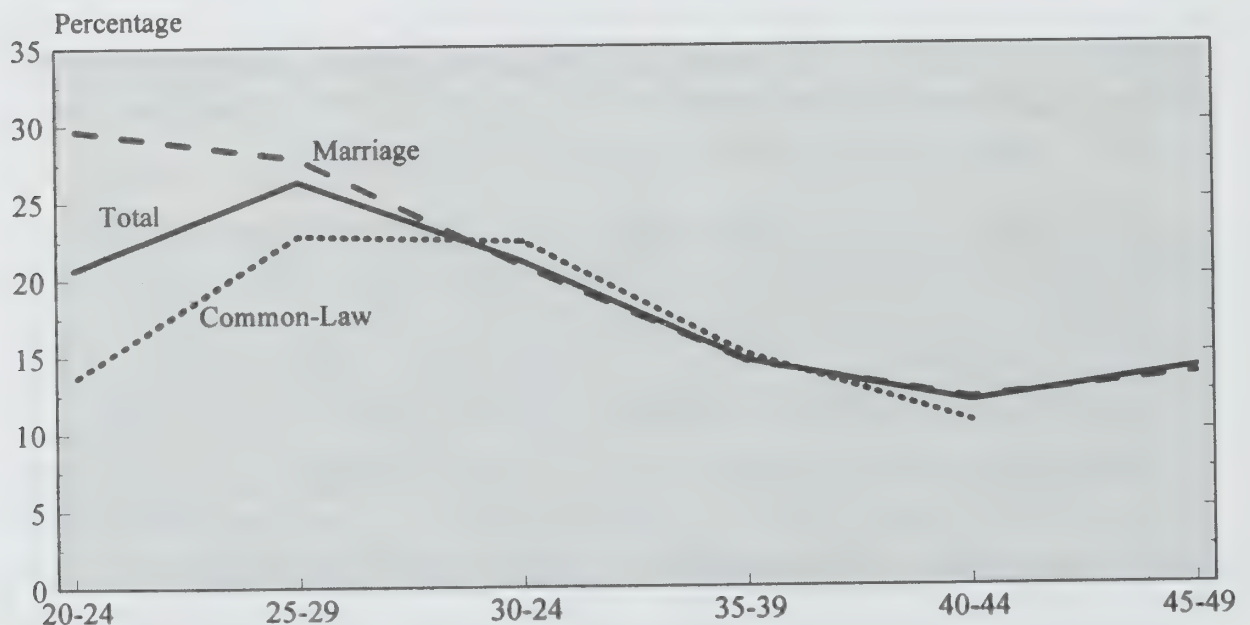
and more information campaigns warning people about sexually transmitted diseases and urging them to use condoms. In 1984, few people knew what HIV was, how devastating it could be and, more importantly, how it was transmitted. Assuming that most married people do not have sexual relations with other partners, they have very little chance of being infected by HIV and therefore would have no need to use condoms for prophylactic reasons. If that is the case, the increase in condom use may instead reflect a greater willingness among men to take responsibility for birth control. This hypothesis is supported by the sharp increase in the number of vasectomies. It is also a fact that condoms are much more openly displayed in pharmacies than they used to be.

Contraceptive Methods and Sociodemographic Characteristics, 1995

Marital status

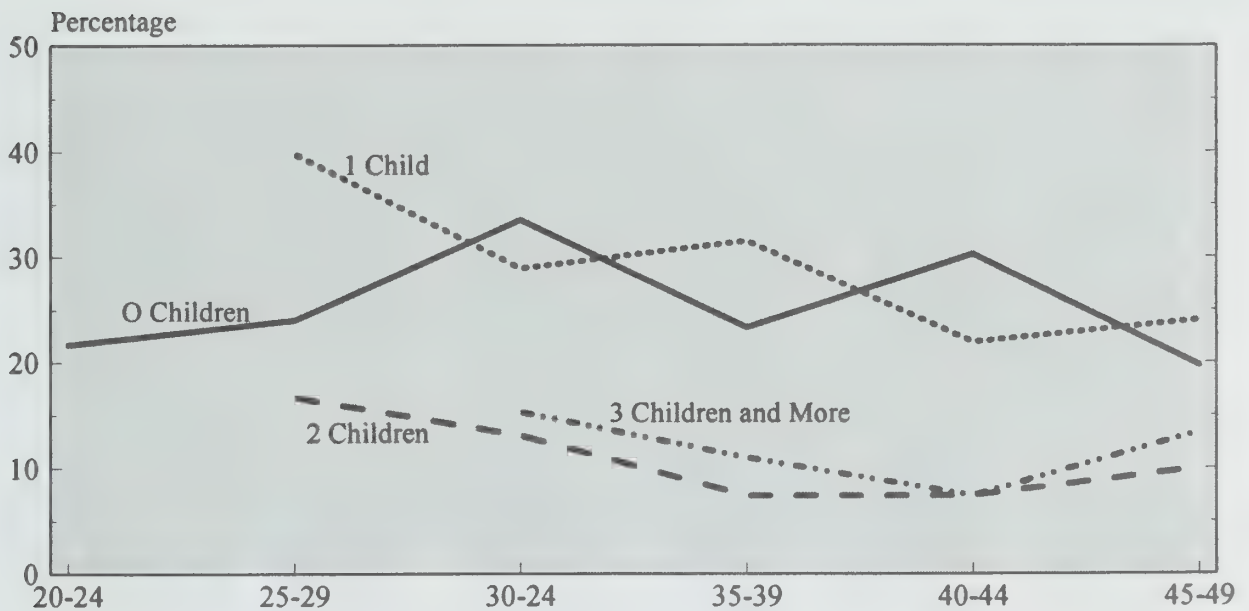
With the exception of couples in which the woman is between 20 and 24, there is no significant difference in the proportions of married and common-law couples who do not practise contraception (Figure 18). This shows that a common-law relationship is increasingly considered equivalent to marriage, as the latter is no longer viewed as a prerequisite for reproduction. Out-of-wedlock births make up about a third of total births in Canada; in Quebec, where common-law union is more popular, they account for approximately half of all births.

Figure 18. Proportion of Couples Not Using Any Contraceptive Method, by Age Group and Conjugal Status of Female Partner, Canada, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

Figure 19. Distribution of Couples (in Percent) Not Using Any Contraceptive Method, by the Number of Children Born to the Respondent and the Age of the Female Partner, Canada, 1995

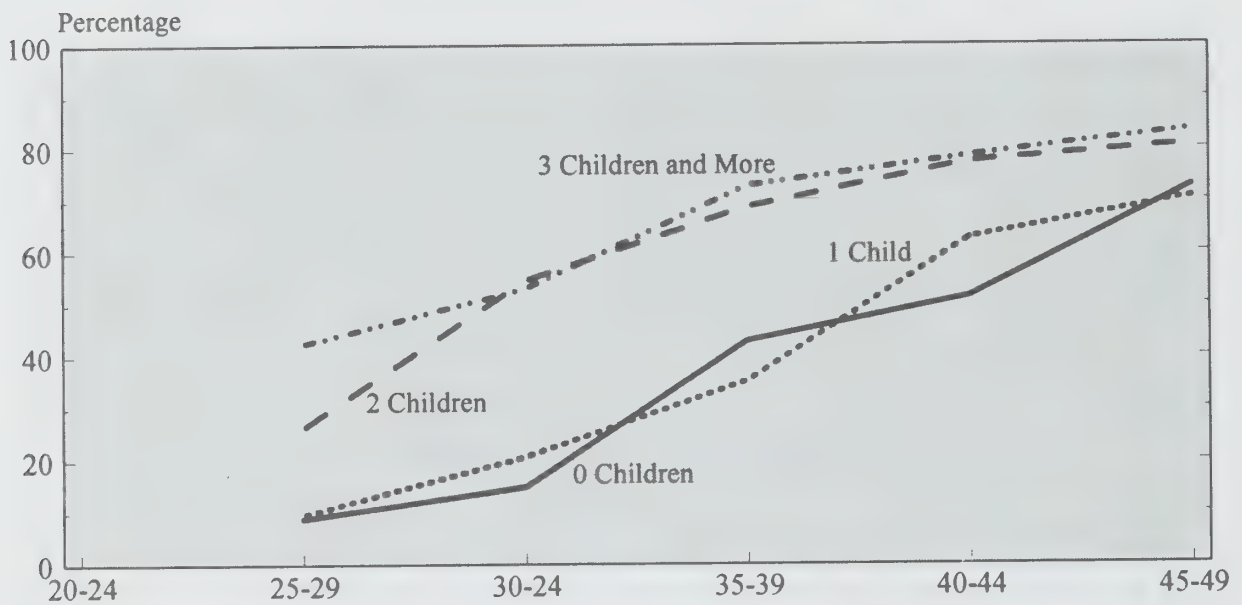


Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

The birth-control practices of married and common-law couples differ only in the youngest age group. The proportion of married couples who do not use contraceptives is double the proportion of common-law couples (30% compared with 14%). A majority (55%) of couples in which the woman is between 20 and 24 live common-law, whereas in the older age groups, common-law union is less frequent than marriage. According to an analysis of common-law relationships presented in the 1996 report, there was an inverse correlation between the proportion of unstable unions (unions that dissolve in less than three years) and the respondent's age at the time the union was formed. It was estimated that one in five common-law relationships formed when the respondent was between 20 and 24 broke up within three years. This suggests that for the members of the youngest age group, the reasons for entering into a common-law union may be different from the reasons for getting married. Common-law relationships may be less stable and those who form them less interested in starting a family, which would explain why they are more likely to use birth control.

Married couples in which the female partner is between 25 and 29 on average do not use the same contraceptive methods as common-law couples do. Women living common-law are more likely to be on the pill, whereas sterilization is more common among married couples.

Figure 20. Proportion of Sterile Couples by Number of Children of the Respondent and Age of the Female Partner, Canada, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

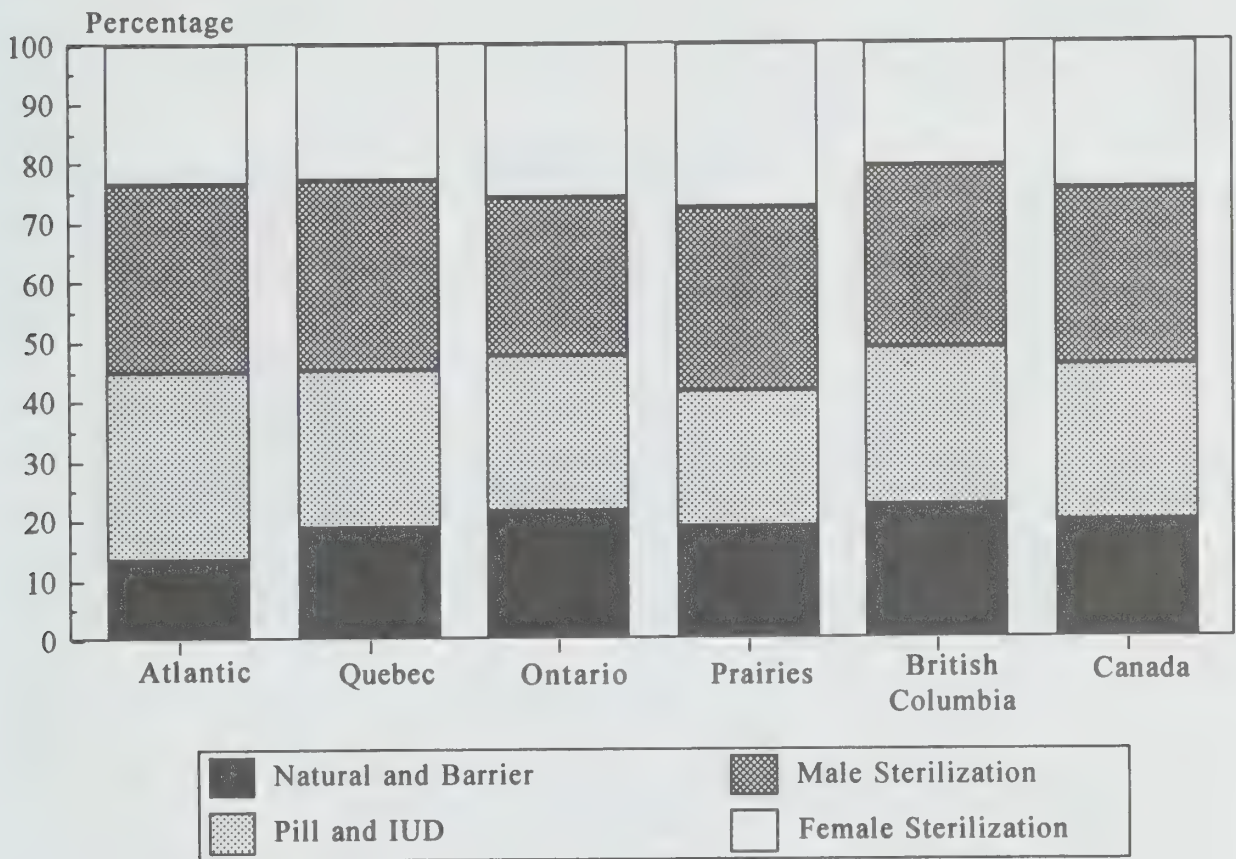
Attained Fertility

Attained fertility has less effect on contraception than one might expect. The proportion of couples using birth control does not vary linearly with the number of children they have. The dividing line comes after the second birth, as in the case of sterilization. For example, in Figure 19, which shows the distribution of couples by age group and number of children, the lines for childless couples and one-child couples overlap. Similarly, the line for couples with two children follows the same path as the line for couples with three or more children. In contrast, the proportion of couples who have two or more children and are not using any form of contraception is significantly lower in all age groups than the proportion who have no children or one child and are not practising birth control. Likewise, in Figure 20, which shows the distribution of sterilized couples by attained fertility and age of the female partner, there are no clear differences between childless and one-child couples, or between two-child couples and couples with three or more children, but there are major differences between couples with two or more children and childless or one-child couples.

Region

Figure 21 presents the percentage distribution of couples using contraception by birth-control method used and region of residence. To circumvent the small-numbers problem, the provinces are grouped into five regions: Atlantic,

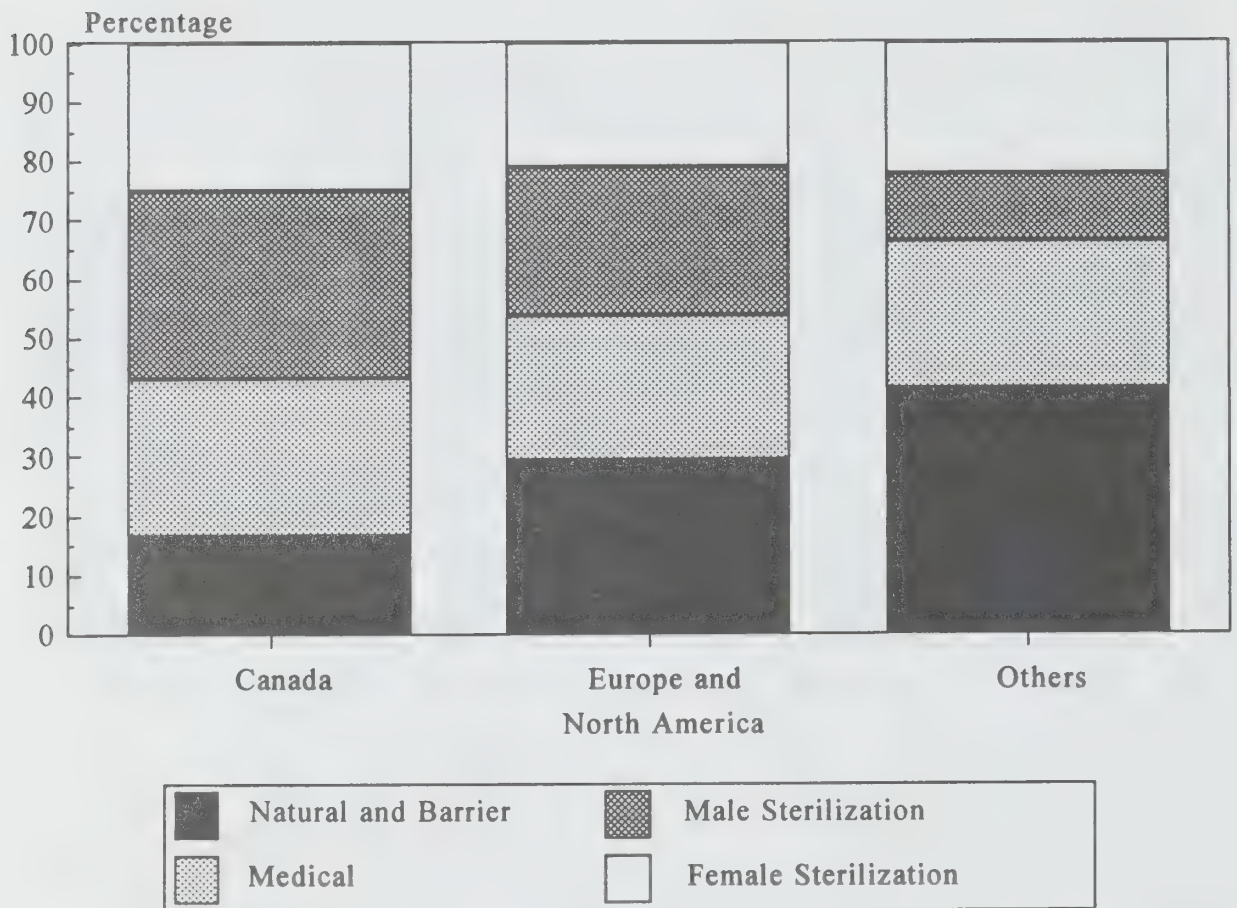
Figure 21. Distribution (in Percent) of Couples Using Contraceptives, by Method Used, Canada and Regions, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

Quebec, Ontario, Prairies and British Columbia. The three most populous and most urbanised provinces—Quebec (55%), Ontario (52%) and British Columbia (51%)—have higher proportions of couples who do practise sterilization than the two less urbanised regions do. This observation is probably related to the higher proportion of recent immigrants in the three large provinces. A total of 57% of couples using a contraceptive method, in which the respondent was born in Canada, have one of the two partners sterilized for contraceptive reasons. The corresponding figures are 46% when the respondent was born in Europe or North America and 34% when the respondent was born in another country (Figure 22). Similarly, the proportion of sterilized couples in which the male partner has had a vasectomy is much lower in the case of foreign-born respondents, born outside Europe (6%) and United States (34%), than in the case of Canadian-born respondents (56%). This finding may partially account for the fact that male sterilization is less common in Ontario (26%), which has the highest percentage of immigrants, than in other regions (30% to 32%).

Figure 22. Distribution (in Percent) of Couples Using Contraception, by Method Used and Place of Birth, Canada, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

Religious Denomination and Attendance at Religious Services

Unlike the Protestant churches, the Catholic Church has long wielded considerable influence over its followers, and its doctrine of encouraging large families has had an effect on Canadian fertility. Today, however, *the differences in fertility between Catholics and Protestants are negligible. It is also true for their contraceptive practices.* As shown in Table 18, the followers of other religions and people who claim no religious affiliation are distinct from the two major groups. Almost equal proportions (two percentage-point difference, at most) of Catholic and Protestant respondents reported using a barrier or medical method of birth control. The percentages in the table have not been standardised because the sample was too small to provide reliable age-specific estimates for groups other than Catholics and Protestants. A study of the latter two groups is interesting, though an analysis by age group confirms that there are no major differences in contraceptive practices between Catholics and Protestants.

Table 18. Distribution (in Percent) of Couples Using Contraception, by Method and Religious Denomination, Canada, 1995

Religion	Natural and Barrier	Pill and IUD	Sterilization		Total
			Males	Females	
No Religion	21.0	31.6	23.1	24.3	100.0
Catholic	17.2	25.4	32.4	25.0	100.0
Protestant	19.6	24.2	32.3	23.9	100.0
Other	32.6	30.5	13.2	23.7	100.0
Total	19.4	26.4	29.8	24.5	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

While there are only slight differences between Catholics and Protestants, there are major ones between those two groups on one hand and adherents of other religions (Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, etc.) and people who claim to be agnostic on the other. The proportion of couples who do not practise birth control is more than twice as high among those who belong to other religions (37%) than among couples in which the respondent reported no religious affiliation (15%). Catholic and Protestant respondents are about midway between these two extremes. Sterilization is also much less frequent among couples who practise other religions than among the members of the two majority denominations or couples with no religious ties; roughly a third of minority-religion couples are sterilized, for contraceptive purposes, compared with more than one half of Catholic or Protestant couples.

Frequency of attendance at religious services has no greater effect on birth-control use than does religious denomination (Table 19). The proportion of contraceptive use is marginally higher among couples in which the respondent reports never attending religious services (81%) than among couples in the other two groups (75% and 76%). The use of the pill would appear to make the difference: 29% of nonpractising couples using contraception use the birth-

Table 19. Distribution (in Percent) of Couples Using Contraception, by Method Used and Church Attendance, Canada, 1995

Church Attendance	Natural and Barrier	Pill and IUD	Sterilization		Total
			Males	Females	
Weekly	21.0	18.1	34.7	26.3	100.0
Occasionally	17.9	27.3	30.7	24.2	100.0
Never	20.1	28.9	27.0	24.0	100.0
Total	19.4	26.3	29.8	24.5	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

control pill or IUD, compared with 18% of couples who attend services occasionally and only 12% of couples who attend weekly. These differences are statistically significant, but finding differences in a cross-tabulation does not prove a causal relationship between the variables involved. Some dissimilarities in contraceptive practices persist between religious groups, but they appear to be more a reflection of cultural and ethnic differences regarding fertility, equality of the sexes and voluntary sterilization. The main differences are between minority-religion couples; in Canada, the adherents of those religions are in many cases recent immigrants who have yet to adopt the contraceptive practices of their new society. In this area, as in others, time will wear away the differences.

Conclusion

In Canada more than in any other Western country, the birth-control revolution coincided with the drop in fertility that followed the baby boom. Even between the two world wars, fertility was already below the replacement level in many European countries. Although the fertility of Canadian women decreased during the first half of this century, it did not begin falling sharply until the early 1960s. The drop was even more remarkable because it followed the baby boom. And while it coincided with the advent of effective, accessible birth control, there is no proof of a cause-and-effect relationship. The availability of effective, modern medical contraceptives undoubtedly gave couples greater control of their fertility and enhanced their ability to determine how many children they would have. Yet the decline in people's desire to have a lot of children, or even one child, cannot be attributed to the contraceptive revolution. The most plausible reasons for the downward trend in both family size and intended fertility are the social and economic changes of the recent past.

MORTALITY

In 1996, the number of deaths in Canada came to 212,881 (Table A6). This represents an increase of 2,148 deaths (1.0%) compared with the previous year. It is only natural to expect a growing and ageing population to show an increase in the number of deaths. Actually, the observed increase for 1996 is less than expected, if only because of the changes in the structure of the population (growth and ageing). The difference can be estimated by calculating the expected number of deaths using the mortality rates for the previous year with the current population and comparing the resulting numbers to the observed numbers. Had it not been for the decrease in mortality in 1996, the number of deaths would have come to 213,600 for the year, that is, an increase of 1.4% compared with the previous year. Thus, *mortality actually declined*.

Table 20. Evolution of Life Expectancy at Birth, Canada, 1971-1996

Year	Males		Females		Difference Between Male and Female Life Expectancy	
	Life Expectancy at Birth	Gain	Life Expectancy at Birth	Gain	In Years	Variation
1971	69.62	...	76.60	...	6.98	...
1976	70.50	0.88	77.81	1.21	7.31	0.33
1981	72.05	1.56	79.17	1.37	7.12	-0.19
1986	73.32	1.26	80.02	0.84	6.70	-0.42
1991	74.61	1.29	80.95	0.94	6.34	-0.36
1996 (P)	75.69	1.08	81.45	0.50	5.76	-0.58
Gain from 1976 to 1996	...	5.19	...	3.65	...	-1.54

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Research and Analysis Section and calculations by the author.

The 1996 Life Table

The best summary measure of mortality is life expectancy at birth derived from the calculation of the life table. By virtue of its construction, this table eliminates the effects of the age structure of the population.

The preliminary table for 1996 shows significant gains in life expectancy compared with the previous year, particularly for men (Table A7). This table suggests that the life expectancy of men and women has increased by 0.3 years and 0.2 years respectively, thereby raising their life expectancy to 75.69 and 81.45 years. This would represent a remarkable increase: greater than the average increase for the previous five years and even slightly higher than the average increase for last 20 years, which are among those with the most significant gains since the last World War. Although the increase in life expectancy shows no signs of falling off, annual gains, particularly among women, are smaller than those recorded during the 1976-1981 period, which reflected some of the best gains ever (Table 20).

In the 20 years that have passed since 1976, life expectancy at birth increased by 5.19 years and 3.65 years for men and women, respectively. Canada currently enjoys an enviable record in terms of world ranking. Except for the Japanese, whose indicator is the highest for both men and women, Canadian men are outranked only by the Swedes and Icelanders, whereas Canadian women are outranked by Swedish, French, Swiss and Spanish women (Table 3). Compared with the situation in the United States, the life expectancy of Canadian men and women is higher, by 3.0 and 2.1 years, respectively.

It is important to emphasize *the slowdown in the gains achieved by women.* This contrasts with the continued gains achieved by men. During the 1976-1981 period, a trend reversal occurred. For more than half a century before

Table 21. Life Expectancy at Birth by Sex, Canada and Provinces, 1991 and 1996

Province	Males			Females			Difference Between Male and Female Life Expectancy		
	1991	1996	Gain	1991	1996	Gain	Year		Variation
							1991	1996	
Nfld	73.7	74.9	1.12	79.5	80.6	1.06	5.8	5.7	-0.07
P.E.I.	73.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
N.S.	73.7	75.0	1.22	80.3	80.8	0.48	6.6	5.8	-0.74
N.B.	74.2	74.9	0.70	80.9	81.4	0.50	6.6	6.4	-0.20
Que.	73.8	75.1	1.32	80.9	81.5	0.59	7.1	6.4	-0.73
Ont.	75.0	76.1	1.13	80.9	81.4	0.51	5.9	5.3	-0.62
Man.	74.6	75.3	0.67	80.7	80.7	-0.01	6.1	5.5	-0.68
Sask.	75.3	75.3	0.07	81.5	81.5	-0.05	6.3	6.2	-0.12
Alta	75.1	76.1	0.99	81.2	81.5	0.32	6.1	5.4	-0.67
B.C.	75.2	76.3	1.03	81.4	82.0	0.62	6.1	5.7	-0.41
Canada	74.6	75.7	1.08	81.0	81.5	0.50	6.3	5.8	-0.58

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Research and Analysis Section and calculations by the author.

that, the increase in the life expectancy had been greater for women than men. Since then, the situation has reversed, and the rate is accelerating. ***During the last five year period, the life expectancy of men increased by just over one year, whereas that of women rose by only half a year.*** The spread in favour of women, however, remains a significant one. While the difference between the life expectancy for the two sexes stands at 5.8 years, the gap has narrowed by more than 1.5 years over the past 20 years.

Narrowing of the Gaps Between Provinces and Between Men and Women

In a continuation of a long-standing trend, ***the differences between provincial mortality figures continued to shrink appreciably. A significant increase in life expectancy can be seen in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces, where mortality has always been higher than in the other provinces of the country*** (Table 21). During the last five years, the provinces that showed the lowest life expectancies in 1991 achieved the greatest gains. The male Quebecers gained 1.32 years and the female Newfoundlanders 1.06. Four provinces show gains that are higher than the national average. In decreasing order, these are, for men: Quebec (1.32 years), Nova Scotia (1.22 years), Ontario (1.13 years) and Newfoundland (1.12 years); for women: Newfoundland (1.06 years), British Columbia (0.62 years), Quebec (0.59 years) and Ontario (0.51 years). ***For the same period, no significant gain was recorded in Saskatchewan, which showed the highest life expectancy for both men and women in 1991. According to the preliminary table for 1996, British Columbia is now at the top of the provincial ranking, with 76.3 years for men and 82.0 years***

Table 22. Evolution of Mortality from Diseases of the Circulatory System and from Tumours, by Sex, Canada, 1976-1996¹

Year	Diseases of the Circulatory System ²	Ischemic Heart Diseases ³	Cerebro-vascular Diseases ⁴	Tumors and Cancers ⁵	Malignant Tumors of the Respiratory System ⁶
Males					
1976	389.54	264.38	62.45	167.30	52.54
1977	380.50	259.14	59.58	169.49	54.26
1978	365.39	246.69	57.19	171.24	55.50
1979	352.08	232.20	55.11	173.05	56.75
1980	344.88	227.53	52.28	174.61	58.78
1981	331.40	220.25	50.32	172.48	57.63
1982	323.92	214.16	47.06	175.76	60.75
1983	311.55	205.29	44.32	175.01	61.27
1984	297.40	195.85	43.00	178.49	62.63
1985	289.99	190.84	40.75	178.76	60.90
1986	282.32	183.48	39.39	179.29	61.47
1987	267.76	174.37	38.57	178.26	61.25
1988	260.77	169.29	36.80	182.16	63.23
1989	250.09	159.79	37.19	179.28	62.69
1990	231.04	146.39	35.67	177.32	61.86
1991	225.64	142.06	34.18	177.45	61.04
1992	219.64	137.65	33.25	174.86	59.49
1993	219.68	136.89	34.51	172.69	59.12
1994	209.84	129.82	33.17	171.03	57.20
1995	203.86	129.27	32.71	168.16	54.82
1996	197.32	125.68	31.24	165.26	54.08
Females					
1976	303.54	171.16	73.12	131.41	11.84
1977	293.31	166.12	68.69	132.55	13.36
1978	283.71	161.88	67.25	132.72	14.18
1979	271.21	149.09	63.64	135.30	15.48
1980	269.77	148.06	60.69	133.71	16.17
1981	256.43	140.88	58.55	134.21	17.07
1982	252.48	138.78	56.01	134.28	18.45
1983	240.21	131.08	52.87	134.26	18.72
1984	232.06	128.66	49.81	136.37	20.83
1985	225.44	122.61	48.74	139.10	22.41
1986	222.70	121.16	48.34	139.06	22.48
1987	210.86	114.71	45.07	138.82	23.82
1988	206.88	111.07	45.30	139.84	25.17
1989	198.12	105.39	43.94	137.90	25.09
1990	187.16	100.34	40.72	138.13	25.61
1991	184.13	97.69	40.42	138.70	27.44
1992	177.56	92.22	40.14	137.98	27.19
1993	178.23	91.80	41.23	139.14	29.01
1994	173.84	88.87	39.41	139.31	29.08
1995	169.38	92.56	38.39	135.79	28.56
1996	164.83	89.49	37.53	138.12	30.36

¹ Rate per 100,000, standardized on the structure by age and sex of the 1976 population.

² Causes 390-459, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

³ Causes 410-414, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

⁴ Causes 430-438, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

⁵ Causes 140-239, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

⁶ Causes 160-165, 9th Revision of the I.C.D.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

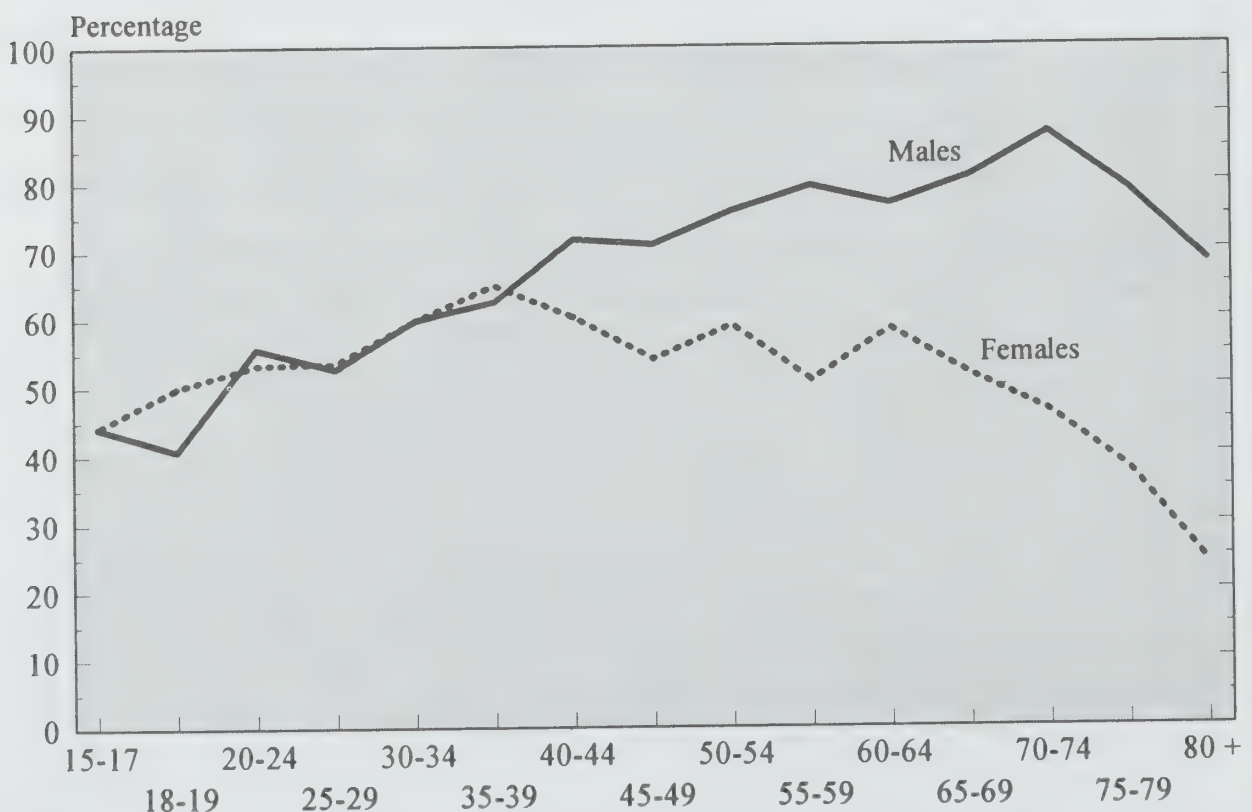
for women. The difference between the life expectancy of each sex also shrank in all provinces, particularly in Quebec and Nova Scotia, where the life expectancy of men has increased considerably.

Major Causes of Death

From one year to the next, fluctuations in the number of deaths can be observed, particularly deaths by viral infections, the virulence of which is beyond the control of public health prevention measures. The decline in mortality in 1996, however, is not due to a particularly lenient year in this regard. The number of deaths from respiratory system diseases, including victims of the flu, pneumonia and bronchitis, increased by 1.3%. On the other hand, male mortality fell for all major causes of death, as did the mortality of females brought on by circulatory system diseases, as shown in Table 22.

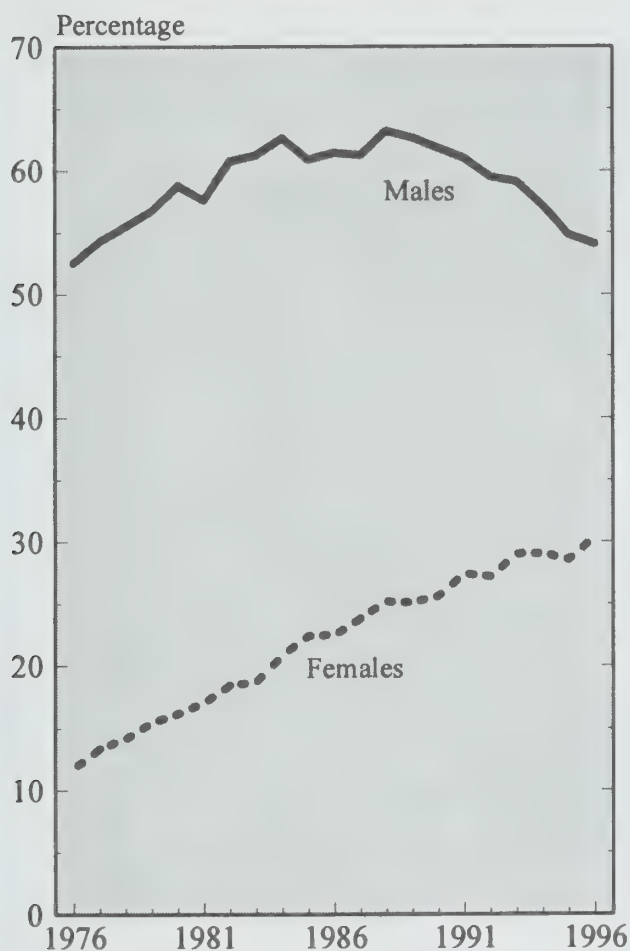
The increase in the mortality rate for tumours and cancers, particularly of the respiratory system among women, is a cause for concern in the overall mortality picture. Since 1993, lung cancer has been the leading cause of death among women. *Between 1976 and 1996, the comparative death rate due to respiratory system cancer among women has steadily increased, from 11.8*

Figure 23. Proportion of People Who Ever Smoked Cigarettes by Age Group and Sex, Canada, 1995



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey and calculations by the author.

Figure 24. Change in Mortality from Malignant Tumours of the Respiratory System, Canada, 1976-1996



Source: Table 22.

per 100,000 to 30.4 per 100,000. This represents a spectacular jump of 156%. For the same period, the rates of mortality among men increased up to 1988, but decreased thereafter, thereby remaining near 1976 levels.

As far as can be determined, the increase in the rate of female mortality from respiratory system cancer is due to an increase in smoking by women of the younger generations (Figure 23). According to data collected for the 1995 General Social Survey, the proportion of women who once smoked cigarettes is identical to that of men under 40 years, whereas for older generations of women, the proportion of those who once smoked decreases with age. If women continue to smoke as much as men, one can expect, all things being equal, that the death rates from respiratory system cancer for each sex will continue to converge (Figure 24).

Decrease in the Number of AIDS-related Deaths

Monitoring of the annual number of deaths caused by HIV since 1987 shows that these fell for the first time in 1996, and by a significant margin at that. In 1996, HIV infection caused the death of 1,306 Canadians. This represents a drop of 458 deaths (26%) with respect to the previous year (Table 23). In the United States, the most recent figures available indicate that HIV related deaths fell for the first time in 1996. Moreover, the World Health Organisation predicts an even greater drop in 1997. The decrease in the number of HIV-related deaths was evidently greater among men, who are affected in greater numbers, than among women. In the United States, the drop was greatest among homosexual men, the group which contributed the most to developing an understanding of how this disease is transmitted through unprotected sexual relations and to diffusing information on this subject.

This dramatic drop in the number of HIV-related deaths undoubtedly results from the progress in the areas of prevention and treatment. Enhanced

Table 23. Deaths Due to HIV (Causes 042-044 in the ICD) by Broad Age Group and Sex, Canada, 1987-1996

Year	Sex	Age Group					Total	Variation from the previous year (%)
		0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60 +		
1987	M	1	85	293	87	22	488	...
	F	5	7	12	8	5	37	...
1988	M	2	96	361	126	29	614	25.8
	F	3	10	28	7	9	57	54.1
1989	M	3	124	485	164	21	797	29.8
	F	2	10	20	10	12	54	-5.3
1990	M	3	108	576	215	35	937	17.6
	F	1	14	19	7	4	45	-16.7
1991	M	3	129	698	233	42	1 105	17.9
	F	4	15	25	14	7	65	44.4
1992	M	4	161	783	305	35	1 288	16.6
	F	4	10	38	11	6	69	6.2
1993	M	7	159	924	330	54	1,474	14.4
	F	2	19	49	13	7	90	30.4
1994	M	4	127	954	350	54	1,489	1.0
	F	14	16	77	26	6	139	54.4
1995	M	9	129	1,041	409	49	1,637	9.9
	F	5	24	68	20	10	127	-8.6
1996	M	6	79	754	315	44	1,198	-26.8
	F	2	24	63	14	5	108	-15.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Causes of Death*, catalogue no. 84-208 and calculations by the author.

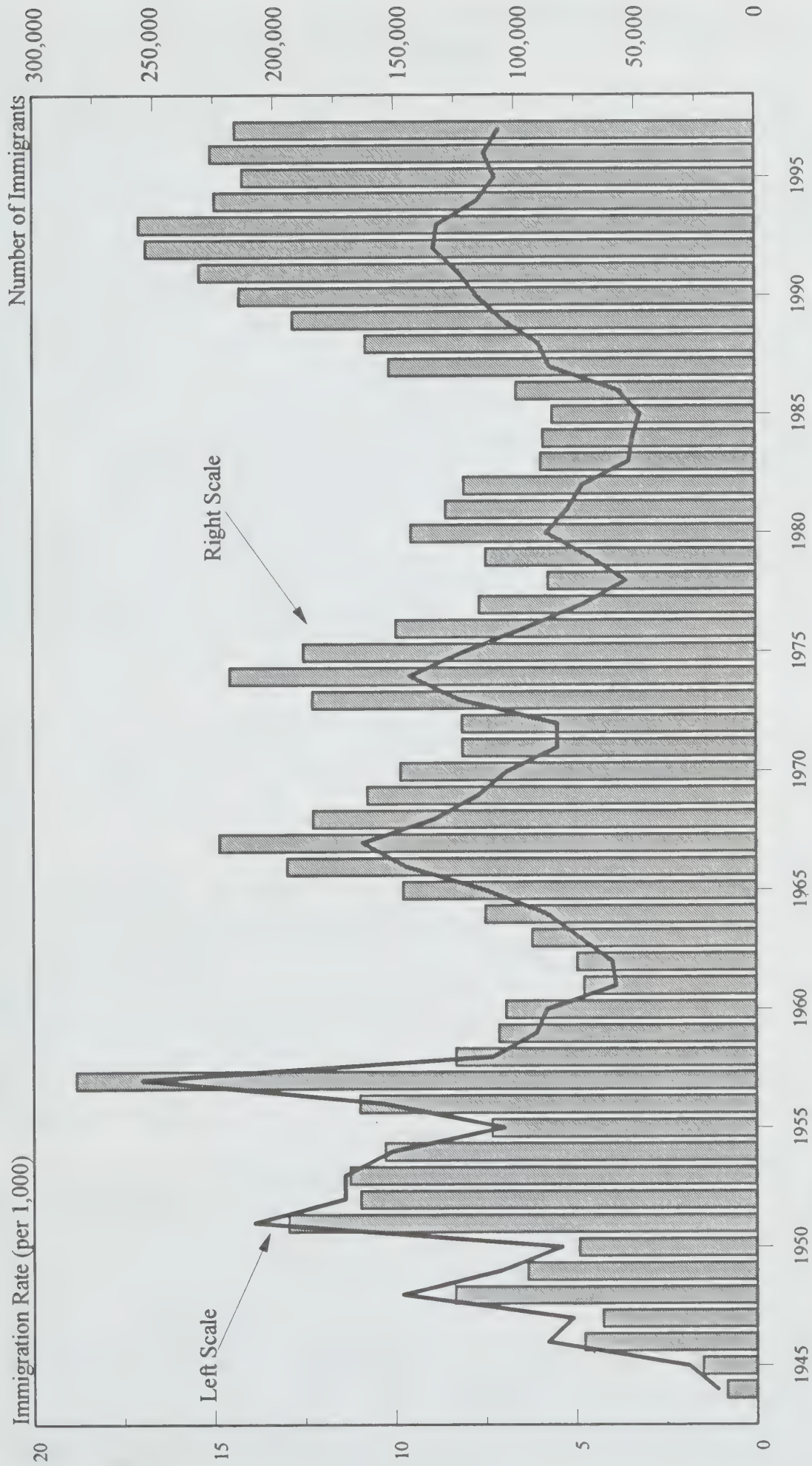
understanding of how HIV is transmitted led to measures designed to reduce the risk of infection. Transfused blood and blood products, as we know, are now closely monitored and an increasing number of publicity campaigns are promoting the prophylactic properties of condoms. Some tests are available to detect the disease. For their part, pharmaceutical companies have developed new antiretroviral drugs which help to slow down the development of the viral infection before it reaches the AIDS stage. It should be noted, however, that this disease is still incurable.

INTERNATIONAL IMMIGRATION

In 1996, Canada received 226,072 international immigrants²² (Figure 25 and Table 24), an increase of 13,220 from the previous year. According to data which were incomplete at the time this report was written, the number

²² The total number of immigrants can vary between tables because of the different dates when the data became available.

Figure 25. Number of Immigrants and Immigration Rate, Canada, 1944-1997



Note: Data are preliminary as of January 20, 1998.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Table 24. Immigrants to Canada by Class, 1981-1997

Year		Family	Refugees		Independents		Total
			Convention Refugees	Designated Persons	Assisted Relatives	Others ¹	
1981	No.	51,017	810	14,169	17,590	45,032	128,618
	%	39.7	0.6	11.0	13.7	35.0	100.0
1982	No.	49,980	1,791	15,134	11,948	42,294	121,147
	%	41.3	1.5	12.5	9.9	34.9	100.0
1983	No.	48,698	4,100	9,867	4,997	21,495	89,157
	%	54.6	4.6	11.1	5.6	24.1	100.0
1984	No.	43,814	5,625	9,717	8,167	20,916	88,239
	%	49.7	6.4	11.0	9.3	23.7	100.0
1985	No.	38,514	6,080	10,680	7,396	21,632	84,302
	%	45.7	7.2	12.7	8.8	25.7	100.0
1986	No.	42,197	6,490	12,657	5,890	31,985	99,219
	%	42.5	6.5	12.8	5.9	32.2	100.0
1987	No.	53,598	7,473	14,092	12,283	64,652	152,098
	%	35.2	4.9	9.3	8.1	42.5	100.0
1988	No.	51,331	8,741	18,095	15,567	68,195	161,929
	%	31.7	5.4	11.2	9.6	42.1	100.0
1989	No.	60,774	10,210	26,794	21,520	72,703	192,001
	%	31.7	5.3	14.0	11.2	37.9	100.0
1990	No.	73,457	11,398	28,291	23,393	77,691	214,230
	%	34.3	5.3	13.2	10.9	36.3	100.0
1991	No.	86,378	18,374	35,027	22,247	68,755	230,781
	%	37.4	8.0	15.2	9.6	29.8	100.0
1992	No.	99,960	28,699	23,176	19,880	81,127	252,842
	%	39.5	11.4	9.2	7.9	32.1	100.0
1993	No.	112,189	22,326	8,087	22,922	90,411	255,935
	%	43.8	8.7	3.2	9.0	35.3	100.0
1994	No.	94,128	19,335	1,129	27,500	82,323	224,415
	%	41.9	8.6	0.5	12.3	36.7	100.0
1995	No.	77,322	27,923	612	29,322	77,673	212,852
	%	36.3	13.1	0.3	13.8	36.5	100.0
1996	No.	68,305	31,892	300	28,882	96,693	226,072
	%	30.2	14.1	0.1	12.8	42.8	100.0
1997	No.	59,849	27,440	189	25,490	102,933	215,901
	%	27.7	12.7	0.1	11.8	47.7	100.0

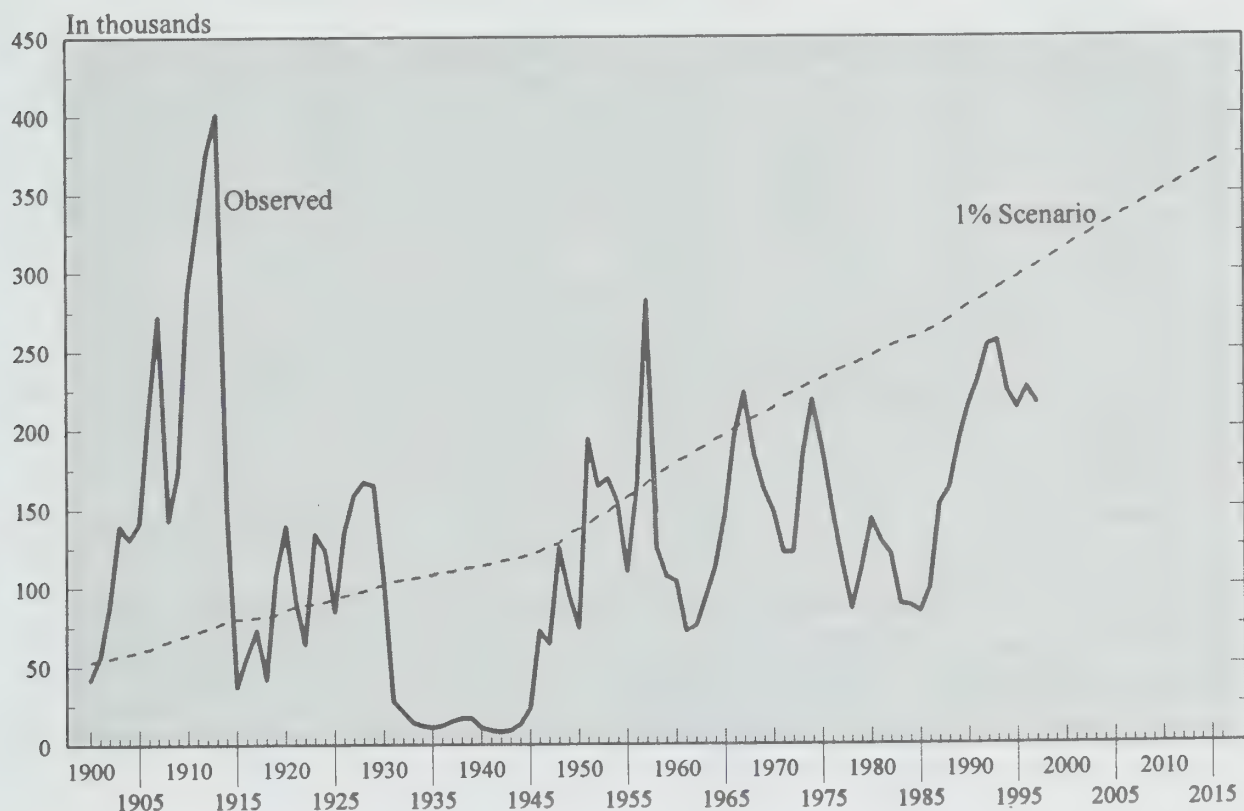
¹ Includes business, retirees and other independents.

Note: Preliminary data as of January 20, 1998.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

of immigrants in 1997 should be 215,900. The admissions influx was 7.5 immigrants for every 1,000 inhabitants in 1996—a level much higher than those observed in most of the Western countries to which Canada can be compared: the United States (3.4 per 1,000), Australia (5.1 per 1,000).

Figure 26. Observed Number of Immigrants and Estimated Number of Immigrants According to a 1% Scenario, Canada, 1900-2016



Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data and calculations by the author.

Between 1990 and 1997, Canada granted permanent resident status to over 1,830,000 persons, representing an annual average of some 230,000. Never since the settlement of the Prairies before World War I has there been such a sustained period of strong immigration. It is true that if the rates are considered in light of the increase in the Canadian population, these admissions are not as impressive as those early in this century. Yet more diverse newcomers have been accompanied by the emergence of other challenges in a changing economy.

In demographic terms, the strong recent immigration is occurring in a period when the number of deaths is rising with the aging of the population, which in combination with low fertility is curbing the natural pace of growth. Over the last five years (1991-1996), the Canadian population rose by 1,837,400. Over half (51.4%) of this growth is attributable to international migration, which accounts for 944,800 persons, whereas the surplus of births over deaths is 937,900.

Still the immigration rate remains quite low for a population that saw rates of over 5% before World War I. To help get an idea of the numbers involved

Table 25. Immigrants by Urban Region, Canada, 1994-1996

Urban Region	Number			Percentage		
	1994	1995	1996	1994	1995	1996
Halifax	3,138	3,241	3,097	1.4	1.5	1.4
Montreal	22,908	20,270	21,871	10.2	9.5	9.8
Quebec	1,227	1,410	1,165	0.5	0.7	0.5
Toronto	65,667	66,808	72,471	29.3	31.4	32.3
Hamilton	2,584	2,325	2,298	1.2	1.1	1.0
Ottawa-Carleton	5,743	4,345	5,183	2.6	2.0	2.3
London	2,101	1,857	1,617	0.9	0.9	0.7
Winnipeg	3,641	3,138	3,334	1.6	1.5	1.5
Regina	758	647	613	0.3	0.3	0.3
Saskatoon	1,012	895	761	0.5	0.4	0.3
Edmonton	7,407	5,605	4,890	3.3	2.6	2.2
Calgary	8,360	6,987	7,051	3.7	3.3	3.1
Vancouver	41,920	38,166	44,615	18.7	18.0	19.9
Victoria	1,335	999	832	0.6	0.5	0.4
Elsewhere in Canada	56,074	55,798	54,252	25.0	26.3	24.2
Total	223,875	212,491	224,050	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Internet site, February 1998.

by means of percentages which would at first glance seem very low, we arbitrarily chose the rate of 1%. In Figure 26 we note that this rate has been achieved only once in the past 40 years, i.e. 1967. To attain an immigration rate of 1% in 1997, Canada would have had to grant permanent resident status to 302,900 persons, that is, 87,000 more than the actual number (215,900). In other words, immigration would have had to be 40% higher than it was.

Furthermore, as the population continues to grow, the number of immigrants required to reach this rate will have to grow as well. A simple calculation based on demographic projections shows that, to maintain an immigration rate equivalent to 1% of the population, in the first 15 years of the next century Canada would have to admit 5,150,000 people, that is, a number far above the number of immigrants received between 1900 and the outbreak of World War I (2,900,000), which has been our longest period of high annual rates. But as the conditions then were very different, much of the interest of the comparison is lost. Canada's population was but a fraction of what it is today, and hence the immigrants-to-population ratio was much larger. Far from the alluring open spaces of the turn of the century, which have now become less attractive, three immigrants in five (62%) in 1996 settled in one of the three largest census metropolitan areas: Montreal (9.8%), Vancouver (19.9%) and above all, Toronto (32.4%) (Table 25).

Table 26. Number of Immigrants by Class According to the Immigration Plan, Canada, 1996

Class	Number Planned	Observed Number	Difference (in percent)
Family	78,000 - 85,700	67,566	-21.2
Economic	85,500 - 94,500	119,813	26.8
Refugee	24,000 - 32,300	28,485	-11.8
Other	7,500	8,186	9.1
Total	195,000 - 220,000	224,050	1.8

Note: The difference is based on the maximum number planned.

Source : Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Internet site, February 1998.

Immigrant Classes

The proportion of immigrants in the economic class²³ continues to rise (Table 24 and Figure 27). *According to 1996 data, there were 125,575 of these: 55.5% of the total immigrant population.* While the number of immigrants in the family class fell from 77,300 to 68,300 (-11.7%) and that of refugees rose from 28,500 to 32,200 (+12.8%), independent immigrants increased 17.4%, from 107,000 to 125,600 persons. This is no surprise, since immigrant selection is largely facilitated by the statutes and regulations enacted in this country. The “*Immigration and Citizenship Plan 1995-2000*”²⁴ released in 1994 and updated annually since then, is unequivocal about the country’s interest in admitting immigrants likely to waste no time becoming involved in economic activities. In Table 26, comparison of the levels expected for 1996 and the number of immigrants actually admitted by class shows that:

1. with 67,600 persons, the anticipated level of 78,000 to 85,700 for the family class was not achieved;
2. the refugee total (28,500) is about at the midpoint of the expected range; but
3. the number of immigrants admitted under the economic component (119,800) exceeded the anticipated maximum (94,500) by 27%.

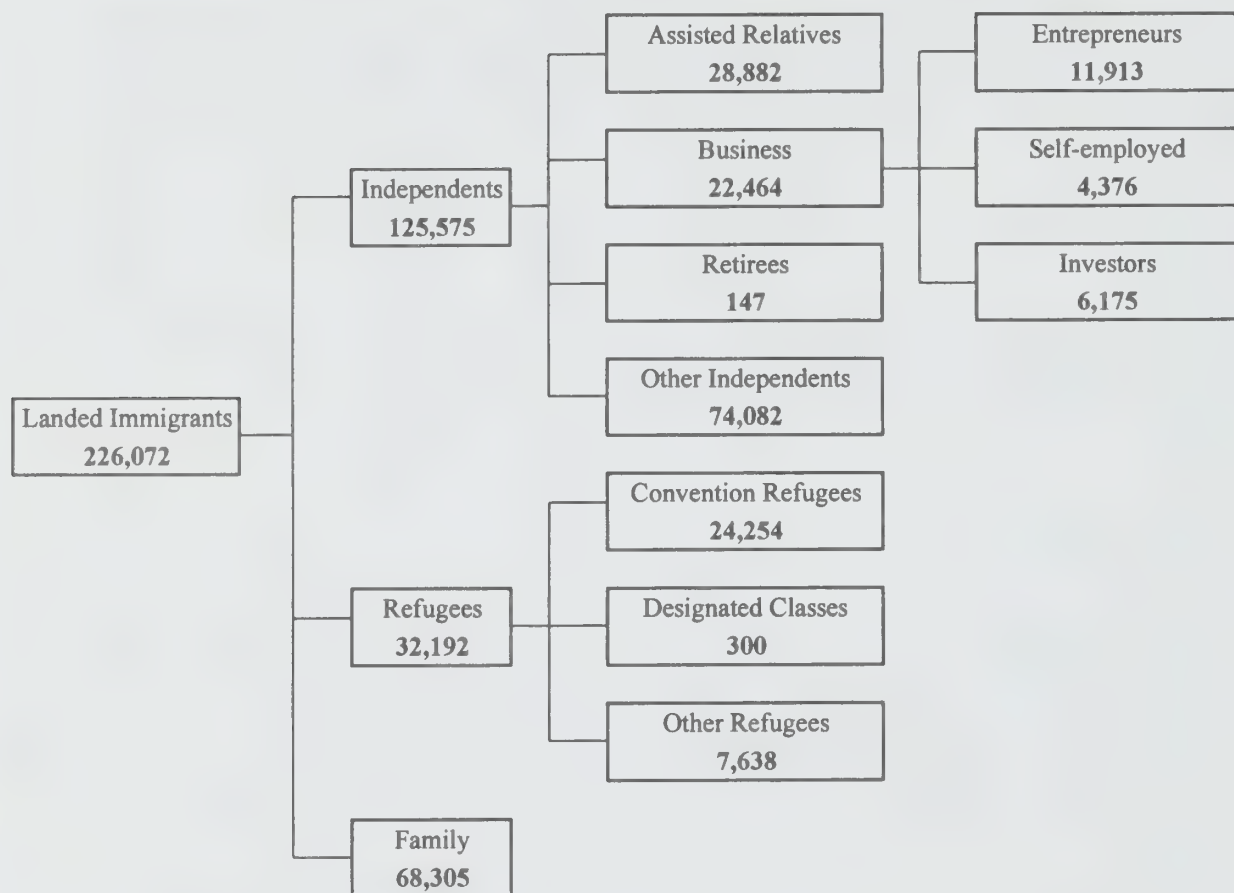
Intended Province of Destination

Ontario was a strong draw for new immigrants again in 1996: over half (53%) chose that province as their intended destination (Table 27). Since 1994 Quebec has seen a substantial reduction in the number of immigrants

²³ Previously called independents.

²⁴ Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994. *A Broader Vision: Immigration and Citizenship Plan, 1995-2000*. Annual Report to Parliament.

Figure 27. Distribution of Immigrants by Class and Category, 1996



Note: Preliminary data as of January 20, 1998.

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

in the economic class, a reduction reflected in the proportion of all immigrants planning to settle in this province. While this proportion was steadily around 20% in the early 1990s, it is now no more than 13% of the total. In contrast, the percentage in British Columbia has risen appreciably. *In 1996, 23% of immigrants decided to settle in the country's westernmost province. This marks the highest proportion ever observed for British Columbia since 1913.*

Distribution per province by immigrant class depends on a number of factors: host community, language, available employment, climate, etc. Ontario receives nearly half the immigrants in each class (Table 28), with a slight over-representation in the family class (55.5%). This no doubt stems from the fact that this province contains a great many immigrants from previous years who attract their relatives under family reunification.

Immigrants admitted because of their economic potential are more sensitive to the economic situation in the provinces. The proportion of these immigrants who decided to settle in British Columbia was higher (27.3%) than that of all immigrants (22.7%). On the other hand, the proportion

Table 27. Percentage Distribution of Landed Immigrants by Intended Province of Destination, Canada, 1961-1996

Province	Year													
	1961	1971	1981	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Newfoundland	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Prince Edward Island	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Nova Scotia	1.3	1.5	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.5	1.8	1.5
New Brunswick	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Quebec	23.6	15.8	16.4	19.6	17.6	15.9	17.8	19.1	22.4	19.1	17.6	12.5	12.5	13.2
Ontario	50.9	52.8	42.7	50.0	55.8	55.0	54.6	53.0	51.5	54.7	52.5	52.4	54.5	52.7
Manitoba	3.5	4.3	4.2	3.8	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.1	2.4	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.9
Saskatchewan	1.9	1.2	1.9	1.9	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.8
Alberta	6.7	7.1	15.0	9.7	7.9	8.7	8.4	8.8	7.4	7.0	7.3	8.0	7.0	6.3
British Columbia	10.2	15.5	17.1	12.7	12.4	14.3	13.2	13.4	13.9	14.5	17.9	21.9	20.9	22.7
Yukon and Northwest Territories	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Unknown	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number	71,689	121,900	128,618	99,219	152,098	161,929	192,001	214,230	230,781	252,842	255,747	223,875	210,974	225,266

Note: Preliminary data as of January 29, 1998.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Table 28. Number of Immigrants and Distribution (in Percent) by Province of Destination and Class, Canada, 1996

Province	Family	Economic ¹	Refugees	Total
Number				
Newfoundland	84	311	165	560
Prince Edward Island	17	74	67	158
Nova Scotia	300	2,938	229	3,467
New Brunswick	190	375	191	756
Quebec	9,125	10,301	8,896	28,322
Ontario	37,522	62,165	14,139	113,826
Manitoba	1,168	2,121	663	3,952
Saskatchewan	435	842	549	1,826
Alberta	4,435	7,976	1,345	13,756
British Columbia	14,180	32,738	2,318	49,236
Yukon	42	33	2	77
Northwest Territories	46	31	3	80
Not Stated	35	—	44	79
Total	67,579	119,905	28,611	216,095
Distribution by Province (%)				
Newfoundland	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.3
Prince Edward Island	—	0.1	0.2	0.1
Nova Scotia	0.4	2.5	0.8	1.6
New Brunswick	0.3	0.3	0.7	0.3
Quebec	13.5	8.6	31.1	13.1
Ontario	55.5	51.8	49.4	52.7
Manitoba	1.7	1.8	2.3	1.8
Saskatchewan	0.6	0.7	1.9	0.8
Alberta	6.6	6.7	4.7	6.4
British Columbia	21.0	27.3	8.1	22.8
Yukon	0.1	—	—	—
Northwest Territories	0.1	—	—	—
Not Stated	0.1	—	0.2	—
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Distribution by Class (%)				
Newfoundland	15.0	55.5	29.5	100.0
Prince Edward Island	10.8	46.8	42.4	100.0
Nova Scotia	8.7	84.7	6.6	100.0
New Brunswick	25.1	49.6	25.3	100.0
Quebec	32.2	36.4	31.4	100.0
Ontario	33.0	54.6	12.4	100.0
Manitoba	29.6	53.7	16.8	100.0
Saskatchewan	23.8	46.1	30.1	100.0
Alberta	32.2	58.0	9.8	100.0
British Columbia	28.8	66.5	4.7	100.0
Yukon	54.5	42.9	2.6	100.0
Northwest Territories	57.5	38.8	3.8	100.0
Not Stated	44.3	—	55.7	100.0
Total	31.3	55.5	13.2	100.0

¹ Includes business and qualified workers.

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Internet site, February 1998.

in the economic class who settled in Quebec. In 1996, was only 8.6% of the class total, whereas five years earlier in 1991 it was 25.5%. This is attributable to the fact that Quebec, which has jurisdiction over the selection of immigrants in this class.

On the other hand, the number of refugees settling in Quebec has doubled in two years, from 4,453 in 1994 to 8,896 in 1996, even though it increased by only 24% elsewhere in the country. *With 31.1% of the total in 1996, Quebec admitted a much higher proportion of refugees than its share of total immigration (13.2%).* This is the result of the fact that, in the statistics, the refugee class includes both refugees selected by Quebec immigration officers abroad and asylum seekers who have been allowed to remain in the country after the examinations required by the federal government. The latter may then decide upon the host province that they wish. In recent years Quebec has offered these people conditions appreciably more advantageous than those offered by other provinces. This explains why more of them have chosen this province. To this we must add that a great many asylum seekers enter the country via Quebec, mostly from the United States. When their application for asylum is accepted, they tend to remain in the province. *Consequently the composition of immigration to Quebec contrasts strongly with that to British Columbia. Whereas two thirds (66.5%) of the immigrants settling in British Columbia are in the economic class, these people have made up only a little more than one third (36.4%) of immigrants to Quebec. On the other hand, one refugee in three (31.4%) has settled in Quebec and one in 20 (4.7%) in British Columbia.* The recent changes in the distribution of immigration which have put the spotlight on British Columbia have meant that the immigrants there are different not only in number but also in make-up.

Origin of Immigrants

There is little change in distribution by place of birth for immigrants admitted in 1996 as opposed to 1995. Table 29 indicates that a few of the principal countries of origin have produced more immigrants than the previous year. All of these countries are in Asia: India (+ 5,200), Taiwan (+5,300), China (+ 4,100), Pakistan (+3,900) and Iran (+2,300). Other countries on this continent have seen a decline in the number of emigrants to Canada: Sri Lanka (-2,800), the Philippines (-2,200) and Vietnam (-1,400). *The fact remains, however, that with 145,230 people, Asia is responsible for the majority of immigrants (64.5%) making up the year's total—a number exceeded only once before, and a percentage that is an all-time high.*

The history of Canadian immigration is a succession of years characterized by waves from certain countries: the years of Uganda, Hungary, Poland, Vietnam, etc. With still-modest levels, certain countries stand out in 1996 by virtue of their significant increases, such as Algeria (+86%), Pakistan (+85%), Taiwan (+72%) and Iran (+57%).

Table 29. Countries from Which more than 2,000 Immigrants Came to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Country of Birth	1995	1996	Difference
AFRICA			
Algeria	1,093	2,036	943
Egypt	2,706	2,367	-339
Somalia	2,028	1,416	-612
AMERICA			
Guyana	3,967	2,375	-1,592
Haiti	2,011	1,971	-40
Jamaica	3,623	3,219	-404
Trinidad and Tobago	2,574	2,150	-424
United States	4,291	5,034	743
ASIA			
Bangladesh	1,951	2,753	802
China	20,887	24,947	4,060
Hong Kong	24,842	24,122	-720
India	18,137	23,349	5,212
Iran	3,990	6,249	2,259
Iraq	2,340	2,770	430
Lebanon	2,137	1,892	-245
Pakistan	4,624	8,546	3,922
Philippines	15,679	13,527	-2,152
South Korea	3,492	3,246	-246
Sri Lanka	9,259	6,437	-2,822
Taiwan	7,408	12,739	5,331
Vietnam	4,142	2,703	-1,439
EUROPE			
France	3,010	2,433	-577
Great Britain ¹	4,538	4,363	-175
Poland	2,433	2,159	-274
Romania	4,320	3,940	-380
Ex USSR ²	6,854	8,584	1,730
Yugoslavia ³	10,337	8,318	-2,019

¹ Includes England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Channel Islands.

² Includes Russian Federation, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova and Russia.

³ Includes Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

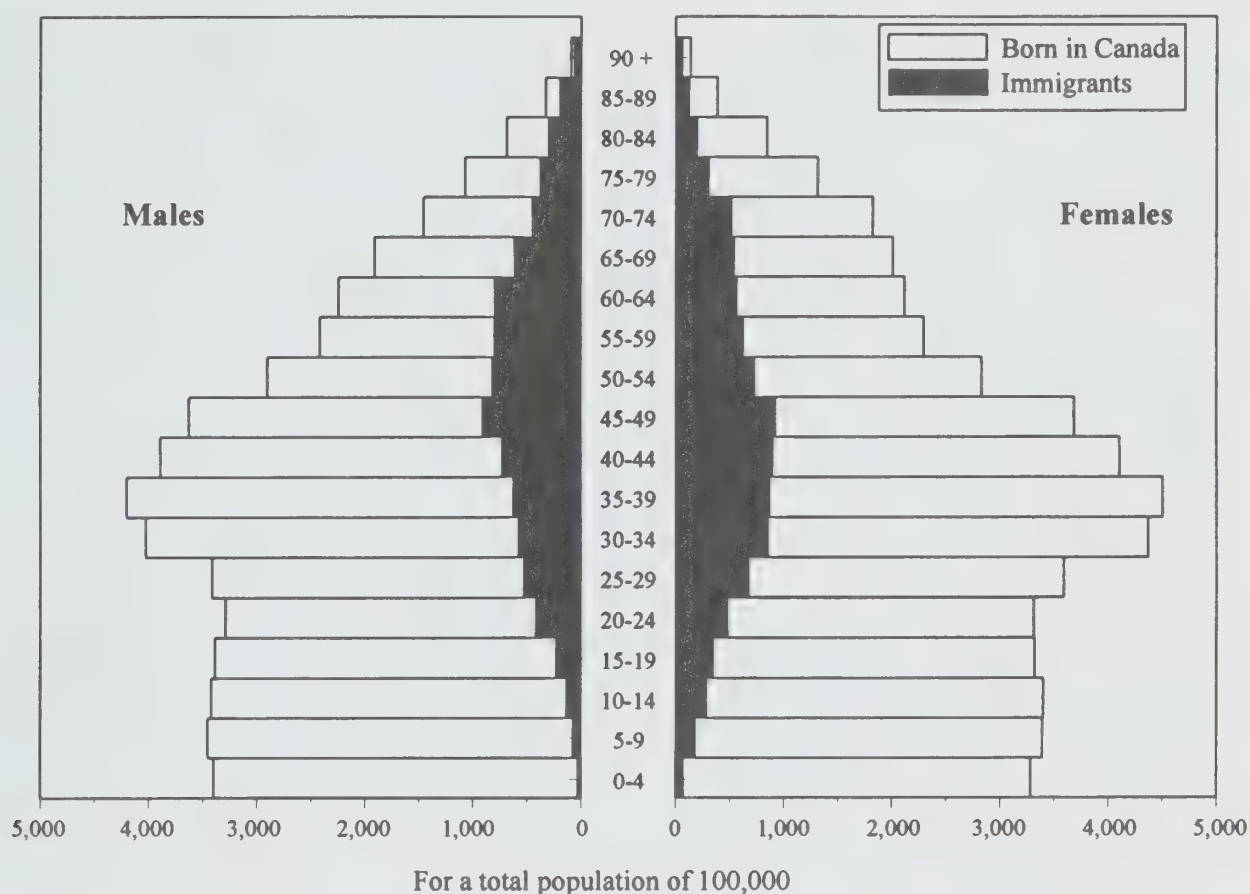
Note: Data is preliminary as of January 20, 1998.

Sources: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

Proportion of Population Born Abroad, by Age and Gender, According to the 1996 Census

Over the past decade, the level of immigration to Canada has doubled. The country received about a million immigrants between 1977 and 1986 and over two million between 1987 and 1996. One direct consequence is the increase, shown clearly in the 1996 Census, in the percentage of Canadians

Figure 28. Age Pyramid Comparing the Immigrant Population to the Total Population, Canada, 1996 Census



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Canada and calculations by the author.

born in other countries. Virtually stable since 1951, between the 1991 and 1996 censuses this percentage rose 2 points, with the result that in 1996 18% of Canadians were not born in Canada.

Given major variations in immigration levels and the age distribution of the immigrant population, the proportion of foreign-born persons varies considerably according to age group (Figure 28). Immigrants under 20 years of age are relatively uncommon. The percentage of young people born abroad is only 6.7%, ranging from a minimum of 2% for those aged 0 to 4 to 11% for those aged 15 to 19.

This proportion reaches 21.3% for the adult population (20 to 64 years of age), which is slightly higher than the overall figure (18%). In this segment as well, the percentage of people born abroad increases with age. It is 14% for those 20 to 24, steady around 20% for the five-year age groups between 25 and 44, and increases rapidly for the older age groups. It exceeds 25% for those 45 to 49 and reaches 28% for those approaching normal retirement age (60 to 64).

Table 30. Average Age of Population Born in Canada and Born Outside Canada, by Sex, 1996

Place of Birth	Males	Females	Total
Canada Outside Canada Total	Total Population		
	33.0	34.8	33.9
	44.7	45.7	45.2
	35.0	36.8	35.9
	Population Aged 20 and Over		
	44.1	45.6	44.9
Canada Outside Canada Total	48.5	49.2	48.9
	45.1	46.4	45.8

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Canada.

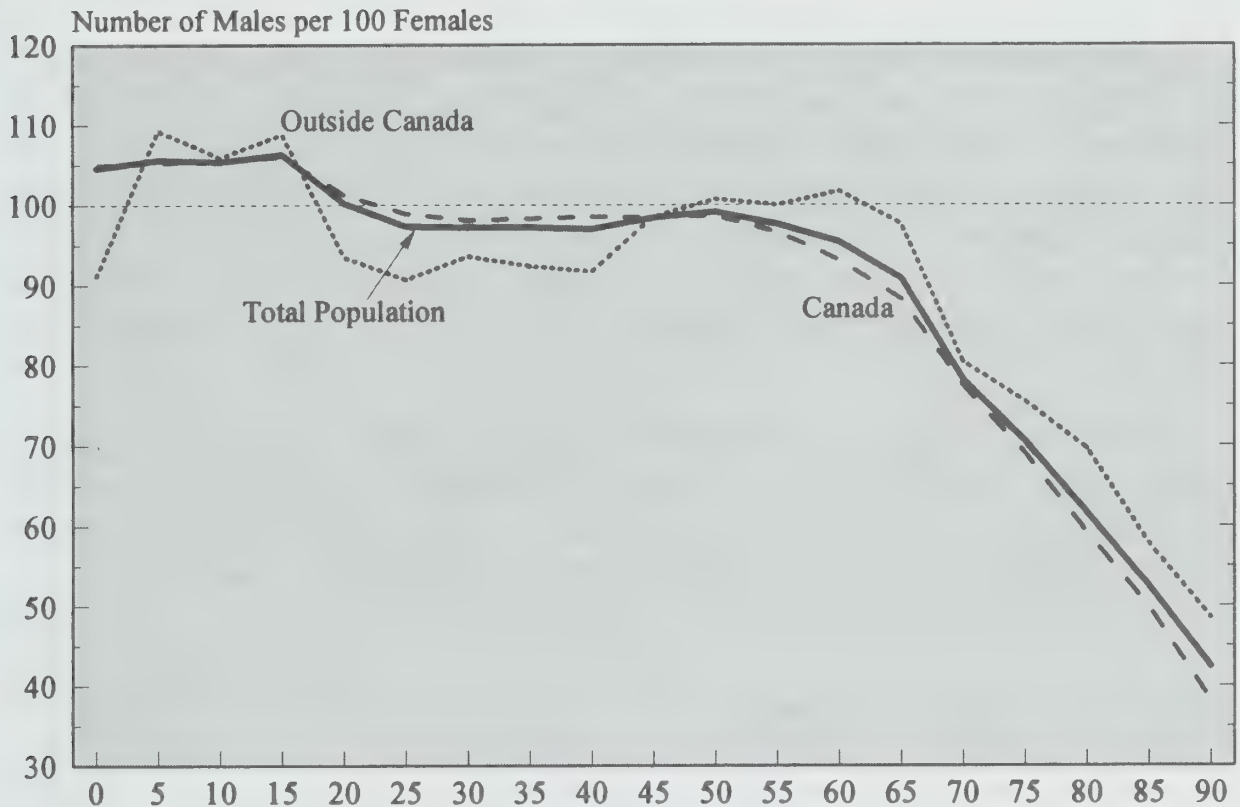
It is among the elderly that the proportion of the foreign-born is highest. More than one Canadian in four aged 65 or over (27.7%) was born outside the country. This percentage is particularly high in the very elderly. In the 1996 census, 34% of respondents aged 85 to 89 and 43% aged 90 or over declared a country of birth other than Canada. This age group was part of the waves of immigrants at the turn of the century.

Calculation of average age affords an indicator which aptly summarizes the impact of past and present immigration on the structure of the Canadian population (Table 30). In the 1996 census, the average age of the population born in Canada was 33.9.²⁵ The foreign-born population is much older, with an average age of 45.7. Much of this difference of nearly 12 years between the average ages of the two populations is due to the fact that immigrants' Canadian-born children are members of the population born in this country. But even if the calculation is restricted to those aged 20 or over, the average age of native-born Canadians is still lower. It is 44.1, compared with 48.5 for Canadians born abroad. It is clear that countries whose demographic growth is largely due to immigration are led to support that immigration, or they will face an aging population.

Because of the aging of the population and excess male mortality, the female population of Canada has been in the majority for some time now. The 1996 census indicates 14.0 million men and 14.5 million women, which translates to a sex ratio of 97 men to 100 women. Largely because it is older on average, the foreign-born population has even more of a female majority than that born in Canada: here the ratio is 94 men to 100 women.

²⁵ Data not adjusted for underenumeration.

Figure 29. Sex Ratio (Males per 100 Females) by Place of Birth and Age, Canada, 1996



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Canada and calculations by the author.

The impact of excess male mortality on the population sex ratio is clear in the Figure 29. In the total population, this ratio is about 105 males to 100 females at birth, a level that is maintained until about age 20, since mortality is low in the young of both sexes. The marked decline observed at the beginning of adulthood is partly attributable to excess male mortality through accident, and the net undercoverage which more significantly affects young men lends a slight artificial exaggeration to the ratio. Between 25 and 55 years of age, the sex ratio is only slightly favourable to the female population (between 98 and 99 men to 100 women). After age 55, the indicator is increasingly affected by excess male mortality. There are 91 men to 100 women among those aged 65 to 69, 62 men for those 80 to 84, and only 42 men aged 90 or over to 100 women in the same age group.

Once predominantly male, the immigrant population has now become predominantly female, affecting the long-term sex ratios in this population. The curve representing sex ratios by age group for persons born abroad, looks almost the same as that for the native-born population. The main difference lies in young adults aged 20 to 44, where sex ratios vary between 90 to 93 men for every 100 women, compared with indicators above 98 men to 100

women in the population born in Canada. Past the 50-54 age group, however, the sex ratio for the foreign-born population is higher than that for native Canadians.

The traditional image of the immigrant population is that it is male, young, and ready for the job market. This image is not incorrect, apart from the fact that this population is no longer primarily male, but primarily female. The immigrant population is still young compared with the host population. But immigration is a dangerous method of curbing aging, because a halt to immigration would have the same type of effect as a drop in fertility. Immigration cannot erase the dilemma of growing old, which the entire population must face.

The increase in the proportion of persons born abroad has impacts in the linguistic, ethnic, cultural and even religious sectors. In this, Canada is noteworthy for the virtual absence of serious problems, often generated in other countries which have much lower levels of immigration.

INTERNAL MIGRATION

All national statistics agencies have a twofold obligation: to produce data that are both timely and of high quality. Sometimes the two requirements are incompatible. Recording events thoroughly and accurately usually takes time. Quality control and the use of supplementary information sources are largely responsible for the delays.

In many cases, Statistics Canada publishes preliminary data. Though carefully computed, they are likely to change, in some cases substantially. This is especially true of internal migration statistics, which are difficult to compile because Canada's population is free to move and highly mobile. The preliminary estimates are almost always higher than the revised figures. One reason for this chronic problem is that the data for the two sets of estimates come from different sources. The preliminary estimates (Table 32) are based on the Child Tax Benefit file,²⁶ which is updated monthly, whereas the revised estimates (Table 31) are based on Revenue Canada's income tax file, from which annual numbers are extracted by comparing taxpayers' addresses in successive years. The Child Tax Benefit file captures more interprovincial movement than the income tax file, as the total of monthly flows for the year exceeds the annual figure.

For the reasons outlined above, it is very risky to compare the preliminary estimates for one year with the final estimates for the previous year. According

²⁶ Until 1992, the preliminary estimates of interprovincial flows were based on family allowance data. A universal program, the family allowance was then replaced by the Child Tax Benefit, entitlement to which is determined by family income.

**Table 31. Annual Number of Interprovincial Migrants According to Revenue Canada Tax Files
January to December 1995**

Number of Migrants: 286,259

Province of Origin	Province of Destination											
	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.
Newfoundland	...	218	1,821	623	217	5,735	285	112	2,412	1,804	105	193
Prince Edward Island	124	...	522	307	65	650	33	27	278	182	3	—
Nova Scotia	1,272	694	...	2,469	919	6,243	474	252	2,260	2,588	57	147
New Brunswick	475	381	2,246	...	2,164	3,808	323	177	1,355	1,104	30	75
Quebec	260	140	982	1,923	...	21,887	670	340	1,982	4,988	53	138
Ontario	3,028	671	5,880	3,754	14,982	...	5,100	1,918	11,597	22,663	242	429
Manitoba	112	18	456	291	540	5,291	...	2,470	4,719	4,675	63	222
Saskatchewan	70	57	213	161	257	2,313	2,407	...	10,018	4,253	123	250
Alberta	810	191	1,369	898	1,364	9,623	3,033	7,480	...	23,287	522	969
British Columbia	620	185	1,750	708	2,461	12,386	2,944	3,672	17,614	...	980	371
Yukon	2	4	23	6	33	101	26	167	363	860	...	67
Northwest Territories	186	—	141	67	113	463	218	317	1,199	701	130	...
In	6,959	2,559	15,403	11,207	23,115	68,500	15,513	16,932	53,797	67,105	2,308	2,861
Out	13,525	2,191	17,375	12,138	33,363	70,264	18,857	20,122	49,546	43,691	1,652	3,535
Net Migration	-6,566	368	-1,972	-931	-10,248	-1,764	-3,344	-3,190	4,251	23,414	656	-674

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Table 32. Annual Number of Interprovincial Migrants According to Revenue Canada Tax and Child Tax Credit Files
January to December 1996

Number of Migrants: 315,008

Province of Origin	Province of Destination											
	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.
Newfoundland	...	273	2,072	745	357	6,434	358	130	3,884	2,147	85	488
Prince Edward Island	244	...	781	393	90	688	49	26	180	217	7	14
Nova Scotia	1,267	820	...	2,603	1,101	6,617	601	201	2,464	2,409	108	154
New Brunswick	552	597	2,477	...	2,110	4,256	313	200	1,716	1,267	0	137
Quebec	180	100	1,147	2,347	...	24,720	687	322	3,774	5,966	75	150
Ontario	4,268	756	6,595	4,015	16,399	...	5,011	2,295	14,250	24,583	150	433
Manitoba	130	59	527	230	477	5,139	...	2,833	5,037	4,385	74	139
Saskatchewan	31	33	313	124	302	2,400	2,724	...	10,427	3,782	90	183
Alberta	916	141	1,663	910	1,237	9,578	3,376	8,940	...	23,134	506	857
British Columbia	828	212	2,323	936	2,488	12,385	2,961	3,875	21,451	...	820	463
Yukon	24	—	22	15	29	140	35	104	518	971	...	64
Northwest Territories	153	13	179	44	167	456	277	323	1,459	546	175	...
In	8,593	3,004	18,099	12,362	24,757	72,813	16,392	19,249	65,160	69,407	2,090	3,082
Out	16,973	2,689	18,345	13,625	39,468	78,755	19,030	20,409	51,258	48,742	1,922	3,792
Net Migration	-8,380	315	-246	-1,263	-14,711	-5,942	-2,638	-1,160	13,902	20,665	168	-710

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Table 33. Total Number of Interprovincial Migrants, Comparison Between Preliminary and Final Data, Canada, 1987-1996

Year	Preliminary Estimates	Final Estimates	Difference		Annual Growth (%)		
			Number	%	Preliminary Estimates	Final Estimates	Preliminary t / Final t-1
1987	359,684	318,890	40,794	12.8	...	...	...
1988	372,885	323,685	49,200	15.2	3.7	1.5	16.9
1989	371,914	347,990	23,924	6.9	-0.3	7.5	14.9
1990	391,378	332,637	58,741	17.7	5.2	-4.4	12.5
1991	357,978	315,420	42,558	13.5	-8.5	-5.2	7.6
1992	348,568	309,261	39,307	12.7	-2.6	-2.0	10.5
1993	319,074	283,297	35,777	12.6	-8.5	-8.4	3.2
1994	341,863	286,370	55,493	19.4	7.1	1.1	20.7
1995	331,131	286,259	44,872	15.7	-3.1	-	15.6
1996	315,008	..	..	..	-4.9	..	10.0
Average	350,948	311,534	43,407	14.0	-1.3	-1.4	12.4

Source: Statistics Canada, *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada*, Catalogue no. 91-209, various years.

to the figures in Table 33, the preliminary estimates overstate the flows by an average of 14%. If that average applies to this year, internal migration would appear to have remained unchanged from last year. Revised estimates will probably be in the 280,000 range. This hypothesis is particularly plausible since a comparison of the preliminary estimate for 1995 with the final estimate for 1994 showed a 15.6% increase in the number of internal migrants, while the 1994 estimate, based on final data from Revenue Canada's income tax file, indicated zero growth.

If confirmed, this stagnation in migration flows could undermine the observed relationship between economic fluctuations and internal mobility, since Canada is currently in a period of strong economic growth that has not resulted in the mobility that traditionally accompanies such periods. Until now, periods of prosperity have been associated with periods of high internal mobility and vice versa, on the grounds that interprovincial migration is often motivated by labour demand, to which young people entering the workforce are especially sensitive. Young people are particularly mobile since they have fewer ties: they are more likely to be renters than homeowners, more likely to be single than married, and so on. The current period of economic growth appears to be generating less internal migration just as it, until recently, created fewer jobs.

There is a long-term downward trend in interprovincial mobility in every province except Newfoundland (Figure 30). This trend is probably due in part to population aging and the fact that smaller birth cohorts are now reaching the ages of peak mobility.

The traces left by the recession of the early 1980s are visible in the time series of out-migration rates for almost every province of origin. Likewise, the increase in internal mobility that followed is related to the economic recovery of the late 1980s.

The preliminary estimates provide a quick estimate of the direction and magnitude of interprovincial migration flows. The direction is seldom reversed by the revised estimates: between 1987 and 1995, the sign of the preliminary provincial migration balances was the same as the sign of the revised figures 90% of the time. The preliminary estimates are also reasonably accurate about the magnitude of net migration: over the same period, the average difference between the two series was 1,500.²⁷ Hence it is worth commenting on the migration trends that appear in the data.

An analysis of the preliminary estimates for 1996 (Table 32) reveals that the attraction exerted by British Columbia in recent years has diminished. The province still gained population through interprovincial migration in 1996, but the net inflow of 20,700 is its lowest since 1987. By way of comparison, the balance for 1992 was 39,600 (Table 34). The current economic crisis in Asia is unquestionably having an impact since it is curtailing trade between Asian countries and Canada, but it is difficult to tell whether that situation will persist.

Just as British Columbia's appeal is fading, Alberta's is becoming stronger. Its net inflow of 13,900 in 1996 was its best since 1981, when the oil boom ended. In 1996, Alberta posted larger gains from all provinces to the east and a smaller loss to its western neighbour. Moreover, according to the latest quarterly population estimates,²⁸ the province gained 5,600 people from British Columbia in the first three quarters of 1997. In fact, Alberta's total migration balance for that period was 26,000, compared with 14,600 for British Columbia.

Similar movements are occurring in the United States. California, which for many years had been coming out ahead in population exchanges with other US states, has had a negative balance of internal migration over the past years.²⁹ At the same time, a number of front-range states, such as Colorado, have growing populations due to a heavy flow of in-migrants. These similarities are probably the result of the same economic situation: weakness in the Asian markets and a recovery in the petroleum sector.

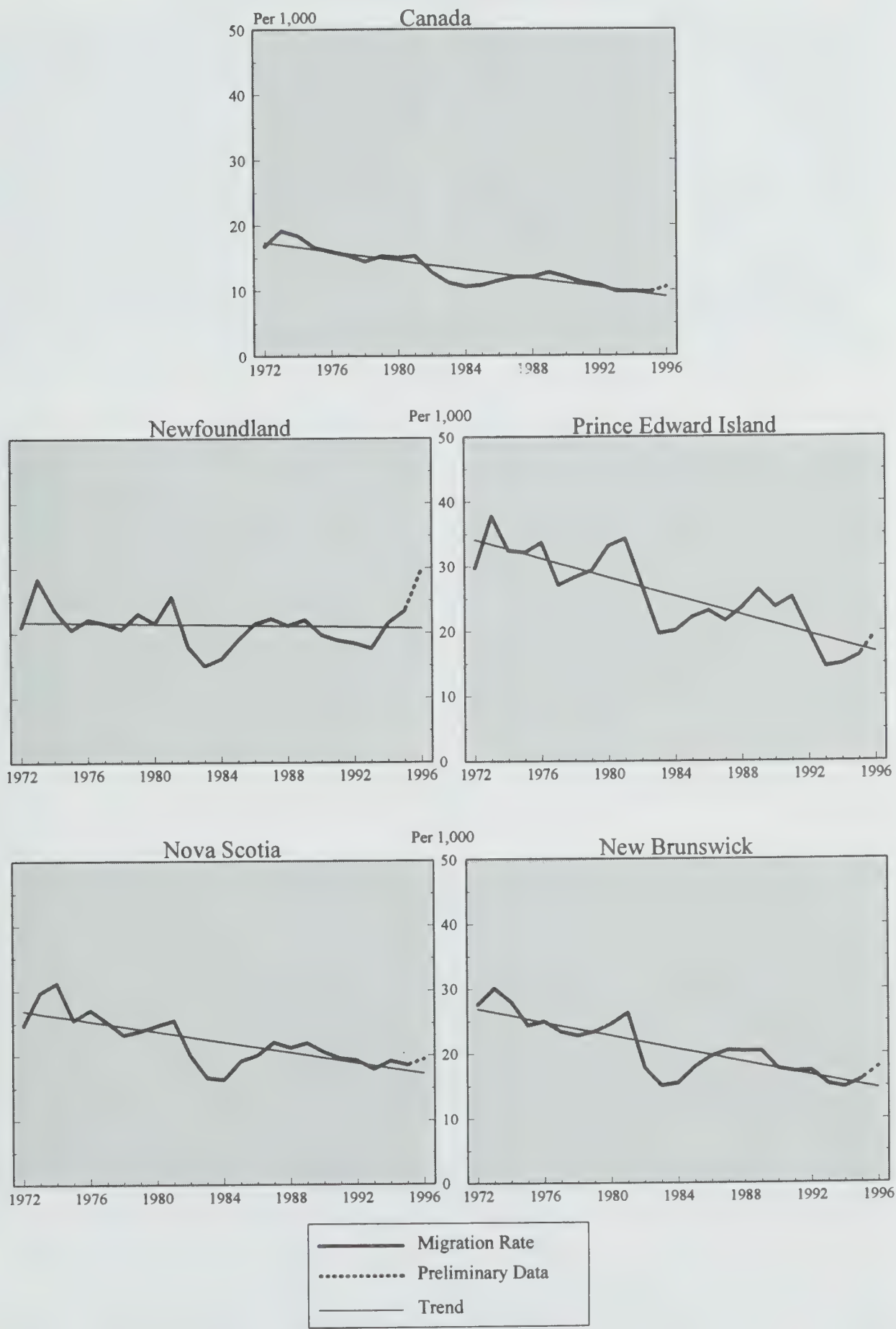
The internal migration deficits of losing provinces continued to grow in 1996: Quebec, -14,700; Newfoundland, -8,400; and Ontario, -5,900.

²⁷ To overcome the problems caused by positive and negative signs and the fact that by definition the sum of the balances for a given year must be zero, the average was computed using absolute values.

²⁸ See Statistics Canada publication 91-002.

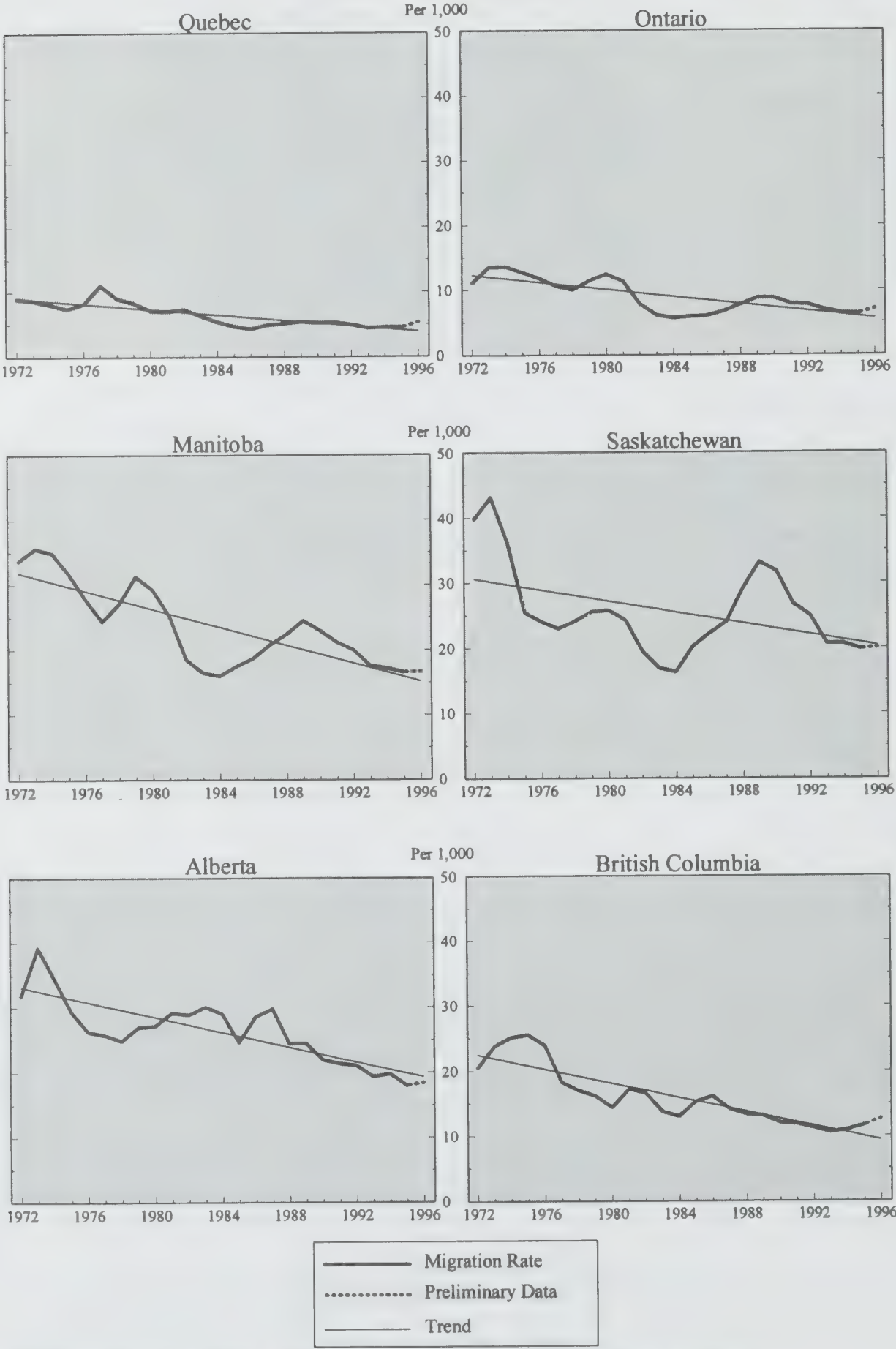
²⁹ International migration to California remains heavy.

Figure 30. Interprovincial Migration Rate (Out), Canada and Provinces, 1972-1996



Source: See at the end of this figure.

Figure 30. Interprovincial Migration Rate (Out), Canada and Provinces, 1972-1996 - Concluded



Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division and calculations by the author.

Table 34. Net Migration for Provinces and Territories, 1970-1996

Year	Newfoundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon and Northwest Territories	Total
1970	-5,950	-29	-3,967	-2,373	-41,156	54,590	-7,707	-28,358	9,898	22,579	2,473	412,559
1971	733	-129	-755	1,798	-25,005	18,580	-7,251	-17,986	2,408	25,034	2,573	405,301
1972	-189	858	2,845	241	-19,891	8,227	-7,735	-17,296	6,538	24,927	1,475	375,184
1973	-2,510	478	2,107	2,841	-14,730	-5,275	-2,200	-13,261	2,698	30,537	-685	433,992
1974	-618	1,386	1,576	4,192	-11,852	-22,163	-5,400	-4,835	14,810	22,655	249	421,336
1975	915	814	4,454	7,572	-12,340	-25,057	-4,134	6,555	23,463	-2,864	622	385,330
1976	-2,732	309	361	1,640	-20,801	-10,508	-3,655	3,819	34,215	-1,490	-1,158	376,970
1977	-4,009	614	-1,277	-886	-46,536	8,596	-3,789	384	32,344	15,507	-948	366,918
1978	-3,540	25	-109	-1,644	-33,424	415	-9,557	-3,701	31,987	20,698	-1,150	348,929
1979	-4,217	-225	-1,840	-2,219	-30,025	-15,317	-13,806	-3,510	39,212	33,241	-1,294	370,862
1980	-3,082	-1,082	-2,494	-4,165	-24,283	-34,919	-11,342	-4,382	46,933	40,165	-1,349	372,167
1981	-6,238	-783	-2,465	-4,766	-22,549	-19,665	-3,621	-520	40,243	21,565	-1,201	380,041
1982	261	-6	1,591	2,183	-28,169	19,614	1,498	1,743	3,961	-2,019	-657	322,634
1983	-1,092	799	3,861	2,296	-19,080	32,825	950	2,501	-26,246	4,029	-843	285,599
1984	-3,585	524	2,963	812	-10,943	36,691	-49	733	-30,591	3,505	-60	273,323
1985	-5,019	-13	-234	-1,559	-6,023	33,414	-1,755	-5,014	-9,568	-3,199	-1,030	281,275
1986	-4,682	-493	-739	-2,897	-3,020	42,916	-3,039	-7,020	-20,293	910	-1,643	302,352
1987	-4,374	301	-2,183	-1,762	-7,410	40,278	-4,751	-9,043	-27,595	17,618	-1,079	318,890
1988	-2,154	424	71	-1,215	-7,003	14,898	-8,584	-16,338	-5,535	25,865	-429	323,685
1989	-2,606	-102	572	-21	-8,379	-1,205	-10,004	-18,589	3,366	37,367	-399	347,990
1990	-1,137	-273	-106	1,014	-9,567	-15,117	-8,613	-15,928	11,055	38,704	-32	332,637
1991	-1,084	-415	1,039	-79	-13,047	-9,978	-7,581	-9,499	5,511	34,572	561	315,420
1992	-2,563	232	355	-1,087	-9,785	-13,530	-6,417	-7,727	1,030	39,578	-86	309,261
1993	-3,397	532	-1,143	-492	-7,426	-12,771	-5,206	-4,543	-2,355	37,595	-794	283,297
1994	-6,204	694	-2,694	-505	-10,252	-4,527	-4,010	-3,958	-2,684	34,449	-309	286,370
1995	-6,566	368	-1,972	-931	-10,248	-1,764	-3,344	-3,190	4,251	23,414	-18	286,259
1996	-8,380	315	-246	-1,263	-14,711	-5,942	-2,638	-1,160	13,902	20,665	-542	315,008
Total	-84,019	5,123	-429	-3,275	-467,655	113,306	-143,740	-180,123	202,958	565,607	-7,753	9,233,589

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Newfoundland lost population in its exchanges with every other province, and Quebec would have been in the same situation had it not been for Newfoundland. The increase of 4,500 in Quebec's deficit between 1995 and 1996 was due primarily to exchanges with Ontario (Quebec lost 8,300 people to Ontario in 1996, 6,900 in 1995), Alberta (2,500 in 1996 and 600 in 1995) and British Columbia (3,500 in 1996 and 2,500 in 1995). Preliminary data for the first three months of 1997 point to a reversal for Ontario, which will probably have a positive balance, and an even higher deficit for Newfoundland and Quebec. After suffering substantial losses in the early 1990s, Manitoba and Saskatchewan have seen improvements in their migration balances, though they remain slightly in the red.

Appendices

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1974-1997
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Newfoundland

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1974	549.4	4.5	7.0	0.5	0.2	0.0	12.4	13.0	-0.6	2.6
1975	553.9	7.3	8.0	0.6	0.2	0.1	12.3	11.4	0.9	2.6
1976	561.2	4.0	7.8	0.3	0.2	0.0	9.7	12.4	-2.7	1.6
1977	565.2	2.7	7.3	0.2	0.2	0.0	8.1	12.2	-4.0	1.0
1978	567.9	2.1	6.4	0.0	0.2	0.0	8.1	11.7	-3.5	1.0
1979	569.9	2.3	7.0	0.2	0.2	0.1	8.9	13.1	-4.2	1.0
1980	572.2	3.5	7.0	0.3	0.2	0.1	9.3	12.4	-3.1	1.0
1981	575.8	-0.6	6.9	0.1	0.2	0.1	8.5	14.8	-6.2	1.6
1982	575.1	4.2	5.8	-0.1	0.2	0.1	10.6	10.3	0.3	2.1
1983	579.4	2.0	5.4	-0.2	0.2	-0.2	7.6	8.7	-1.1	2.1
1984	581.4	-0.5	5.0	-0.1	0.2	0.1	5.7	9.3	-3.6	2.1
1985	580.9	-2.0	4.9	-0.1	0.2	0.0	6.0	11.0	-5.0	2.1
1986	578.8	-1.7	4.6	-0.2	0.2	0.2	7.7	12.4	-4.7	1.8
1987	577.1	-1.2	4.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	8.4	12.8	-4.4	1.5
1988	575.9	0.9	3.9	0.2	0.2	0.3	10.0	12.2	-2.2	1.5
1989	576.8	0.7	4.0	0.3	0.1	0.4	10.1	12.7	-2.6	1.5
1990	577.5	1.5	3.7	0.4	0.1	-0.1	10.2	11.4	-1.1	1.5
1991	578.9	1.8	3.4	0.3	0.1	-0.4	9.9	10.9	-1.1	0.6
1992 (PD)	580.7	3.2	3.1	0.5	0.1	2.0	8.1	10.7	-2.6	...
1993 (PD)	583.9	-1.7	2.5	0.5	0.1	-1.5	6.9	10.3	-3.4	...
1994 (PD)	582.2	-4.6	2.3	0.3	0.1	-1.1	6.3	12.5	-6.2	...
1995 (PD)	577.6	-5.0	1.9	0.3	0.1	-0.8	7.0	13.5	-6.6	...
1996 (PR)	572.6	-6.6	1.8	0.3	0.1	-0.5	8.6	17.0	-8.4	...
1997 (PR)	566.0
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1974	549.4	8.2	12.6	-4.4	18.6	6.0	0.6	23.6	0.9	
1975	553.9	13.1	14.3	-1.2	20.1	5.8	0.5	20.5	1.1	
1976	561.2	7.0	13.9	-6.8	19.8	5.9	0.4	22.1	0.5	
1977	565.2	4.7	12.8	-8.1	18.4	5.5	0.4	21.5	0.3	
1978	567.9	3.6	11.3	-7.6	16.7	5.5	0.3	20.5	-0.1	
1979	569.9	4.1	12.3	-8.2	17.8	5.5	0.4	23.0	0.4	
1980	572.2	6.1	12.2	-6.0	18.0	5.8	0.4	21.5	0.5	
1981	575.8	-1.1	12.0	-13.1	17.6	5.6	0.4	25.7	0.2	
1982	575.1	7.3	10.0	-2.7	15.9	5.9	0.4	17.9	-0.1	
1983	579.4	3.5	9.4	-5.9	15.4	6.0	0.3	14.9	-0.4	
1984	581.4	-0.9	8.7	-9.5	14.7	6.1	0.2	16.0	-0.2	
1985	580.9	-3.5	8.5	-12.1	14.7	6.1	0.2	18.9	-0.2	
1986	578.8	-3.0	7.9	-10.9	14.0	6.1	0.3	21.4	-0.4	
1987	577.1	-2.1	7.2	-9.3	13.5	6.3	0.3	22.2	0.2	
1988	575.9	1.5	6.8	-5.3	13.0	6.2	0.4	21.1	0.3	
1989	576.8	1.2	7.0	-5.8	13.4	6.4	0.4	22.0	0.5	
1990	577.5	2.6	6.4	-3.9	13.2	6.7	0.4	19.7	0.6	
1991	578.9	3.0	5.8	-2.8	12.4	6.6	0.4	18.9	0.6	
1992 (PD)	580.7	5.5	5.4	0.1	11.9	6.5	0.3	18.4	0.9	
1993 (PD)	583.9	-2.9	4.3	-7.2	11.0	6.7	0.2	17.6	0.9	
1994 (PD)	582.2	-7.9	3.9	-11.9	10.9	7.0	0.2	21.6	0.5	
1995 (PD)	577.6	-8.6	3.3	-12.0	10.2	6.8	0.2	23.5	0.6	
1996 (PR)	572.6	-11.7	3.2	-14.9	10.1	6.9	0.3	29.8	0.5	
1997 (PR)	566.0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1974-1997
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Prince Edward Island

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1974	115.4	1.8	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.0	5.2	3.8	1.4	0.7
1975	117.2	1.2	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.6	3.8	0.8	0.7
1976	118.4	1.1	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.3	4.0	0.3	0.2
1977	119.5	1.8	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	3.9	3.3	0.6	-0.1
1978	121.3	1.2	1.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	3.5	3.5	0.0	-0.1
1979	122.5	1.0	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.0	3.4	3.6	-0.2	-0.1
1980	123.5	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.0	4.1	-1.1	-0.1
1981	123.6	0.2	0.9	0.0	0.1	0.0	3.5	4.3	-0.8	0.0
1982	123.8	1.0	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	0.1
1983	124.8	1.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	2.5	0.8	0.1
1984	126.4	1.3	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.5	0.5	0.1
1985	127.8	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.8	0.0	0.1
1986	128.7	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.1	2.5	3.0	-0.5	0.4
1987	128.8	0.7	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.8	0.3	0.6
1988	129.6	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.5	3.1	0.4	0.6
1989	130.5	0.3	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.3	3.4	-0.1	0.6
1990	130.8	0.2	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.8	3.1	-0.3	0.6
1991	131.0	0.1	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	3.3	-0.4	0.2
1992 (PD)	131.1	1.1	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.6	0.2	...
1993 (PD)	132.2	1.3	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.5	1.9	0.5	...
1994 (PD)	133.5	1.4	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.7	2.0	0.7	...
1995 (PD)	134.9	1.2	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.1	2.6	2.2	0.4	...
1996 (PR)	136.0	0.9	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.0	2.7	0.3	...
1997 (PR)	137.0
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1974	115.4	15.6	7.3	8.3	16.7	9.4	0.2	32.5	1.6	
1975	117.2	10.2	7.4	2.8	16.4	9.0	0.2	32.2	1.1	
1976	118.4	9.3	7.1	2.2	16.3	9.2	0.2	33.6	1.1	
1977	119.5	14.6	7.7	7.0	16.4	8.7	0.2	27.2	0.8	
1978	121.3	9.8	8.1	1.7	16.3	8.2	0.1	28.4	0.4	
1979	122.5	8.3	7.4	0.9	15.7	8.3	0.1	29.4	1.7	
1980	123.5	0.7	7.5	-6.7	15.8	8.4	0.1	33.3	1.0	
1981	123.6	2.0	7.3	-5.3	15.3	8.0	0.1	34.4	0.3	
1982	123.8	7.7	7.6	0.2	15.5	7.9	0.1	27.1	0.6	
1983	124.8	13.1	6.8	6.2	15.2	8.4	0.1	19.7	0.0	
1984	126.4	10.6	6.6	3.9	15.4	8.7	0.1	20.0	0.1	
1985	127.8	6.9	7.0	-0.1	15.7	8.7	0.1	22.2	0.2	
1986	128.7	1.2	6.3	-5.0	15.0	8.7	0.1	23.2	0.7	
1987	128.8	5.8	6.5	-0.7	15.1	8.6	0.1	21.5	0.9	
1988	129.6	6.8	6.7	0.2	15.2	8.6	0.1	23.5	0.7	
1989	130.5	2.6	6.5	-3.9	14.8	8.3	0.1	26.4	0.7	
1990	130.8	1.4	6.7	-5.2	15.4	8.7	0.1	23.7	1.1	
1991	131.0	0.7	5.3	-4.6	14.4	9.1	0.1	25.2	0.4	
1992 (PD)	131.1	8.2	5.6	2.6	14.1	8.5	0.1	19.7	0.5	
1993 (PD)	132.2	9.8	4.6	5.2	13.2	8.6	0.1	14.5	0.7	
1994 (PD)	133.5	10.7	4.5	6.2	12.8	8.3	0.1	14.9	0.6	
1995 (PD)	134.9	8.5	4.4	4.1	12.9	8.5	0.1	16.2	0.6	
1996 (PR)	136.0	6.8	3.3	3.5	12.2	9.0	0.1	19.7	0.6	
1997 (PR)	137.0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1974-1997
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Nova Scotia

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1974	818.1	6.6	6.0	1.9	0.3	-0.1	27.2	25.6	1.6	3.2
1975	824.7	9.6	6.3	1.5	0.3	0.1	25.6	21.1	4.5	3.2
1976	834.2	5.8	5.9	1.4	0.3	-0.1	23.0	22.6	0.4	2.1
1977	840.0	4.1	5.4	1.0	0.3	-0.1	19.9	21.2	-1.3	1.3
1978	844.2	4.9	5.7	0.4	0.3	-0.1	19.5	19.6	-0.1	1.3
1979	849.1	3.7	5.6	0.8	0.3	0.1	18.4	20.3	-1.8	1.3
1980	852.8	3.3	5.4	1.2	0.3	0.2	18.5	21.0	-2.5	1.3
1981	856.1	3.5	5.1	0.9	0.3	0.6	19.3	21.7	-2.5	0.9
1982	859.6	7.5	5.4	0.8	0.2	0.2	18.8	17.3	1.6	0.6
1983	867.1	9.4	5.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	18.3	14.5	3.9	0.6
1984	876.5	8.7	5.5	0.6	0.2	0.0	17.3	14.4	3.0	0.6
1985	885.2	4.8	5.1	0.5	0.2	-0.2	16.7	16.9	-0.2	0.6
1986	890.0	4.4	5.1	0.6	0.2	0.0	17.1	17.8	-0.7	0.8
1987	894.4	3.1	5.0	0.7	0.3	0.3	17.6	19.8	-2.2	1.0
1988	897.5	5.8	4.8	0.9	0.2	0.8	19.2	19.1	0.1	1.0
1989	903.2	6.5	5.0	1.0	0.2	0.7	20.4	19.8	0.6	1.0
1990	909.8	5.4	5.5	0.9	0.2	-0.2	18.6	18.7	-0.1	1.0
1991	915.2	5.1	4.8	0.5	0.3	-1.2	19.0	17.9	1.0	0.4
1992 (PD)	920.2	6.4	4.3	1.5	0.4	-0.2	18.1	17.8	0.4	...
1993 (PD)	926.6	5.2	4.0	2.2	0.4	-0.2	15.5	16.7	-1.1	...
1994 (PD)	931.8	3.2	3.3	2.6	0.4	-0.4	15.1	17.8	-2.7	...
1995 (PD)	935.1	4.3	3.0	2.9	0.4	-0.1	15.4	17.4	-2.0	...
1996 (PR)	939.4	5.3	2.7	2.6	0.4	-0.2	18.1	18.3	-0.2	...
1997 (PR)	944.7
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1974	818.1	8.1	7.4	0.7	15.8	8.4	1.2	31.2	2.3	
1975	824.7	11.5	7.6	3.9	15.8	8.2	1.1	25.5	1.8	
1976	834.2	6.9	7.0	-0.1	15.3	8.3	1.0	27.0	1.6	
1977	840.0	4.9	6.4	-1.5	14.7	8.3	0.9	25.2	1.2	
1978	844.2	5.8	6.7	-0.9	14.8	8.1	0.8	23.2	0.5	
1979	849.1	4.4	6.5	-2.2	14.6	8.0	0.8	23.8	1.0	
1980	852.8	3.9	6.3	-2.4	14.5	8.2	0.8	24.6	1.4	
1981	856.1	4.1	6.0	-1.9	14.1	8.1	0.8	25.3	1.0	
1982	859.6	8.7	6.2	2.5	14.3	8.0	0.8	20.0	0.9	
1983	867.1	10.8	6.1	4.6	14.2	8.1	0.7	16.6	0.4	
1984	876.5	9.8	6.2	3.6	14.1	7.8	0.7	16.3	0.7	
1985	885.2	5.4	5.8	-0.4	14.0	8.2	0.7	19.1	0.5	
1986	890.0	4.9	5.7	-0.8	13.9	8.1	0.7	20.0	0.7	
1987	894.4	3.5	5.6	-2.1	13.5	7.9	0.7	22.1	0.8	
1988	897.5	6.4	5.3	1.1	13.5	8.2	0.7	21.2	1.0	
1989	903.2	7.2	5.5	1.7	13.8	8.3	0.8	21.9	1.1	
1990	909.8	5.9	6.0	-0.1	14.1	8.1	0.7	20.5	1.0	
1991	915.2	5.6	5.2	0.4	13.1	7.9	0.7	19.5	0.6	
1992 (PD)	920.2	6.9	4.7	2.2	12.9	8.2	0.7	19.3	1.7	
1993 (PD)	926.6	5.6	4.3	1.3	12.4	8.1	0.6	17.9	2.4	
1994 (PD)	931.8	3.5	3.6	-0.1	11.9	8.3	0.5	19.1	2.8	
1995 (PD)	935.1	4.6	3.2	1.3	11.4	8.2	0.5	18.5	3.1	
1996 (PR)	939.4	5.6	2.9	2.7	11.1	8.2	0.6	19.5	2.8	
1997 (PR)	944.7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1974-1997
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

New Brunswick

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1974	663.0	10.1	6.2	0.9	0.6	0.0	22.9	18.7	4.2	1.8
1975	673.1	14.0	6.6	0.9	0.6	0.1	24.2	16.6	7.6	1.8
1976	687.2	8.1	6.6	0.7	0.6	0.0	18.9	17.3	1.6	1.4
1977	695.3	5.0	6.3	0.1	0.5	0.0	15.5	16.4	-0.9	1.1
1978	700.4	3.0	5.6	-0.4	0.5	0.0	14.3	16.0	-1.6	1.1
1979	703.4	3.2	5.7	0.2	0.5	0.1	14.3	16.5	-2.2	1.1
1980	706.6	1.2	5.3	0.5	0.5	0.2	13.2	17.4	-4.2	1.1
1981	707.9	0.1	5.4	-0.1	0.5	0.4	13.8	18.6	-4.8	1.3
1982	708.0	6.0	5.3	-0.3	0.4	-0.2	14.8	12.7	2.2	1.4
1983	714.0	6.3	5.3	-0.2	0.4	0.0	13.2	10.9	2.3	1.4
1984	720.3	4.6	5.1	-0.3	0.4	-0.1	12.0	11.2	0.8	1.4
1985	724.9	2.0	4.9	-0.4	0.5	0.0	11.5	13.1	-1.6	1.4
1986	726.9	1.3	4.3	-0.3	0.4	0.1	11.4	14.3	-2.9	0.4
1987	728.1	3.0	4.2	-0.2	0.4	0.1	13.2	15.0	-1.8	-0.3
1988	731.2	4.1	4.2	-0.2	0.4	0.6	13.7	14.9	-1.2	-0.3
1989	735.2	4.9	4.2	0.0	0.4	0.1	15.0	15.0	0.0	-0.3
1990	740.1	5.9	4.4	0.0	0.4	-0.1	14.2	13.2	1.0	-0.3
1991	746.1	3.7	4.0	-0.2	0.4	-0.6	12.8	12.9	-0.1	-0.1
1992 (PD)	749.8	2.8	3.8	-0.2	0.5	-0.2	12.0	13.1	-1.1	...
1993 (PD)	752.6	2.9	3.2	-0.2	0.4	-0.1	11.0	11.5	-0.5	...
1994 (PD)	755.4	2.5	3.1	-0.3	0.5	-0.2	10.7	11.2	-0.5	...
1995 (PD)	757.9	1.8	2.6	-0.4	0.5	0.0	11.2	12.1	-0.9	...
1996 (PR)	759.7	1.0	2.3	-0.3	0.5	-0.2	12.4	13.6	-1.3	...
1997 (PR)	760.7
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1974	663.0	15.2	9.3	5.8	17.1	7.8	1.0	28.0	1.3	
1975	673.1	20.7	9.8	10.9	17.3	7.6	1.1	24.4	1.3	
1976	687.2	11.8	9.6	2.2	17.1	7.5	0.8	25.0	1.0	
1977	695.3	7.2	9.1	-1.8	16.5	7.4	0.7	23.4	0.2	
1978	700.4	4.3	8.0	-3.7	15.4	7.4	0.6	22.8	-0.6	
1979	703.4	4.6	8.1	-3.4	15.4	7.3	0.6	23.4	0.3	
1980	706.6	1.8	7.5	-5.8	15.0	7.5	0.6	24.6	0.7	
1981	707.9	0.2	7.6	-7.4	14.8	7.3	0.6	26.3	-0.1	
1982	708.0	8.4	7.4	1.0	14.8	7.3	0.6	17.8	-0.4	
1983	714.0	8.8	7.4	1.4	14.7	7.3	0.5	15.2	-0.3	
1984	720.3	6.3	7.0	-0.7	14.3	7.3	0.5	15.5	-0.4	
1985	724.9	2.8	6.7	-4.0	13.9	7.2	0.5	18.0	-0.5	
1986	726.9	1.8	6.0	-4.2	13.5	7.5	0.4	19.6	-0.4	
1987	728.1	4.2	5.7	-1.6	13.1	7.4	0.5	20.5	-0.3	
1988	731.2	5.5	5.7	-0.2	13.1	7.4	0.5	20.3	-0.2	
1989	735.2	6.6	5.7	1.0	13.1	7.5	0.6	20.4	0.0	
1990	740.1	8.0	5.9	2.1	13.2	7.3	0.5	17.7	-0.1	
1991	746.1	5.0	5.4	-0.4	12.7	7.3	0.5	17.3	-0.2	
1992 (PD)	749.8	3.7	5.0	-1.3	12.5	7.5	0.4	17.5	-0.3	
1993 (PD)	752.6	3.8	4.3	-0.5	12.0	7.7	0.4	15.3	-0.3	
1994 (PD)	755.4	3.2	4.0	-0.8	11.9	7.8	0.4	14.9	-0.5	
1995 (PD)	757.9	2.4	3.5	-1.1	11.3	7.8	0.4	16.0	-0.5	
1996 (PR)	759.7	1.4	3.0	-1.6	10.8	7.8	0.4	17.9	-0.3	
1997 (PR)	760.7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1974-1997
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Quebec

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1974	6,261.4	59.5	42.9	20.1	6.3	-0.3	39.3	51.2	-11.9	-2.3
1975	6,320.9	64.2	50.2	16.1	6.3	1.7	34.5	46.8	-12.3	-2.3
1976	6,385.1	52.2	53.3	18.4	6.2	-0.5	31.6	52.4	-20.8	4.5
1977	6,437.3	12.0	53.7	9.0	5.5	-0.3	24.4	71.0	-46.5	9.4
1978	6,449.3	17.6	51.8	3.8	5.4	-0.5	24.5	57.9	-33.4	9.4
1979	6,466.9	33.3	55.3	10.5	5.1	1.8	23.6	53.7	-30.0	9.4
1980	6,500.2	43.3	53.9	15.1	4.7	3.3	21.9	46.2	-24.3	9.4
1981	6,543.5	42.6	52.6	13.4	4.2	4.8	23.6	46.1	-22.5	9.8
1982	6,586.1	22.9	47.3	11.8	4.8	-2.8	19.9	48.1	-28.2	10.1
1983	6,609.0	27.6	43.9	7.0	4.3	1.6	22.3	41.4	-19.1	10.1
1984	6,636.6	33.0	43.4	5.8	4.3	0.6	25.2	36.2	-10.9	10.1
1985	6,669.6	40.5	40.6	7.2	4.1	4.6	25.4	31.4	-6.0	10.1
1986	6,710.1	60.0	37.7	12.4	4.0	13.9	26.0	29.0	-3.0	5.0
1987	6,770.1	59.0	36.2	21.1	3.5	7.1	26.0	33.4	-7.4	1.4
1988	6,829.1	77.0	38.8	20.7	3.0	22.9	27.8	34.8	-7.0	1.4
1989	6,906.0	73.0	44.1	28.7	2.9	7.2	29.5	37.8	-8.4	1.4
1990	6,979.0	69.4	49.6	35.5	2.6	-7.4	26.9	36.4	-9.6	1.4
1991	7,048.4	76.7	48.2	45.1	3.1	-6.1	24.5	37.6	-13.0	0.6
1992 (PD)	7,125.1	79.3	47.3	42.3	3.2	-3.6	25.5	35.3	-9.8	...
1993 (PD)	7,204.4	65.6	40.7	38.9	3.1	-9.6	24.5	32.0	-7.4	...
1994 (PD)	7,270.1	52.9	39.2	21.8	3.1	-0.9	22.7	33.0	-10.3	...
1995 (PD)	7,323.0	52.1	34.7	20.2	3.1	4.4	23.1	33.4	-10.2	...
1996 (PR)	7,375.1	39.6	32.0	22.9	3.1	-3.6	24.8	39.5	-14.7	...
1997 (PR)	7,414.8
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1974	6,261.4	9.5	6.8	2.6	13.6	6.8	2.4	8.1	3.2	
1975	6,320.9	10.1	7.9	2.2	14.7	6.8	2.0	7.4	2.5	
1976	6,385.1	8.1	8.3	-0.2	15.0	6.7	1.8	8.2	2.9	
1977	6,437.3	1.9	8.3	-6.5	15.1	6.7	1.4	11.0	1.4	
1978	6,449.3	2.7	8.0	-5.3	14.8	6.7	1.4	9.0	0.6	
1979	6,466.9	5.1	8.5	-3.4	15.2	6.7	1.3	8.3	1.6	
1980	6,500.2	6.6	8.3	-1.6	14.9	6.7	1.2	7.1	2.3	
1981	6,543.5	6.5	8.0	-1.5	14.5	6.5	1.3	7.0	2.0	
1982	6,586.1	3.5	7.2	-3.7	13.8	6.6	1.1	7.3	1.8	
1983	6,609.0	4.2	6.6	-2.5	13.3	6.7	1.2	6.3	1.1	
1984	6,636.6	5.0	6.5	-1.6	13.2	6.7	1.3	5.4	0.9	
1985	6,669.6	6.0	6.1	0.0	12.9	6.8	1.3	4.7	1.1	
1986	6,710.1	8.9	5.6	3.3	12.6	7.0	1.3	4.3	1.8	
1987	6,770.1	8.7	5.3	3.4	12.3	7.0	1.3	4.9	3.1	
1988	6,829.1	11.2	5.7	5.6	12.6	7.0	1.4	5.1	3.0	
1989	6,906.0	10.5	6.3	4.2	13.3	7.0	1.4	5.4	4.1	
1990	6,979.0	9.9	7.1	2.8	14.0	6.9	1.3	5.2	5.1	
1991	7,048.4	10.8	6.8	4.0	13.7	6.9	1.2	5.3	6.4	
1992 (PD)	7,125.1	11.1	6.6	4.5	13.4	6.8	1.2	4.9	5.9	
1993 (PD)	7,204.4	9.1	5.6	3.4	12.8	7.1	1.1	4.4	5.4	
1994 (PD)	7,270.1	7.3	5.4	1.9	12.4	7.0	1.0	4.5	3.0	
1995 (PD)	7,323.0	7.1	4.7	2.4	11.9	7.2	1.0	4.5	2.8	
1996 (PR)	7,375.1	5.4	4.3	1.0	11.6	7.2	1.1	5.3	3.1	
1997 (PR)	7,414.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1974-1997
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Ontario

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1974	8,158.7	120.1	63.7	82.6	17.3	-1.2	89.5	111.7	-22.2	20.2
1975	8,278.7	106.1	65.2	64.6	17.5	4.1	80.9	106.0	-25.1	20.2
1976	8,384.8	92.2	62.1	41.3	17.3	-1.7	88.7	99.2	-10.5	16.2
1977	8,477.0	98.2	61.3	27.3	15.4	-1.2	98.6	90.0	8.6	13.4
1978	8,575.2	72.6	59.8	12.3	15.2	-1.7	86.6	86.2	0.4	13.4
1979	8,647.8	76.0	60.2	26.1	14.4	4.0	83.5	98.9	-15.3	13.4
1980	8,723.9	74.0	60.6	41.1	13.0	7.6	74.2	109.1	-34.9	13.4
1981	8,797.9	96.3	59.3	32.2	11.9	17.5	80.6	100.2	-19.7	5.0
1982	8,894.1	120.4	61.2	25.4	13.4	-0.1	89.1	69.5	19.6	-1.0
1983	9,014.5	123.6	62.3	13.5	12.3	1.7	88.2	55.4	32.8	-1.0
1984	9,138.1	131.3	66.6	16.7	11.9	-1.6	89.1	52.4	36.7	-1.0
1985	9,269.4	132.2	65.5	16.6	12.4	3.4	88.4	54.9	33.4	-1.0
1986	9,401.7	174.1	66.0	27.9	11.4	24.7	100.1	57.1	42.9	-1.1
1987	9,575.8	206.4	66.5	65.4	10.8	22.2	104.7	64.4	40.3	-1.2
1988	9,782.2	235.2	67.4	72.2	9.5	70.0	91.4	76.5	14.9	-1.2
1989	10,017.4	218.6	74.4	87.3	9.3	47.6	87.3	88.5	-1.2	-1.2
1990	10,236.0	165.4	80.1	96.8	8.4	-6.0	75.2	90.3	-15.1	-1.2
1991	10,401.4	167.5	78.6	98.2	9.9	-9.7	71.2	81.2	-10.0	-0.5
1992 (PD)	10,568.9	165.7	77.4	119.2	9.9	-27.3	68.0	81.5	-13.5	...
1993 (PD)	10,734.6	141.5	72.0	115.4	9.6	-42.8	62.3	75.1	-12.8	...
1994 (PD)	10,876.1	159.4	69.6	97.7	9.6	-13.0	66.0	70.5	-4.5	...
1995 (PD)	11,035.5	159.4	67.8	95.7	9.7	-11.9	68.5	70.3	-1.8	...
1996 (PR)	11,194.9	138.8	59.0	97.7	9.6	-21.5	72.8	78.8	-5.9	...
1997 (PR)	11,333.7
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1974	8,158.7	14.6	7.7	6.9	15.1	7.4	6.1	13.6	10.1	
1975	8,278.7	12.7	7.8	4.9	15.1	7.3	5.4	12.7	7.8	
1976	8,384.8	10.9	7.4	3.6	14.6	7.2	5.9	11.8	4.9	
1977	8,477.0	11.5	7.2	4.3	14.4	7.2	6.5	10.6	3.2	
1978	8,575.2	8.4	6.9	1.5	14.0	7.1	5.6	10.0	1.4	
1979	8,647.8	8.8	6.9	1.8	14.0	7.1	5.4	11.4	3.0	
1980	8,723.9	8.4	6.9	1.5	14.1	7.2	4.7	12.5	4.7	
1981	8,797.9	10.9	6.7	4.2	13.8	7.1	5.0	11.3	3.6	
1982	8,894.1	13.4	6.8	6.6	13.9	7.1	5.5	7.8	2.8	
1983	9,014.5	13.6	6.9	6.7	14.0	7.1	5.4	6.1	1.5	
1984	9,138.1	14.3	7.2	7.0	14.3	7.0	5.4	5.7	1.8	
1985	9,269.4	14.2	7.0	7.2	14.2	7.1	5.3	5.9	1.8	
1986	9,401.7	18.4	7.0	11.4	14.1	7.2	6.0	6.0	2.9	
1987	9,575.8	21.3	6.9	14.5	13.9	7.0	6.2	6.7	6.8	
1988	9,782.2	23.8	6.8	16.9	13.9	7.1	5.4	7.7	7.3	
1989	10,017.4	21.6	7.3	14.2	14.4	7.0	5.1	8.7	8.6	
1990	10,236.0	16.0	7.8	8.3	14.6	6.9	4.3	8.8	9.4	
1991	10,401.4	16.0	7.5	8.5	14.4	7.0	4.0	7.7	9.4	
1992 (PD)	10,568.9	15.6	7.3	8.3	14.1	6.9	3.8	7.7	11.2	
1993 (PD)	10,734.6	13.1	6.7	6.4	13.7	7.0	3.4	6.9	10.7	
1994 (PD)	10,876.1	14.5	6.4	8.2	13.4	7.1	3.6	6.4	8.9	
1995 (PD)	11,035.5	14.3	6.1	8.2	13.2	7.1	3.7	6.3	8.6	
1996 (PR)	11,194.9	12.3	5.2	7.1	12.3	7.0	3.9	7.0	8.7	
1997 (PR)	11,333.7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1974-1997
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Manitoba

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1974	1,014.3	7.2	8.9	4.5	1.4	-0.1	30.2	35.6	-5.4	2.1
1975	1,021.5	8.6	8.8	4.5	1.4	0.2	28.4	32.5	-4.1	2.1
1976	1,030.1	6.4	8.5	3.2	1.3	-0.1	25.1	28.7	-3.7	2.9
1977	1,036.5	5.3	8.5	2.8	1.2	-0.1	21.6	25.3	-3.8	3.4
1978	1,041.8	-2.5	8.1	1.3	1.2	-0.1	18.7	28.2	-9.6	3.4
1979	1,039.3	-4.9	8.0	3.0	1.1	0.2	18.8	32.6	-13.8	3.4
1980	1,034.5	0.3	7.6	6.1	1.0	0.4	19.0	30.4	-11.3	3.4
1981	1,034.8	7.8	7.4	3.4	1.0	0.7	22.7	26.3	-3.6	1.2
1982	1,042.6	13.7	7.6	3.2	0.8	0.2	20.9	19.4	1.5	-0.4
1983	1,056.2	12.7	8.1	1.8	1.0	0.4	18.5	17.5	1.0	-0.4
1984	1,069.0	11.7	8.4	2.3	0.8	-0.2	17.2	17.2	0.0	-0.4
1985	1,080.7	9.4	8.3	1.6	0.9	-0.1	17.2	19.0	-1.8	-0.4
1986	1,090.1	7.0	8.1	1.9	0.9	0.2	17.4	20.5	-3.0	1.0
1987	1,097.0	5.3	8.2	2.8	0.9	0.1	18.1	22.9	-4.8	2.0
1988	1,102.3	1.8	7.9	3.0	0.8	0.7	16.1	24.7	-8.6	2.0
1989	1,104.1	1.4	8.5	3.7	1.0	0.2	17.1	27.1	-10.0	2.0
1990	1,105.6	3.5	8.5	4.6	0.9	0.2	16.9	25.5	-8.6	2.0
1991	1,109.1	2.9	8.3	3.5	1.2	-1.7	16.1	23.6	-7.6	0.8
1992 (PD)	1,112.0	4.9	7.6	3.0	1.1	-0.4	15.9	22.3	-6.4	...
1993 (PD)	1,116.8	5.5	7.4	2.7	1.1	-0.4	14.6	19.8	-5.2	...
1994 (PD)	1,122.3	6.0	7.3	1.8	1.1	-0.2	15.4	19.4	-4.0	...
1995 (PD)	1,128.3	5.2	6.5	1.2	1.1	-0.1	15.5	18.9	-3.3	...
1996 (PR)	1,133.5	6.2	6.0	2.2	1.1	-0.4	16.4	19.0	-2.6	...
1997 (PR)	1,139.7
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1974	1,014.3	7.0	8.7	-1.7	17.0	8.3	1.4	35.0	4.5	
1975	1,021.5	8.4	8.5	-0.1	16.7	8.2	1.3	31.7	4.4	
1976	1,030.1	6.1	8.2	-2.0	16.2	8.0	1.1	27.8	3.1	
1977	1,036.5	5.1	8.2	-3.1	16.1	7.9	0.9	24.4	2.7	
1978	1,041.8	-2.4	7.8	-10.2	15.8	8.0	0.8	27.1	1.3	
1979	1,039.3	-4.7	7.7	-12.4	15.7	7.9	0.8	31.4	2.9	
1980	1,034.5	0.3	7.3	-7.0	15.5	8.2	0.8	29.4	5.9	
1981	1,034.8	7.5	7.1	0.3	15.5	8.3	1.0	25.3	3.3	
1982	1,042.6	13.0	7.3	5.8	15.4	8.1	0.9	18.5	3.1	
1983	1,056.2	12.0	7.6	4.4	15.6	8.0	0.8	16.5	1.7	
1984	1,069.0	10.9	7.8	3.1	15.5	7.7	0.7	16.0	2.2	
1985	1,080.7	8.7	7.7	1.0	15.8	8.1	0.7	17.5	1.5	
1986	1,090.1	6.4	7.4	-1.0	15.6	8.1	0.7	18.7	1.7	
1987	1,097.0	4.8	7.5	-2.7	15.4	7.9	0.7	20.8	2.5	
1988	1,102.3	1.7	7.2	-5.5	15.4	8.2	0.6	22.4	2.7	
1989	1,104.1	1.3	7.7	-6.4	15.7	8.0	0.6	24.5	3.4	
1990	1,105.6	3.2	7.7	-4.5	15.7	8.0	0.6	23.1	4.1	
1991	1,109.1	2.6	7.5	-4.9	15.6	8.1	0.6	21.3	3.1	
1992 (PD)	1,112.0	4.4	6.8	-2.5	14.9	8.1	0.6	20.0	2.7	
1993 (PD)	1,116.8	4.9	6.6	-1.7	14.9	8.3	0.5	17.7	2.4	
1994 (PD)	1,122.3	5.3	6.5	-1.2	14.6	8.1	0.5	17.2	1.6	
1995 (PD)	1,128.3	4.6	5.7	-1.1	14.2	8.5	0.5	16.7	1.0	
1996 (PR)	1,133.5	5.4	5.3	0.2	13.7	8.4	0.6	16.7	1.9	
1997 (PR)	1,139.7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1974-1997
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Saskatchewan

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1974	909.8	2.7	7.3	0.8	0.7	0.0	28.0	32.8	-4.8	1.3
1975	912.5	15.3	7.6	1.6	0.7	0.1	30.0	23.4	6.6	1.3
1976	927.8	13.0	8.2	1.2	0.7	0.0	26.2	22.4	3.8	0.8
1977	940.7	10.6	9.0	1.1	0.6	0.0	22.2	21.8	0.4	0.4
1978	951.3	5.6	8.8	0.4	0.6	0.0	19.3	23.0	-3.7	0.4
1979	956.9	8.1	9.6	1.8	0.5	0.1	21.1	24.6	-3.5	0.4
1980	965.0	8.1	9.4	2.8	0.5	0.2	20.7	25.0	-4.4	0.4
1981	973.1	11.3	9.7	1.4	0.5	0.3	23.2	23.7	-0.5	0.1
1982	984.4	12.9	9.5	1.0	0.5	0.0	21.0	19.3	1.7	-0.1
1983	997.3	14.0	10.2	0.5	0.5	0.1	19.5	17.0	2.5	-0.1
1984	1,011.3	12.9	10.3	1.1	0.5	0.2	17.3	16.6	0.7	-0.1
1985	1,024.2	6.6	10.1	0.5	0.6	0.3	15.8	20.8	-5.0	-0.1
1986	1,030.8	2.8	9.5	1.0	0.5	0.4	15.9	22.9	-7.0	1.5
1987	1,033.6	-0.4	9.2	1.1	0.5	0.4	15.7	24.7	-9.0	2.6
1988	1,033.2	-8.1	8.7	1.3	0.5	0.4	13.6	30.0	-16.3	2.6
1989	1,025.1	-10.6	8.7	1.2	0.5	0.2	15.3	33.9	-18.6	2.6
1990	1,014.5	-8.4	8.0	1.5	0.5	0.1	16.1	32.0	-15.9	2.6
1991	1,006.1	-2.7	7.2	1.6	0.5	-1.4	17.4	26.9	-9.5	1.1
1992 (PD)	1,003.3	1.4	7.2	1.6	0.5	-0.1	17.3	25.1	-7.7	...
1993 (PD)	1,004.7	3.2	6.1	1.4	0.5	-0.3	16.3	20.8	-4.5	...
1994 (PD)	1,007.9	3.3	5.7	1.2	0.5	-0.2	16.9	20.8	-4.0	...
1995 (PD)	1,011.2	3.4	5.0	0.9	0.5	0.2	16.9	20.1	-3.2	...
1996 (PR)	1,014.6	5.2	5.0	0.8	0.5	0.0	19.2	20.4	-1.2	...
1997 (PR)	1,019.7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
	1974	909.8	3.0	8.0	-5.1	16.6	8.6	1.3	36.0	0.9
1975	912.5	16.6	8.3	8.3	16.6	8.3	1.3	25.5	1.7	
1976	927.8	13.9	8.7	5.2	17.1	8.4	1.2	24.0	1.2	
1977	940.7	11.2	9.5	1.7	17.5	8.0	1.0	23.1	1.2	
1978	951.3	5.9	9.2	-3.3	17.3	8.1	0.8	24.1	0.4	
1979	956.9	8.4	10.0	-1.6	17.6	7.7	0.9	25.6	1.9	
1980	965.0	8.4	9.7	-1.3	17.6	7.9	0.9	25.8	2.9	
1981	973.1	11.5	9.9	1.6	17.6	7.7	1.0	24.2	1.5	
1982	984.4	13.0	9.6	3.4	17.9	8.3	0.9	19.5	1.1	
1983	997.3	14.0	10.2	3.8	17.8	7.6	0.8	16.9	0.5	
1984	1,011.3	12.7	10.1	2.6	17.7	7.6	0.7	16.3	1.1	
1985	1,024.2	6.4	9.9	-3.4	17.7	7.8	0.6	20.2	0.5	
1986	1,030.8	2.7	9.2	-6.4	17.0	7.8	0.6	22.2	1.0	
1987	1,033.6	-0.4	8.9	-9.3	16.5	7.6	0.6	23.9	1.1	
1988	1,033.2	-7.9	8.4	-16.3	16.3	7.9	0.5	29.1	1.3	
1989	1,025.1	-10.4	8.6	-19.0	16.3	7.8	0.6	33.2	1.1	
1990	1,014.5	-8.3	8.0	-16.3	15.9	8.0	0.6	31.7	1.5	
1991	1,006.1	-2.7	7.2	-9.9	15.2	8.1	0.6	26.8	1.6	
1992 (PD)	1,003.3	1.4	7.2	-5.8	14.9	7.8	0.6	25.0	1.6	
1993 (PD)	1,004.7	3.2	6.1	-2.9	14.2	8.1	0.6	20.7	1.4	
1994 (PD)	1,007.9	3.2	5.7	-2.4	13.9	8.2	0.6	20.6	1.2	
1995 (PD)	1,011.2	3.3	4.9	-1.6	13.3	8.4	0.6	19.9	0.9	
1996 (PR)	1,014.6	5.1	5.0	0.1	12.8	7.8	0.7	20.1	0.8	
1997 (PR)	1,019.7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1974-1997
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Alberta

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1974	1,745.5	42.4	18.6	4.6	4.4	-0.1	75.4	60.6	14.8	-0.1
1975	1,787.9	56.4	20.2	7.4	4.5	0.7	76.7	53.2	23.5	-0.1
1976	1,844.2	74.0	21.5	6.6	4.5	-0.2	83.5	49.3	34.2	-7.4
1977	1,918.2	76.2	22.8	4.6	4.1	-0.1	82.8	50.5	32.3	-12.5
1978	1,994.4	73.1	23.5	1.3	4.1	-0.2	82.6	50.6	32.0	-12.5
1979	2,067.5	86.5	24.9	5.2	4.0	0.7	96.1	56.9	39.2	-12.5
1980	2,154.1	103.9	27.0	12.4	3.7	1.2	106.7	59.8	46.9	-12.5
1981	2,257.9	90.0	29.8	11.6	3.6	2.5	107.6	67.3	40.2	-2.3
1982	2,347.9	43.4	32.1	8.8	4.1	-0.4	72.7	68.8	4.0	5.0
1983	2,391.4	7.2	33.0	1.5	4.0	0.0	45.9	72.1	-26.2	5.0
1984	2,398.6	2.2	31.4	2.3	3.9	0.2	39.3	69.9	-30.6	5.0
1985	2,400.8	22.1	30.6	0.5	4.3	1.2	49.9	59.5	-9.6	5.0
1986	2,422.9	14.5	30.2	2.4	3.7	2.5	49.5	69.8	-20.3	3.9
1987	2,437.4	11.2	28.8	4.6	3.8	4.6	45.3	72.9	-27.6	3.0
1988	2,448.6	35.3	28.2	7.5	3.6	4.7	54.8	60.3	-5.5	3.0
1989	2,483.9	44.8	29.5	9.8	3.3	1.9	64.7	61.3	3.4	3.0
1990	2,528.7	52.0	28.9	12.4	3.1	-0.4	67.4	56.3	11.1	3.0
1991	2,580.7	37.3	28.3	8.4	3.8	-7.4	61.2	55.7	5.5	1.3
1992 (PD)	2,618.0	40.9	27.4	10.2	3.8	-1.5	57.0	56.0	1.0	...
1993 (PD)	2,658.9	33.7	25.0	11.1	3.7	-3.7	49.7	52.0	-2.4	...
1994 (PD)	2,692.6	33.6	24.2	10.2	3.8	-1.9	51.0	53.7	-2.7	...
1995 (PD)	2,726.3	38.6	23.0	6.9	3.8	0.6	53.8	49.5	4.3	...
1996 (PR)	2,764.9	44.9	21.4	6.1	3.8	-0.2	65.2	51.3	13.9	...
1997 (PR)	2,809.8
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1974	1,745.5	24.0	10.5	13.5	16.9	6.4	3.6	34.3	2.6	
1975	1,787.9	31.0	11.1	19.9	17.4	6.3	3.6	29.3	4.1	
1976	1,844.2	39.3	11.4	27.9	17.6	6.2	3.9	26.2	3.5	
1977	1,918.2	39.0	11.7	27.3	17.6	5.9	3.8	25.8	2.3	
1978	1,994.4	36.0	11.5	24.5	17.4	5.9	3.8	24.9	0.6	
1979	2,067.5	41.0	11.8	29.2	17.5	5.7	4.3	27.0	2.5	
1980	2,154.1	47.1	12.3	34.8	18.0	5.8	4.8	27.1	5.6	
1981	2,257.9	39.1	12.9	26.1	18.5	5.6	4.8	29.2	5.0	
1982	2,347.9	18.3	13.5	4.8	19.0	5.5	3.2	29.0	3.7	
1983	2,391.4	3.0	13.8	-10.8	19.0	5.3	2.0	30.1	0.6	
1984	2,398.6	0.9	13.1	-12.1	18.4	5.3	1.7	29.1	1.0	
1985	2,400.8	9.1	12.7	-3.5	18.2	5.5	2.1	24.7	0.2	
1986	2,422.9	6.0	12.4	-6.4	18.0	5.6	2.1	28.7	1.0	
1987	2,437.4	4.6	11.8	-7.2	17.2	5.5	1.9	29.8	1.9	
1988	2,448.6	14.3	11.4	2.9	17.1	5.6	2.2	24.5	3.0	
1989	2,483.9	17.9	11.8	6.1	17.3	5.5	2.6	24.5	3.9	
1990	2,528.7	20.3	11.3	9.0	16.8	5.5	2.7	22.1	4.8	
1991	2,580.7	14.4	10.9	3.5	16.5	5.6	2.4	21.4	3.2	
1992 (PD)	2,618.0	15.5	10.4	5.1	15.9	5.6	2.2	21.2	3.9	
1993 (PD)	2,658.9	12.6	9.3	3.3	15.1	5.7	1.9	19.4	4.1	
1994 (PD)	2,692.6	12.4	8.9	3.5	14.7	5.8	1.9	19.8	3.8	
1995 (PD)	2,726.3	14.1	8.4	5.7	14.2	5.8	2.0	18.0	2.5	
1996 (PR)	2,764.9	16.1	7.7	8.4	13.6	5.9	2.4	18.4	2.2	
1997 (PR)	2,809.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1974-1997
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

British Columbia

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1974	2,420.4	69.5	16.3	24.0	4.7	-0.2	84.2	61.5	22.7	-2.0
1975	2,489.9	41.6	17.1	19.7	4.8	0.8	61.1	64.0	-2.9	-2.0
1976	2,531.5	32.1	17.1	11.8	4.8	-0.3	59.3	60.8	-1.5	-0.3
1977	2,563.6	43.8	18.1	7.1	4.3	-0.2	62.8	47.3	15.5	1.0
1978	2,607.5	45.6	18.2	3.8	4.3	-0.3	65.4	44.7	20.7	1.0
1979	2,653.1	65.5	19.2	9.2	4.1	0.8	76.6	43.4	33.2	1.0
1980	2,718.5	83.4	20.7	18.2	3.8	1.5	80.0	39.8	40.2	1.0
1981	2,801.9	65.3	21.6	15.5	3.4	3.3	70.4	48.8	21.6	0.1
1982	2,867.2	34.8	22.0	10.9	3.9	-0.6	45.9	47.9	-2.0	-0.6
1983	2,901.9	38.3	23.1	6.4	3.7	0.5	43.9	39.9	4.0	-0.6
1984	2,940.3	36.0	23.2	4.5	3.8	0.4	42.0	38.5	3.5	-0.6
1985	2,976.2	28.6	21.8	3.6	3.9	1.8	42.6	45.8	-3.2	-0.6
1986	3,004.8	33.9	20.8	4.3	4.0	4.5	49.5	48.6	0.9	0.6
1987	3,038.7	57.7	20.0	12.0	3.7	5.8	60.9	43.3	17.6	1.5
1988	3,096.4	74.0	20.4	17.5	3.2	8.5	67.5	41.6	25.9	1.5
1989	3,170.4	88.2	20.8	19.3	3.2	9.0	79.4	42.0	37.4	1.5
1990	3,258.6	87.7	22.0	22.5	3.1	2.8	78.4	39.7	38.7	1.5
1991	3,346.3	75.1	21.6	25.1	3.3	-9.0	74.5	39.9	34.6	0.6
1992 (PD)	3,421.3	93.8	21.5	30.0	3.4	-0.7	78.6	39.0	39.6	...
1993 (PD)	3,515.1	95.8	20.3	38.9	3.4	-4.3	75.2	37.6	37.6	...
1994 (PD)	3,610.9	100.9	21.1	42.0	3.4	0.0	74.5	40.1	34.4	...
1995 (PD)	3,711.8	89.1	20.4	37.1	3.5	4.7	67.1	43.7	23.4	...
1996 (PR)	3,800.9	85.2	18.7	43.1	3.4	-0.8	69.4	48.7	20.7	...
1997 (PR)	3,886.1
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1974	2,420.4	28.3	6.6	21.7	14.4	7.8	4.1	25.1	9.8	
1975	2,489.9	16.6	6.8	9.8	14.5	7.6	3.0	25.5	7.9	
1976	2,531.5	12.6	6.7	5.9	14.1	7.4	2.8	23.9	4.6	
1977	2,563.6	17.0	7.0	10.0	14.2	7.2	3.0	18.3	2.8	
1978	2,607.5	17.3	6.9	10.4	14.2	7.2	3.1	17.0	1.4	
1979	2,653.1	24.4	7.2	17.2	14.3	7.2	3.5	16.2	3.4	
1980	2,718.5	30.2	7.5	22.7	14.5	7.0	3.7	14.4	6.6	
1981	2,801.9	23.0	7.6	15.4	14.6	7.0	3.2	17.2	5.5	
1982	2,867.2	12.1	7.6	4.4	14.8	7.2	2.1	16.6	3.8	
1983	2,901.9	13.1	7.9	5.2	14.7	6.8	1.9	13.7	2.2	
1984	2,940.3	12.2	7.9	4.3	14.8	7.0	1.8	13.0	1.5	
1985	2,976.2	9.6	7.3	2.3	14.4	7.1	1.9	15.3	1.2	
1986	3,004.8	11.2	6.9	4.3	13.9	7.0	2.1	16.1	1.4	
1987	3,038.7	18.8	6.5	12.3	13.6	7.1	2.6	14.1	3.9	
1988	3,096.4	23.6	6.5	17.1	13.7	7.2	2.8	13.3	5.6	
1989	3,170.4	27.4	6.5	21.0	13.6	7.2	3.3	13.1	6.0	
1990	3,258.6	26.6	6.7	19.9	13.8	7.1	3.2	12.0	6.8	
1991	3,346.3	22.2	6.4	15.8	13.5	7.1	3.0	11.8	7.4	
1992 (PD)	3,421.3	27.0	6.2	20.8	13.3	7.1	3.1	11.3	8.6	
1993 (PD)	3,515.1	26.9	5.7	21.2	12.9	7.2	3.0	10.6	10.9	
1994 (PD)	3,610.9	27.5	5.8	21.8	12.8	7.1	2.9	10.9	11.5	
1995 (PD)	3,711.8	23.7	5.4	18.3	12.5	7.0	2.6	11.6	9.9	
1996 (PR)	3,800.9	22.2	4.9	17.3	12.1	7.2	2.7	12.7	11.2	
1997 (PR)	3,886.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1974-1997
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Yukon

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non- permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1974	21.1	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.7	0.1	-0.1
1975	21.7	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	2.8	2.5	0.2	-0.1
1976	22.4	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	2.9	-0.4	-0.3
1977	22.7	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.7	0.1	-0.4
1978	23.5	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	2.8	-0.2	-0.4
1979	24.1	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	2.8	-0.4	-0.4
1980	24.5	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.7	-0.4	-0.4
1981	24.9	-0.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	4.1	-1.4	-0.3
1982	24.4	-0.5	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.6	2.8	-1.2	-0.3
1983	23.8	-0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.4	-0.8	-0.3
1984	23.8	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.7	-0.1	-0.3
1985	24.4	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.0	-0.4	-0.3
1986	24.6	0.8	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.0	0.2	-0.2
1987	25.4	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.2	0.1	-0.2
1988	26.1	1.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	2.1	0.3	-0.2
1989	27.1	0.6	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.3	0.0	-0.2
1990	27.8	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.2	0.0	-0.2
1991	28.4	1.1	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	1.9	0.5	-0.1
1992 (PD)	29.5	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.1	0.2	...
1993 (PD)	30.2	-0.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.4	-0.8	...
1994 (PD)	29.8	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	1.8	2.0	-0.2	...
1995 (PD)	30.0	1.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	1.7	0.7	...
1996 (PR)	31.0	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	1.9	0.2	...
1997 (PR)	31.5
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1974	21.1	28.4	17.8	10.6	23.1	5.3	0.1	125.3	-0.3	
1975	21.7	30.9	13.4	17.5	18.5	5.1	0.1	113.7	0.0	
1976	22.4	12.7	14.4	-1.7	19.9	5.5	0.1	129.2	-0.7	
1977	22.7	35.2	14.2	21.0	18.8	4.5	0.1	119.1	-1.4	
1978	23.5	25.5	15.0	10.5	18.8	3.7	0.1	119.0	-1.3	
1979	24.1	15.8	15.4	0.5	20.6	5.2	0.1	116.3	-0.3	
1980	24.5	17.1	14.1	3.0	19.3	5.2	0.1	109.9	1.4	
1981	24.9	-21.8	16.0	-37.9	21.8	5.7	0.1	165.7	1.0	
1982	24.4	-21.9	16.9	-38.7	21.8	4.9	0.1	117.4	-1.7	
1983	23.8	-2.4	17.9	-20.4	22.7	4.7	0.1	99.3	0.5	
1984	23.8	25.6	17.1	8.6	21.5	4.5	0.1	70.6	-0.4	
1985	24.4	9.7	13.9	-4.2	18.9	5.0	0.1	82.8	-0.3	
1986	24.6	31.3	14.8	16.5	19.3	4.5	0.1	80.4	-0.2	
1987	25.4	28.1	14.3	13.8	18.5	4.2	0.1	85.7	0.8	
1988	26.1	36.0	14.5	21.6	19.6	5.1	0.1	78.9	1.0	
1989	27.1	23.6	14.0	9.5	17.5	3.5	0.1	85.5	2.1	
1990	27.8	22.9	15.7	7.2	19.8	4.1	0.1	80.1	0.9	
1991	28.4	36.8	15.7	21.1	19.6	3.9	0.1	64.7	0.3	
1992 (PD)	29.5	23.3	13.8	9.5	17.7	3.9	0.1	71.1	1.9	
1993 (PD)	30.2	-11.3	12.8	-24.2	16.9	4.1	0.1	79.8	1.3	
1994 (PD)	29.8	5.1	10.6	-5.6	14.8	4.1	0.1	68.0	1.8	
1995 (PD)	30.0	34.1	10.3	23.9	15.4	5.1	0.1	54.2	0.7	
1996 (PR)	31.0	17.2	10.3	6.9	14.2	3.9	0.1	61.4	0.7	
1997 (PR)	31.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

See notes at the end of this table.

Table A1. Demographic Accounts of the Provinces and Territories, 1974-1997
(figures in thousands and rates per 1,000)

Northwest Territories

Year	Population as of January 1	Increase		Net International Migration ¹	Returning Canadians	Net Non-permanent Residents	Interprovincial Migration			Residual ²
		Total	Natural				In	Out	Net	
1974	41.2	1.3	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	4.3	4.2	0.2	-0.1
1975	42.4	1.7	1.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	4.3	3.9	0.4	-0.1
1976	44.1	0.6	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.1	4.9	-0.8	-0.3
1977	44.7	0.4	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.4	5.4	-1.0	-0.3
1978	45.1	0.5	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.9	4.8	-1.0	-0.3
1979	45.6	0.7	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.7	4.6	-0.8	-0.3
1980	46.3	0.6	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.4	4.3	-0.9	-0.3
1981	46.9	1.8	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	4.2	4.1	0.2	-0.4
1982	48.6	2.2	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	3.2	0.6	-0.4
1983	50.8	1.7	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	-0.4
1984	52.5	1.7	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	3.5	0.1	-0.4
1985	54.2	1.1	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	4.0	-0.6	-0.4
1986	55.3	-0.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	4.9	-1.8	-0.4
1987	55.2	0.6	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	4.7	-1.2	-0.4
1988	55.8	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	3.5	4.3	-0.8	-0.4
1989	56.9	1.3	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	4.1	-0.4	-0.4
1990	58.3	1.9	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	3.8	3.8	0.0	-0.4
1991	60.1	1.7	1.4	0.1	0.0	-0.1	3.7	3.6	0.1	-0.2
1992 (PD)	61.8	1.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	-0.1	3.4	3.7	-0.3	...
1993 (PD)	62.8	1.4	1.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.1	3.2	0.0	...
1994 (PD)	64.2	1.3	1.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	3.2	3.3	-0.1	...
1995 (PD)	65.5	0.8	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	3.5	-0.7	...
1996 (PR)	66.3	0.6	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	3.8	-0.7	...
1997 (PR)	66.9
	Population as of January 1	Growth Rate			Birth Rate	Death Rate	Interprovincial Migration Rate		Rate of Net International Immigration	
		Total	Natural	By Flow ³			In	Out		
1974	41.2	31.1	20.0	11.1	24.9	4.9	0.2	100.4	3.9	
1975	42.4	38.2	22.2	16.0	27.2	5.0	0.2	90.6	3.6	
1976	44.1	13.1	21.9	-8.8	26.6	4.8	0.2	110.5	3.2	
1977	44.7	9.8	22.1	-12.3	26.5	4.5	0.2	119.7	2.0	
1978	45.1	10.3	22.0	-11.7	26.5	4.5	0.2	106.4	1.8	
1979	45.6	15.3	23.5	-8.1	27.9	4.5	0.2	99.1	2.4	
1980	46.3	12.2	22.8	-10.7	28.0	5.1	0.1	92.4	1.5	
1981	46.9	37.5	23.2	14.4	27.3	4.1	0.2	84.9	1.5	
1982	48.6	44.0	22.7	21.3	27.4	4.7	0.2	65.2	0.6	
1983	50.8	31.9	24.2	7.7	28.9	4.7	0.1	66.5	0.4	
1984	52.5	32.1	22.6	9.5	27.1	4.4	0.1	65.5	0.6	
1985	54.2	19.5	22.3	-2.9	26.3	3.9	0.1	73.1	-0.2	
1986	55.3	-1.8	23.0	-24.8	27.3	4.3	0.1	88.9	-0.2	
1987	55.2	11.5	23.9	-12.4	27.4	3.6	0.1	84.5	0.1	
1988	55.8	19.6	23.7	-4.1	27.6	3.9	0.1	76.4	0.4	
1989	56.9	23.4	21.4	2.0	25.7	4.3	0.1	71.2	-0.2	
1990	58.3	31.8	22.9	8.9	26.8	3.8	0.1	63.5	-0.4	
1991	60.1	27.9	22.9	5.0	26.8	3.9	0.1	58.5	1.1	
1992 (PD)	61.8	16.1	20.8	-4.7	24.9	4.1	0.1	59.7	0.8	
1993 (PD)	62.8	21.5	20.4	1.0	24.5	4.1	0.1	49.8	1.5	
1994 (PD)	64.2	20.6	20.6	0.0	24.4	3.7	0.1	51.1	1.0	
1995 (PD)	65.5	11.6	21.0	-9.4	24.5	3.4	0.1	53.6	0.2	
1996 (PR)	66.3	9.4	19.8	-10.4	23.3	3.5	0.1	56.9	-0.2	
1997 (PR)	66.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

¹ Immigration: From Employment and Immigration Canada and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Emigration: Estimates based on Family Allowance and Income Tax files. Net: Emigrants subtracted from immigrants.

² The residual is the distribution over five years of the error of closure at the end of the census period. This error is equal to the difference between the number expected in the census by the components method and the enumeration corrected for net under-enumeration. This "error" encompasses errors on the components and on the net under-enumeration of the censuses.

³ Takes into account non-permanent residents, returning Canadians and the residual.

(PD) Final postcensal estimates based on 1991, as of December 30, 1997.

(PR) Updated postcensal estimates based on 1991, as of December 30, 1997.

Note: All other data are based on final intercensal estimates. Calculations made on unrounded numbers.

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, *Annual Demographic Statistics, 1997*, catalogue no. 91-213-XPB and calculations by the author.

Table A2. Nuptiality

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Number of Marriages													
1978	3,841	939	6,560	5,310	45,936	67,491	8,232	7,139	18,277	21,388	194	216	185,523
1979	3,737	893	6,920	5,355	46,341	67,980	7,769	7,272	18,999	22,087	181	277	187,811
1980	3,783	939	6,791	5,321	44,848	68,840	7,869	7,561	20,818	23,830	200	269	191,069
1981	3,758	849	6,632	5,108	41,005	70,281	8,123	7,329	21,781	24,699	235	282	190,082
1982	3,764	855	6,486	4,923	38,354	71,595	8,264	7,491	22,312	23,831	225	260	188,360
1983	3,778	937	6,505	5,260	36,144	70,893	8,261	7,504	21,172	23,692	243	286	184,675
1984	3,567	1,057	6,798	5,294	37,433	71,922	8,393	7,213	20,052	23,397	212	259	185,597
1985	3,220	956	6,807	5,312	37,026	72,891	8,296	7,132	19,750	22,292	185	229	184,096
1986	3,421	970	6,445	4,962	33,083	70,839	7,816	6,820	18,896	21,826	183	257	175,518
1987	3,481	924	6,697	4,924	32,616	76,201	7,994	6,853	18,640	23,395	189	237	182,151
1988	3,686	965	6,894	5,292	33,519	78,533	7,908	6,767	19,272	24,461	209	222	187,728
1989	3,905	1,019	6,828	5,254	33,325	80,377	7,800	6,637	19,888	25,170	214	223	190,640
1990	3,791	996	6,386	5,044	32,060	80,097	7,666	6,229	19,806	25,216	218	228	187,737
1991	3,480	876	5,845	4,521	28,922	72,938	7,032	5,923	18,612	23,691	196	215	172,251
1992	3,254	850	5,623	4,313	25,841	70,079	6,899	5,664	17,871	23,749	221	209	164,573
1993	3,163	885	5,403	4,177	25,021	66,575	6,752	5,638	17,860	23,447	180	216	159,317
1994	3,318	850	5,373	4,219	24,986	66,693	6,585	5,689	18,096	23,739	169	241	159,958
1995	3,404	877	5,329	4,252	24,238	67,583	6,703	5,799	18,044	23,597	207	218	160,251
1996	3,194	924	5,392	4,366	23,968	66,208	6,448	5,671	17,283	22,834	197	206	156,691

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Marriages*, catalogue no. 84-212.

Table A3.1 Age-Specific First Marriage Rates (per 1,000) for Male Cohorts, 1947-1979, Canada

Age	Year of Birth																																	
	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	
	Year of 17th Birthday																																	
17	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	
18	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.8	2.3	2.4	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.8	3.3	3.6	3.9	4.4	5.9	6.5	8.2	9.2	10.7	12.6	14.6	17.7	18.9	19.9	21.1	18.3	17.9	17.2	16.9	17.8	18.1	18.3	
19		4.6	4.6	5.0	5.1	5.2	5.9	6.5	7.1	7.4	8.0	8.1	8.9	9.9	10.9	12.9	15.9	18.9	21.6	24.1	27.4	31.1	35.0	39.4	42.6	45.6	46.5	42.2	41.7	39.8	41.0	44.2	44.6	
20				8.9	9.9	10.8	10.5	12.4	13.9	15.1	16.4	16.7	16.8	19.2	21.2	23.6	27.8	33.3	38.3	42.2	47.0	50.9	56.0	58.6	67.2	72.9	77.0	79.2	73.3	73.6	73.4	77.4	82.8	
21					16.0	17.9	18.7	18.8	21.1	23.1	26.4	28.8	28.4	29.0	31.8	36.2	39.9	45.2	51.8	57.4	63.5	67.6	71.1	75.0	77.6	90.1	93.8	102.9	109.9	109.5	114.0	120.1	127.6	
22						23.5	26.3	27.4	27.9	30.3	34.6	37.9	40.1	40.8	41.1	44.9	49.8	53.9	58.4	65.1	68.4	75.2	77.8	78.6	81.0	85.1	95.3	103.3	111.2	119.2	117.3	130.3	140.0	
23							33.2	35.1	36.2	37.0	39.2	44.8	50.1	50.2	51.4	52.3	54.5	59.9	63.1	64.0	68.9	72.0	76.3	75.8	77.0	78.8	80.8	89.9	94.8	82.0	86.9	92.0	92.1	
24								40.0	43.3	44.1	44.0	47.5	51.0	56.6	56.7	57.2	56.7	58.5	62.7	63.9	64.7	65.5	67.4	69.2	68.7	68.0	68.7	70.0	77.3	82.0	86.9	92.0	92.1	
25									46.9	47.5	48.7	48.1	50.0	54.0	58.5	59.7	57.7	56.1	56.3	59.0	59.6	57.3	58.4	60.0	60.0	58.7	57.8	58.6	58.1	63.2	65.1	68.6	71.4	
26										46.1	48.5	48.5	47.7	48.0	51.0	54.5	54.6	53.1	48.9	49.3	51.9	49.6	49.5	50.4	49.7	48.4	47.5	46.1	47.0	46.0	48.7	50.0	52.7	
27											44.0	44.6	45.2	43.3	44.0	45.4	48.6	47.6	46.0	43.9	42.5	43.8	42.3	40.3	40.5	40.6	39.6	38.4	37.1	37.0	36.4	37.9	38.8	
28												40.0	40.3	39.5	37.7	38.6	38.9	41.9	40.5	38.6	36.0	34.3	35.6	34.2	33.6	33.0	32.3	31.4	30.4	30.1	29.9	28.5	29.4	
29													34.9	35.0	33.5	33.1	32.5	33.4	34.9	33.8	32.5	30.5	28.6	29.7	28.4	27.8	26.4	26.3	25.3	24.0	22.7	22.3		
30														29.2	29.4	28.5	27.7	27.7	27.1	28.8	27.9	26.4	24.8	23.5	23.3	22.6	22.1	21.0	20.3	19.8	18.8	18.3	17.7	
31															24.0	24.5	23.5	22.5	22.4	22.5	23.1	21.9	21.0	19.9	17.5	18.4	17.9	17.4	16.2	15.6	15.1	14.2	13.8	
32																20.0	19.9	19.0	18.5	18.7	18.0	18.2	17.9	17.4	15.7	14.5	14.8	14.7	13.0	12.9	12.0	11.6	10.9	
33																	16.3	15.7	15.4	15.3	14.5	15.0	14.9	14.3	13.9	12.8	11.6	11.7	11.2	10.9	10.0	9.5	9.1	
34																		13.8	13.4	12.6	12.3	11.9	11.8	12.5	11.8	11.6	10.2	9.3	9.5	8.7	8.5	7.8	7.7	
35																			11.5	10.8	10.5	9.8	9.9	9.7	9.9	9.7	9.5	8.5	7.5	7.6	7.4	6.7	6.4	
36																				8.7	8.7	8.2	8.2	8.1	8.0	7.9	8.0	7.3	7.1	6.4	6.1	5.7	5.5	
37																					7.3	7.1	6.8	6.5	6.3	6.4	6.6	6.6	6.1	5.4	5.0	4.6	4.4	
38																						6.0	5.9	5.8	5.5	5.3	5.0	5.3	5.1	5.0	4.6	3.9	3.5	
39																							5.2	4.8	4.6	4.5	4.4	4.2	4.0	4.2	4.3	3.7	3.7	
40																								4.2	4.1	3.9	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.4	3.3	
41																										3.5	3.3	3.0	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.4	2.9	2.8
42																											2.7	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.4
43																												2.2	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.9
44																													1.8	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.7
45																														1.7	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.3

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A3.2 Age-Specific First Marriage Rates (per 1,000) for Female Cohorts, 1947-1981, Canada

Age	Year of Birth																			
	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962
	Year of 15th Birthday																			
15	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
16		0.6	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.4	3.0	3.6	3.9	4.5	4.9	5.8	6.5	7.6
17			2.1	2.4	2.6	2.7	3.1	3.8	4.7	4.6	4.8	5.5	6.0	7.5	8.3	9.4	10.9	12.5	14.9	16.7
18			8.3	9.2	9.5	10.4	11.0	13.3	15.2	16.0	16.5	18.0	21.5	24.0	25.3	29.1	33.6	37.8	43.8	48.3
19				15.3	17.1	18.6	18.2	21.2	23.5	26.2	29.1	31.2	32.3	37.3	37.3	39.9	43.1	48.0	54.5	61.3
20					24.3	26.1	28.5	29.0	31.3	35.8	40.7	44.9	45.6	47.7	50.3	56.1	59.2	64.2	72.3	77.3
21						33.4	36.8	38.5	39.3	41.9	47.0	53.7	57.1	59.2	59.6	61.2	66.6	70.9	71.9	77.8
22							41.3	44.6	46.9	47.4	50.4	55.6	63.0	64.6	65.8	64.3	66.6	69.6	70.5	71.0
23								49.5	50.9	52.9	53.2	56.7	61.3	66.3	66.6	66.8	64.6	62.7	66.1	65.6
24									52.1	56.1	54.6	54.2	56.4	58.7	64.6	64.4	62.1	58.5	56.4	57.4
25										52.3	53.3	54.2	57.2	53.3	54.2	57.2	56.5	54.4	50.4	47.2
26											46.6	44.4	46.6	44.4	44.4	46.6	48.4	45.9	43.6	39.0
27												40.6	47.6	47.1	39.8	36.8	37.5	38.0	39.4	35.1
28													40.6	47.6	33.9	32.4	31.4	30.4	31.1	29.4
29														26.5	26.5	26.6	25.6	25.5	24.1	23.8
30															21.6	21.3	20.3	19.7	19.0	19.0
31																17.0	16.5	15.9	15.7	15.3
32																	13.6	13.8	13.2	12.4
33																		11.0	10.9	10.1
34																			8.8	7.1
35																				
36																				
37																				
38																				
39																				
40																				
41																				
42																				
43																				
44																				
45																				

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, unpublished data, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A4. Divorce

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Number of Divorces													
1980	555	163	2,314	1,326	13,898	22,441	2,282	1,836	7,580	9,464	82	76	62,017
1981	569	187	2,285	1,334	19,193	21,680	2,399	1,932	8,418	9,533	75	66	67,671
1982	625	205	2,281	1,663	18,579	23,640	2,392	1,815	8,882	10,164	117	67	70,430
1983	711	215	2,340	1,942	17,364	23,073	2,642	2,000	8,758	9,347	88	85	68,565
1984	590	195	2,263	1,427	16,845	21,635	2,611	1,988	8,454	8,988	100	74	65,170
1985	561	213	2,337	1,360	15,814	20,851	2,313	1,927	8,102	8,330	96	72	61,976
1986	687	199	2,609	1,729	19,026	27,549	2,982	2,479	9,556	11,299	94	95	78,304
1987	1,117	275	2,759	1,995	22,098	39,095	3,923	2,968	9,535	12,184	142	109	96,200
1988	906	269	2,494	1,673	20,340	32,524	3,102	2,501	8,744	10,760	82	112	83,507
1989	1,005	248	2,527	1,649	19,829	31,298	2,912	2,460	8,237	10,658	82	93	80,998
1990	1,016	281	2,419	1,699	20,474	28,977	2,798	2,364	8,489	9,773	81	92	78,463
1991	912	269	2,280	1,652	20,274	27,694	2,790	2,240	8,388	10,368	67	86	77,020
1992	867	227	2,304	1,633	19,695	30,463	2,657	2,325	8,217	10,431	117	98	79,034
1993	930	227	2,376	1,606	19,662	28,903	2,586	2,239	8,612	10,889	94	102	78,226
1994	933	249	2,286	1,570	18,224	30,718	2,746	2,354	8,174	11,437	97	92	78,880
1995	982	260	2,294	1,456	20,133	29,352	2,677	2,320	7,599	10,357	112	94	77,636
1996	1,060	237	2,228	1,450	18,078	25,035	2,603	2,216	7,509	10,898	115	99	71,528
Mean Duration of Marriage for Persons Divorced in the Year ¹													
1980	12.1	12.8	11.1	11.7	11.8	11.8	10.8	11.1	10.5	11.8	11.8	12.6	11.5
1981	11.8	12.4	11.3	11.8	11.8	11.9	11.0	10.5	10.5	11.7	11.2	9.0	11.5
1982	11.7	12.3	11.0	11.8	11.6	11.9	11.2	10.7	10.5	11.8	11.8	11.1	11.5
1983	11.1	12.6	11.0	11.8	11.4	11.9	10.9	10.4	10.6	11.8	11.5	11.2	11.4
1984	11.9	13.2	11.5	12.3	11.5	11.9	10.9	10.9	10.8	12.4	12.3	10.4	11.6
1985	11.4	12.8	11.4	11.9	11.7	12.0	10.7	10.7	11.0	12.3	11.5	10.3	11.6
1986	11.7	12.5	11.3	11.8	11.5	11.7	11.1	10.7	10.9	12.1	11.8	10.9	11.5
1987	11.3	11.7	11.1	11.7	11.3	11.6	10.5	10.4	10.9	11.8	11.7	11.0	11.4
1988	11.7	12.4	11.0	11.7	11.1	11.5	10.6	10.6	11.0	11.7	11.4	10.4	11.3
1989	11.7	11.5	11.3	11.5	11.0	11.3	10.3	10.8	11.0	11.5	11.5	10.5	11.2
1990	11.3	11.9	11.3	11.1	10.8	11.2	10.5	10.6	11.0	11.5	11.4	10.1	11.1
1991	11.4	12.8	11.0	11.4	11.0	10.9	10.3	10.8	10.8	11.3	11.1	9.0	11.0
1992	10.9	12.0	11.2	11.0	10.7	10.9	10.4	10.6	10.8	11.1	10.7	9.3	10.9
1993	11.7	11.8	10.9	11.5	10.5	10.8	10.4	10.6	10.6	10.9	10.6	10.0	10.7
1994	11.3	12.4	11.0	11.1	10.6	10.6	10.4	10.5	10.6	10.7	10.8	10.7	10.7
1995	11.2	12.1	11.1	11.5	10.4	10.8	10.5	10.6	10.8	10.6	10.1	10.1	10.7
1996	11.3	12.2	11.3	11.5	10.4	11.0	10.5	10.6	10.5	10.6	10.2	10.0	10.8

¹ Excludes divorces for marriages of a duration greater than 25 years.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Divorces*, catalogue no. 84-213 and calculations by the author.

Table A5. Births and Fertility

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Live Births													
1982	9,173	1,924	12,325	10,489	90,800	124,856	16,123	17,722	45,036	42,747	525	1,362	373,082
1983	8,929	1,907	12,401	10,518	88,154	126,826	16,602	17,847	45,555	42,919	540	1,491	373,689
1984	8,560	1,954	12,378	10,360	87,839	131,296	16,651	18,014	44,105	43,911	519	1,444	377,031
1985	8,500	2,008	12,450	10,121	86,340	132,208	17,097	18,162	43,813	43,127	464	1,437	375,727
1986	8,100	1,928	12,358	9,788	84,634	133,882	17,009	17,518	43,739	41,967	483	1,507	372,913
1987	7,769	1,955	12,110	9,588	83,791	134,617	16,953	17,034	42,110	41,814	478	1,523	369,742
1988	7,487	1,977	12,182	9,617	86,612	138,066	17,030	16,763	42,055	42,930	521	1,555	376,795
1989	7,762	1,937	12,533	9,667	92,373	145,338	17,321	16,651	43,351	43,769	480	1,479	392,661
1990	7,604	2,014	12,870	9,824	98,048	150,923	17,352	16,090	43,004	45,617	556	1,584	405,486
1991	7,166	1,885	12,016	9,497	97,310	151,478	17,282	15,304	42,776	45,612	568	1,634	402,528
1992	6,918	1,850	11,874	9,389	96,146	150,593	16,590	15,004	42,039	46,156	529	1,554	398,642
1993	6,421	1,754	11,568	9,049	92,391	147,848	16,709	14,269	40,292	46,026	508	1,559	388,394
1994	6,337	1,716	11,099	8,978	90,578	147,068	16,480	14,038	39,796	46,998	442	1,580	385,110
1995	5,859	1,754	10,726	8,563	87,417	146,263	16,113	13,499	38,914	46,820	470	1,613	378,011
1996	5,766	1,667	10,488	8,176	85,464	138,355	15,546	12,993	37,902	46,382	443	1,550	364,732
Age-Specific Fertility Rates (per 1,000)													
1993: 15-19	26.5	30.7	30.4	31.1	17.2	22.3	43.4	44.1	33.1	22.5	41.2	99.2	24.7
20-24	66.8	83.9	74.7	80.1	75.1	62.8	92.6	104.8	87.6	70.8	100.0	167.0	73.0
25-29	96.4	122.1	108.6	107.5	121.9	110.7	129.0	134.4	118.3	106.6	115.8	138.5	114.7
30-34	54.6	79.6	71.0	60.9	80.0	92.5	90.5	79.1	84.7	84.1	75.7	91.5	84.9
35-39	15.0	26.3	23.7	17.5	24.2	34.5	29.4	25.8	29.9	32.7	41.0	28.0	29.5
40-44	1.9	3.4	2.9	2.5	3.6	5.2	4.0	3.8	4.4	5.3	3.0	6.4	4.4
45-49	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	1.5	0.1
1994: 15-19	25.7	29.1	30.1	32.7	17.4	22.4	43.0	46.4	32.9	22.2	43.7	104.2	24.8
20-24	67.3	83.5	73.5	78.8	74.5	62.3	93.8	104.7	84.7	69.9	85.5	152.9	72.2
25-29	93.8	113.6	104.8	110.3	120.5	110.2	127.7	131.5	119.7	106.4	95.8	136.2	113.9
30-34	60.3	78.3	70.2	61.4	80.9	93.1	90.0	81.8	86.2	86.4	70.3	94.7	85.9
35-39	14.1	29.2	23.3	17.3	25.3	35.3	29.8	24.3	30.8	34.2	38.5	46.9	30.4
40-44	1.6	4.2	2.5	2.1	3.7	5.6	4.7	3.5	4.7	5.7	8.8	6.6	4.7
45-49	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.7	0.1
1995: 15-19	24.1	29.4	27.4	31.8	16.9	22.4	41.7	43.9	32.0	22.1	34.1	101.1	24.2
20-24	63.0	78.8	72.9	76.9	72.3	61.1	93.1	100.7	84.3	67.2	99.1	154.3	70.5
25-29	88.0	118.4	101.1	99.7	115.7	106.6	122.1	128.3	115.7	102.1	111.6	145.7	109.7
30-34	57.7	88.4	71.3	63.6	81.1	94.7	90.1	79.9	86.6	86.8	81.3	99.8	86.8
35-39	14.8	25.8	22.6	17.3	25.8	37.1	31.8	24.3	31.0	34.2	31.3	39.6	31.3
40-44	1.4	4.2	2.9	2.3	3.9	5.9	4.7	3.4	4.4	5.8	7.1	8.7	4.8
45-49	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.0	1.3	0.2

Table A5. Birth and Fertility - concluded

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Fertility Rates by Birth Order (per 1,000 women)													
1993: 1	20.3	22.2	23.5	22.7	24.1	25.1	26.9	23.7	24.6	24.7	28.2	34.0	24.6
2	15.9	20.1	18.6	18.2	19.8	20.5	20.8	21.4	21.4	19.0	17.6	24.4	20.0
3	5.9	10.8	7.5	6.5	7.5	8.3	10.4	11.6	10.0	7.8	9.9	17.4	8.3
4	1.3	3.5	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.5	4.5	4.9	3.5	2.3	4.6	10.5	2.6
5 +	0.7	1.6	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.2	3.3	3.5	2.1	1.1	2.2	10.0	1.3
1994: 1	20.3	21.4	22.9	22.9	23.2	24.7	26.9	24.1	24.8	24.9	22.7	31.5	24.2
2	16.2	19.8	18.2	18.2	19.6	20.4	20.5	20.6	20.9	19.1	19.5	25.9	19.9
3	5.6	10.2	6.9	6.4	7.6	8.2	10.4	11.3	9.7	7.6	8.2	17.6	8.2
4	1.3	3.3	2.1	1.8	2.2	2.5	4.0	4.7	3.4	2.3	3.2	10.2	2.6
5 +	0.6	1.7	0.9	0.7	0.9	1.3	3.3	3.5	2.0	1.1	2.1	11.1	1.4
1995: 1	19.5	22.9	21.9	22.2	22.6	24.3	26.3	23.4	24.0	24.9	25.8	32.7	23.7
2	15.1	19.0	17.5	17.5	18.7	20.3	19.8	20.0	20.5	18.4	19.0	26.5	19.4
3	4.9	10.0	6.7	5.9	7.3	8.1	10.2	10.6	9.2	7.1	7.8	17.7	7.9
4	1.4	3.9	2.2	1.7	2.1	2.5	4.1	4.2	3.3	2.2	4.0	9.3	2.5
5 +	0.6	1.7	0.9	0.7	0.9	1.3	3.2	3.3	2.0	1.0	2.1	10.6	1.4
Total Fertility Rate (women aged 15-49) ¹													
1982	..	1.89	1.64	1.66	1.48	1.59	1.80	2.14	1.89	1.65	1.96	2.81	1.64
1983	..	1.83	1.63	1.65	1.43	1.59	1.83	2.10	1.90	1.65	2.16	3.00	1.62
1984	..	1.84	1.60	1.61	1.43	1.62	1.82	2.08	1.86	1.68	2.07	2.80	1.63
1985	..	1.86	1.60	1.57	1.40	1.60	1.85	2.08	1.86	1.65	1.83	2.66	1.61
1986	..	1.78	1.58	1.53	1.37	1.60	1.83	2.02	1.85	1.61	1.92	2.81	1.60
1987	1.53	1.82	1.55	1.51	1.37	1.58	1.83	1.98	1.82	1.60	1.88	2.82	1.58
1988	1.47	1.85	1.57	1.53	1.43	1.59	1.85	1.99	1.84	1.64	1.98	2.90	1.60
1989	1.53	1.83	1.62	1.55	1.53	1.63	1.92	2.05	1.90	1.65	1.85	2.70	1.66
1990	1.52	1.93	1.68	1.58	1.64	1.67	1.95	2.07	1.88	1.68	2.16	2.79	1.71
1991	1.44	1.85	1.58	1.54	1.65	1.66	1.97	2.03	1.88	1.67	2.13	2.85	1.70
1992	1.39	1.82	1.58	1.53	1.65	1.67	1.91	2.02	1.85	1.65	1.92	2.69	1.69
1993	1.31	1.73	1.56	1.50	1.61	1.64	1.95	1.96	1.79	1.61	1.88	2.66	1.66
1994	1.31	1.69	1.52	1.51	1.61	1.65	1.95	1.96	1.80	1.62	1.71	2.71	1.66
1995	1.25	1.73	1.49	1.46	1.58	1.64	1.92	1.90	1.77	1.59	1.82	2.75	1.64

¹ Number of children per woman.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, Catalogue No. 84-210, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A6. Mortality

Year	Nfld	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.	Canada
Deaths													
1980	3,345	1,035	7,004	5,297	43,512	62,746	8,436	7,651	12,710	19,371	128	238	171,473
1981	3,230	992	6,958	5,139	42,684	62,838	8,648	7,523	12,823	19,857	141	196	171,029
1982	3,385	980	6,941	5,197	43,497	63,696	8,490	8,202	12,968	20,707	118	232	174,413
1983	3,498	1,050	7,047	5,206	44,275	64,507	8,521	7,611	12,588	19,827	113	241	174,484
1984	3,520	1,109	6,913	5,272	44,449	64,703	8,290	7,710	12,730	20,686	108	237	175,727
1985	3,557	1,110	7,315	5,230	45,707	66,747	8,756	8,031	13,231	21,302	123	214	181,323
1986	3,540	1,121	7,255	5,458	46,892	67,865	8,911	8,061	13,560	21,213	113	235	184,224
1987	3,629	1,116	7,112	5,408	47,616	68,119	8,710	7,808	13,316	21,814	108	197	184,953
1988	3,591	1,112	7,412	5,450	47,771	70,679	9,100	8,100	13,894	22,546	136	220	190,011
1989	3,718	1,089	7,516	5,496	48,305	70,907	8,819	7,920	13,854	22,997	95	249	190,965
1990	3,884	1,143	7,388	5,426	48,420	70,818	8,863	8,044	14,068	23,577	115	227	191,973
1991	3,798	1,188	7,255	5,469	49,121	72,917	8,943	8,098	14,451	23,977	114	237	195,568
1992	3,798	1,114	7,544	5,609	48,824	73,206	8,980	7,793	14,679	24,615	117	256	196,535
1993	3,890	1,145	7,559	5,806	51,711	75,853	9,299	8,164	15,338	25,764	123	260	204,912
1994	4,050	1,114	7,770	5,917	51,366	77,487	9,148	8,308	15,613	25,939	124	241	207,077
1995	3,935	1,153	7,687	5,938	52,734	78,479	9,658	8,495	15,895	26,375	157	227	210,733
1996	3,928	1,268	7,751	5,896	52,336	79,099	9,497	8,765	16,391	27,536	120	272	212,881 ¹
Infant Deaths (age less than 1 year)													
1980	110	22	135	116	953	1,175	184	193	500	442	9	29	3,868
1981	98	25	139	114	807	1,073	191	203	452	424	8	28	3,562
1982	99	15	106	110	800	1,041	146	186	442	423	11	22	3,401
1983	95	16	116	112	676	1,013	173	180	383	377	10	31	3,182
1984	79	16	97	81	645	992	144	169	425	378	7	25	3,058
1985	92	8	98	97	626	961	170	200	352	349	5	24	2,982
1986	65	13	104	81	604	969	157	157	393	355	12	28	2,938
1987	59	13	90	67	594	888	142	155	315	359	5	19	2,706
1988	70	14	79	69	563	910	132	140	347	362	3	16	2,705
1989	64	12	73	69	632	985	115	134	325	360	2	24	2,795
1990	70	12	81	71	612	946	138	123	346	344	4	19	2,766
1991	56	13	69	58	578	953	111	126	285	298	6	20	2,573
1992	49	3	71	59	522	886	113	110	304	286	2	26	2,431
1993	50	16	82	65	529	922	118	115	268	264	4	15	2,448
1994	52	11	67	48	506	878	115	125	294	297	1	23	2,417
1995	46	8	52	41	477	870	123	123	274	280	6	21	2,321
1996	38	8	59	40	396	802	104	112	236	237	0	19	2,051

¹ The total includes 22 deaths for which the province of residence is unknown.

Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Deaths*, catalogue no. 84-211.

Table A7. Life Expectancy at Different Ages, Canada, 1994 and 1995

Age	1994 Table (triennial) ¹		1995 Table (triennial) ²	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0	75.09	81.10	75.39	81.25
1	74.61	80.56	74.89	80.68
5	70.71	76.64	70.98	76.76
10	65.77	71.69	66.04	71.82
15	60.84	66.75	61.11	66.87
20	56.08	61.86	56.34	61.98
25	51.36	56.96	51.61	57.07
30	46.63	52.07	46.87	52.18
35	41.92	47.20	42.15	47.30
40	37.26	42.37	37.48	42.48
45	32.65	37.61	32.87	37.72
50	28.13	32.96	28.33	33.06
55	23.80	28.44	23.99	28.54
60	19.74	24.11	19.91	24.21
65	16.03	19.99	16.18	20.08
70	12.73	16.14	12.86	16.21
75	9.82	12.58	9.95	12.66
80	7.44	9.48	7.51	9.53
85	5.58	6.92	5.62	6.94
90	4.38	5.03	4.35	5.04

¹ Calculated by using the average of deaths in 1993, 1994 and 1995.

² Calculated by using the average of deaths in 1994, 1995 and 1996.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division, Health Status and Vital Statistics Section, *Births*, catalogue no. 84-210, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section and calculations by the author.

Table A8. Landed Immigrants in Canada by Country of Birth, 1981-1996

	1981	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
EUROPE	44,784	22,518	36,486	39,187	50,844	50,561	46,651	43,338	45,487	37,985	39,871	39,058
British Isles ¹	18,912	4,612	7,650	7,906	7,358	6,897	6,383	5,831	5,928	4,762	4,538	4,363
Portugal	3,292	1,981	5,904	6,294	7,952	7,740	5,837	2,700	1,563	770	784	663
France	1,681	1,124	1,486	1,819	2,128	1,996	2,619	3,105	3,347	2,516	3,010	2,433
Greece	924	555	750	595	798	604	618	593	537	338	242	239
Italy	2,057	785	1,123	961	1,204	1,066	775	663	690	533	492	485
Poland	4,093	5,283	7,132	9,360	16,042	16,536	15,737	11,918	6,924	3,552	2,433	2,159
Other	13,825	8,178	12,441	12,252	15,362	15,722	14,682	18,528	26,498	25,514	28,372	28,716
AFRICA	5,901	5,189	9,047	9,604	12,482	13,845	16,530	20,113	17,515	14,184	15,226	15,789
ASIA	50,759	42,417	69,081	83,283	95,292	113,978	122,228	141,816	149,343	142,997	129,635	145,226
Philippines	5,978	4,203	7,420	8,651	11,907	12,590	12,626	13,737	20,488	19,456	15,679	13,527
India	9,415	7,481	10,635	11,942	10,738	12,572	14,248	14,228	21,668	18,533	18,137	23,349
Hong Kong (B.C.C.)	4,039	4,318	12,618	18,355	15,694	23,134	16,425	27,927	27,242	33,676	24,842	24,122
China	9,798	4,178	6,611	7,903	9,001	14,193	20,621	22,160	19,689	23,313	20,887	24,947
Middle East ²	5,409	6,947	10,904	12,325	17,697	23,826	25,561	21,816	18,798	18,797	18,794	18,793
Other	16,120	15,290	20,893	24,107	30,255	27,663	32,747	41,948	41,458	29,222	31,296	40,488
NORTH AMERICA and CENTRAL AMERICA	10,183	12,412	13,691	11,495	11,899	13,042	18,899	18,676	14,371	8,734	7,209	8,517
United States	8,695	6,094	6,547	5,571	5,814	5,067	5,270	5,891	6,446	5,128	4,291	5,034
CARIBBEAN, BURMUDA	8,797	8,948	11,210	9,481	10,967	11,784	13,046	15,142	16,699	10,030	10,022	9,211
AUSTRALASIA	1,020	449	539	528	634	725	735	918	1,013	739	668	689
SOUTH AMERICA	6,114	6,546	10,833	7,210	8,595	8,602	10,468	10,240	9,511	7,941	7,482	5,953
OCEANIA	1,024	740	1,144	1,140	1,186	1,692	2,213	2,479	1,808	1,265	861	823
Other	36	—	67	1	102	1	11	120	—	—	—	—
Total	128,618	99,219	152,098	161,929	192,001	214,230	230,781	252,842	255,747	223,875	210,974	225,266

¹ Includes England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Channel Islands.

² Includes Turkey, Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Arab Emirates, Yemen Arab Republic and the Democratic Republic of Yemen.

Note: Preliminary data as of January 29, 1998.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Statistics* and after 1993, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, unpublished data.

**Table A9. Canadian Population as of July 1st, 1995 and 1996, by Age and Sex
(in thousands)**

Age	1995		1996	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0	195.5	185.3	189.5	180.6
1	198.5	188.5	196.6	186.6
2	202.8	192.4	199.8	189.7
3	208.9	199.3	204.1	193.6
4	210.7	199.6	210.2	200.5
5	211.7	201.6	212.4	201.3
6	204.2	194.8	212.9	202.8
7	199.0	190.4	205.4	196.0
8	199.5	192.0	200.2	191.6
9	205.8	197.5	200.8	193.2
10	206.4	197.7	207.1	198.7
11	204.4	195.8	207.8	198.9
12	203.4	194.7	206.0	197.3
13	204.2	195.1	205.2	196.4
14	206.3	196.8	206.2	196.8
15	206.2	195.2	208.1	198.5
16	202.6	191.9	208.0	196.8
17	200.4	190.1	204.4	193.8
18	201.6	192.9	202.4	192.3
19	204.7	196.1	203.7	195.5
20	205.9	198.2	206.8	199.0
21	200.4	194.5	207.9	201.2
22	203.8	197.6	202.3	197.3
23	209.3	203.6	205.7	200.1
24	218.7	214.8	211.1	206.0
25	221.9	217.5	220.6	217.3
26	220.3	216.7	224.0	219.9
27	222.0	217.9	222.5	219.3
28	228.5	223.5	224.4	220.6
29	242.7	236.4	230.7	226.0
30	261.8	254.6	245.0	238.7
31	271.1	262.5	264.0	257.0
32	275.8	267.5	273.3	265.0
33	273.5	265.7	277.7	269.8
34	276.2	269.3	275.0	267.8
35	272.2	266.7	277.7	271.3
36	266.5	261.8	273.4	268.6
37	264.9	260.2	267.7	263.5
38	258.9	256.6	266.2	261.8
39	249.3	247.8	260.0	258.0
40	247.3	247.7	250.4	249.2
41	238.6	240.6	248.0	248.9
42	229.2	231.4	239.3	241.5
43	224.4	223.7	229.8	232.3
44	221.6	220.2	225.0	224.4
45	218.6	215.7	222.1	220.9
46	214.7	213.2	219.0	216.2

**Table A9. Canadian Population as of July 1st 1995 and 1996, by Age and Sex
(in thousands) - Concluded**

Age	1995		1996	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
47	214.6	211.5	214.9	213.6
48	214.5	212.1	214.7	211.6
49	185.9	183.7	214.5	212.4
50	173.1	171.3	185.5	183.8
51	167.5	166.6	172.7	171.3
52	162.5	161.4	167.1	166.6
53	151.6	150.9	162.1	161.5
54	145.4	145.9	151.1	150.9
55	136.9	137.3	144.9	145.9
56	132.7	133.8	136.3	137.3
57	127.6	128.8	132.1	133.7
58	123.1	125.5	126.8	128.6
59	123.8	126.2	122.2	125.3
60	121.1	124.0	122.7	125.9
61	118.6	121.1	120.0	123.7
62	120.1	124.0	117.2	120.6
63	120.2	124.6	118.6	123.5
64	117.8	124.7	118.5	123.8
65	114.4	122.4	116.0	123.8
66	108.1	118.2	112.5	121.4
67	105.9	118.1	106.0	116.9
68	101.6	116.0	103.5	116.8
69	98.5	116.9	99.0	114.5
70	94.2	114.2	95.8	115.1
71	89.6	111.5	91.4	112.4
72	84.7	108.0	86.7	109.5
73	81.9	106.9	81.4	105.8
74	75.9	101.7	78.6	104.6
75	69.7	95.3	72.6	99.3
76	57.7	82.1	66.5	93.0
77	53.1	76.3	54.6	79.6
78	49.1	72.9	49.8	73.6
79	46.1	70.2	45.8	70.0
80	43.8	68.4	42.6	66.9
81	38.7	63.4	40.2	65.2
82	33.8	56.5	35.4	60.0
83	28.8	50.9	30.7	53.2
84	24.8	46.1	25.8	47.5
85	21.0	40.1	22.0	42.7
86	17.4	35.1	18.4	36.7
87	14.4	30.6	15.1	31.8
88	11.5	26.2	12.3	27.5
89	9.3	22.2	9.8	23.2
90 +	30.5	83.6	31.9	88.1
Total	14,676.6	14,940.8	14,847.3	15,122.0

1995: Revised postcensal estimates.

1996: Revised postcensal estimates.

Source: Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Population Estimates Section.

Part II

Effects of the Social Environment of Elderly Persons on their Socio-Economic Condition

Edited by

Jean Dumas

with the collaboration of Laurent Martel

From “*Living Arrangements of Older Persons in Canada: Effects on their Socio-Economic Conditions*” by Légaré, J.; Martel, L.; Stone, L.O. and H. Denis, 1998, United Nations/Economic Commission for Europe, Population Activities Unit/Statistics Canada, ISBN: 02-1-100779-8, ISSN: 1014-4994.

INTRODUCTION

In the 1950s, much was written about population aging. Its mechanisms, phases and implications were described and explained in sometimes remarkable works by demographers. For a long time, though, only the scientific community took any notice. Projections of square-shaped population structures superseding the traditional age pyramids were too far in the future to attract the attention of the policy makers of aging societies. They were much more interested in the fact that more children were being born every year. More births meant more economic activity, increasing construction and expanding consumption. Politicians did not begin to notice the demographic changes until schools became too large, young people started having difficulty entering the labour market, and the elderly population began getting bigger. Then they started to recognise the costs that accompany ageing and how quickly those costs were growing and would grow in the future. Indifference was replaced by concern, a concern still felt by many.

During the century now coming to a close, the structure of Canada's population has changed, chiefly as a result of the slow decline in fertility, which has narrowed the base of the age pyramid and broadened its peak. This steady evolution was interrupted for about 20 years by a still-unexplained phenomenon—the baby boom. Between 1946 and 1965, fertility and natality hit levels considered irretrievably lost, resulting in the famous explosion of births.¹ While fertility finally subsided, around 1970, to the levels it would have reached if the secular trend had continued unbroken, the huge cohorts born in the boom period swept through the age structure like a wave, and nothing is likely to stop this population bulge from attaining the 65-85 age range in the 2030s.

Though it started later than in most European countries, the ageing of Canada's population is nothing new. Its slow progress was halted by the baby boom, but the trend has picked up speed since 1975. Between 1950 and 1990, the elderly population grew faster than the total population. Over that period, the number of people aged 65 and over tripled, climbing from just over 1 million to more than 3.2 million, while the total population merely doubled. The latest projections suggest that the elderly population will treble again in the next 40 years. Until 2010, the ageing process will remain fairly slow, since the people turning 65 will be from the small cohorts born during the Depression and the Second World War.² Starting in 2011, it will accelerate

¹ The crude birth rate rose from 22.0 per 1,000 at the beginning of the Second World War to 28.2 in 1957, and the number of births increased from 250,000 to 480,000 (1959) over the same period.

² Until the first baby boom generations reach age 65, their large numbers will help slow the aging process (as measured by the percentage of elderly people in the total population).

each year as one by one the large cohorts of baby-boomers join the ranks of the elderly. It is important to keep in mind that difficulties stemming from ageing process are not so much a question of level as the speed at which this level is reached. Because of their great inertia, society's machinery and institutions have difficulty responding to rapid change. In Canada it took 40 years for the 65-and-over group to grow from 7.8% of the population (1951) to 11.6% (1991), an increase of nearly 50%; by 2030—assuming the projections are correct—the elderly will make up 23% of the population, a jump of 98%. By way of comparison, the proportion of senior citizens in the total population of France will have taken a century to grow from 10% to 25%, whereas in Canada the same process will have occurred in half of a century.

As to what will happen after that, it would be foolhardy to make specific predictions. One can only speculate on the basis of tenuous information about falling mortality and the child-bearing behaviour of women not yet born. At most, one can imagine that, according to the stable population model, the ageing process will level off, and a balance will be reached between mortality and fertility. One thing that is certain to occur in the medium term is the cessation of natural increase. There is every indication that by 2020 the number of deaths each year will equal the number of births. Population growth will then depend completely on immigration from other countries.

The Ageing of the Ageing Process

For a long time, what demographers call top-down ageing—ageing caused by rising life expectancy among people 65 and over, and by large birth cohorts arriving at age 65—was insignificant; now it has gathered impressive momentum. It is increasing the number of elderly people and their proportion of the total population. The 65-and-over group is becoming both too large and too heterogeneous to remain an undivided block. Numerically, of course, but also in percentage terms, the 80-and-over group is growing in relation to the total elderly population. In 1950, there were 149,000 people aged 80 or over, and they made up only 16% of the elderly population; in 1991 there were 643,000, or 21%. And by 2030 they will number nearly 2 million, accounting for more than a quarter (26%) of the population aged 65 and over. At the current level of knowledge, 80 is the age at which people start developing more disabilities and handicaps, which raises concerns about our society's capacity to meet future demand for health-care services.

However, this description of the ageing process is all too brief to enable the reader to grasp the changes that are occurring and will occur in the characteristics of the elderly population.

For more than a century, female mortality has been lower than male mortality. As a result, there are more women than men in the elderly population. In the mid-1990s, there were 72 men for every 100 women in the 65-and-

Table 1. Main Demographic Indicators, Canada, 1951, 1991 and 2031¹

	1951	1991	2031
Total Population	14,009,400	28,120,100	41,216,000
Growth (in percent)	1.7	1.0	..
Total Fertility Rate	3.5	1.7	1.7
Life Expectancy at Birth : Males	66.3	74.6	78.5
Females	70.8	81.0	84.0
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	38.5	6.8	..
Percent of Population Aged 65 and Over	7.8	11.6	22.7
Percent of Population Aged 80 and Over	1.1	2.4	5.6
Median Age	27.7	32.5	41.6
Sex Ratio at Age 65 and Over	103.1	72.3	80.2

¹ Medium Growth Scenario.

Sources: Statistics Canada, *Canada Yearbooks*, Catalogue no. 11-402E, *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada*, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995 and 1996, Catalogue no. 91-209E and Cansim.

over group, and the ratio will probably remain under 1 until at least the middle of the next century. That is the situation the elderly must live with: women, many of them widows, already outnumber men, and they will do so by an even larger margin in the future. It is true that in the last couple of decades, the gap between male and female life expectancies has narrowed somewhat. This trend reversal is usually attributed to the growing similarity of men's and women's lifestyles. If male and female life expectancies were to converge, it would have a major impact: all other things being equal, it would shorten the average period of widowhood, which is especially critical because the risks of losing one's independence are so high late in life. This possibility is merely academic, however, since the life-expectancy gap is not the only difference responsible for loneliness among elderly women. The effects of marital break-up and the continuing age difference between the spouses, at least, must also be factored in.

The Economic and Social Context

Canada's modern social programs were introduced during the period of strong economic and demographic expansion. The prosperity brought by a large, growing labour force and vigorous demand for goods and services dispelled all doubts about the viability of a "pay as you go" system to assist the elderly and other disadvantaged people. In very short order, however, the picture changed, perhaps more quickly for Canada than for other industrialised countries. International competition emerged in industries that

Canadians thought were shielded, just as technological inventions boosted productivity in nations whose workforce was burgeoning as a result of rapid demographic change. At the same time, Canada's population growth was slowing, and the ageing process was gathering steam. In the wake of this transformation, the tacit social contract between the generations was bound to be called into question (Table 1).

Pensions and Health Care

Before describing the situation of elderly people in Canada as depicted by the 1991 Census, we will provide a brief overview of the current pension and health-care systems.

Pensions

The modern pension system dates back to 1952. It has three parts.

The first part, known as the Old Age Security/guaranteed Income Supplement (OAS/GIS) program, established in 1952, automatically provides Canadian men and women with a minimum income from the age of 65 on, as long as they have lived in Canada for a minimum number of years.³ This program is based on the "pay as you go" principle. The pension benefits come out of income tax revenues.

The system also comprises two means of saving for retirement.

The first of these programs, known as the Canada Pension Plan (CPP) concerns former workers and, in Quebec, the *Régime de rentes du Québec* (RRQ)⁴, established in 1966, also operates on a "pay as you go" basis. Each worker and his/her employer are required to contribute to the plan during the worker's employment. At retirement, the employee receives one quarter of the average of his/her pensionable earnings which are dependent on the number of years of contributions and the current year maximum pensionable earning. In the event of the contributor's death, the surviving spouse may receive 60% of that amount. Full pension (depending on whether the individual has made sufficient contributions) is paid at age 65, but early benefits are available at age 60, but on a reduced basis, for those no longer working. Conversely the start of benefits can be postponed to age 70 and the pension is increased accordingly.

The other means of saving is through pension plans set up by employers for their workers and personal saving arrangements called Registered Retirement

³ High income individuals have their OAS pension reduced or even eliminated, while those with low income receive all or part of the GIS. Equity is preferred to equality.

⁴ In the text, these funds will be designated by C/QPP.

Table 2. Main Economic and Social Indicators, Canada, 1961 to 1996

	1961	1971	1981	1991	1996
Gross Domestic Product per Inhabitant (in dollars)	2,242	4,417	14,297	24,057	26,625
Unemployment Rate (in percent)	7.2	6.2	7.5	10.3	9.7
Labour Force (in thousands)	6,518	8,639	12,332	14,408	15,145
Cost of Living Index	23.9	31.9	75.5	126.2	135.6
Government Deficit (in millions of dollars)	..	-1,474	-16,819	-34,962	..
Public Expenses for Health (percentage of GDP)	2.4 ¹	5.0 ²	5.8	6.9 ³	..

¹ In 1960.

² In 1970.

³ In 1990.

Sources: Statistics Canada, *Canada Yearbook*, 1994 and 1995, Catalogue no. 11-402E and Cansim.

Savings Plan (RRSP) since 1957. Although such plans are optional, the federal government has for years been encouraging individuals to take advantage of them through tax incentives.

All these programs provide the majority of senior citizens with a measure of financial security after their working life. Nothing is perfect, however, and some segments of the elderly population are less comfortable than others. Chapters 2 and 3 contain an analysis of these disparities, their scope, their causes and the ways in which people cope with financial insecurity.

The Health-Care System

Public health-care expenditures accounted for 6.9% of gross domestic product in 1990 (Table 2). While the federal government determines general policies, health care is a provincial jurisdiction; consequently, responsibility for implementing health policies and managing health-care programs lies with the provincial governments. Canada is recognised as being among the industrialised nations, the country that provides its citizens with the best health care. Governments monitor the latest trends and allocate their health-care budgets to the segments of society that need them most. For example, some hospitals have begun altering the range of services they offer. A number of them are developing special programs to care for people suffering from the physical effects of ageing and to treat diseases that are especially common late in life.

CHAPTER 1 - LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF THE ELDERLY

Like the rest of the population, elderly people have seen more change in their living arrangements over the past few decades than in hundreds of years

Table 3. Percentage Distribution of Population Aged 50 and Over by Age Group and Type of Household, Canada, 1991

Age	In an Institution	In Private Households		
		Alone	Family	Non Family
50-59	1.1	10.1	81.8	7.0
60-69	1.8	17.0	75.1	6.1
70-74	3.5	25.7	66.3	4.5
75-79	7.2	31.3	57.4	4.1
80-84	15.3	35.6	45.3	3.8
85 and Over	36.1	28.8	32.3	2.8
60 and Over	6.3	23.0	65.6	5.1
65 and Over	8.1	26.0	61.3	4.6
80 and Over	24.2	32.7	39.7	3.4

Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

before that. In the past, it was customary for one of the children—often either the eldest son or the youngest daughter—to take their parents in when they grew old. Now the parents, even if they are widowed, want to remain independent as long as they can. As a result, the number of one-person households has increased substantially. At the time of the 1991 Census, nearly one quarter of the 65-and-over age group—about 800,000 people—lived alone (Table 3). Of course, two thirds of the total were living with family, and very few (1 in 20) were living with people to whom they were not related. In the 80-and-over group, one person in three, or close to half of those living in private households, were living alone.

Since 1991, things probably have not changed much. We can say, again on the basis of the figures in Table 3, that in all, 92%⁵ of the population aged 65 and over lives in private households. The remaining 8% live in collective dwellings, which can be divided into two categories:

- 1 - institutional dwellings: health-care institutions, orphanages, correctional and penal institutions, and religious communities;
- 2 - commercial or communal dwellings: lodging or rooming houses, hotels, nursing homes, military residences and other non-religious communities.

This chapter is about the living arrangements of senior citizens, which can be broken down by type of household. The first part of the chapter deals with the institutional population, most of which is cared for by governmental or para-governmental agencies; the second part concerns senior citizens in

⁵ 26% + 61% + 5%.

private households. It is important to keep in mind that **the unit of analysis here is the elderly person as such and not the household of which that person is a member.** That is what makes the interest of the study: it is the first of its kind to go beyond an examination of the elderly as heads of household and focus on all senior citizens in their immediate social surroundings to depict them by categories.

Table 4. Distribution of Institutionalized Population Aged 70 and Over by Age Group and Sex, Canada, 1991

Age	Males	Females	Total
70-74	3.2	3.8	3.5
75-79	5.8	8.2	7.2
80-84	11.5	17.6	15.3
85-89	22.1	33.0	29.5
90 and Over	37.3	54.0	49.6
80 and Over	17.2	27.9	24.2

Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

The Institutional Elderly Population in Canada⁶

Since 1971, the proportion of the 65-and-over population living in institutions in Canada has remained steady at about 8%. In 1991, there were 255,460 elderly people in institutions, and 180,220 of them, or 70.6%, were women. Overall, 9.8% of all elderly women were living in institutions, compared with 5.7% of elderly men. Part of this discrepancy is due to the fact that women have a longer life expectancy and different marriage patterns than men.

The older the age group, the larger the percentage of people placed in institutions becomes (Table 4). While the proportion is fairly small below the age of 80, it increases rapidly after that age, reaching a high of 37% for men and 54%, more than half, for women in the 90-and-over group. Hence, 80 would appear to mark the threshold for this major change in living arrangements. It is the age at which health problems become much more common.

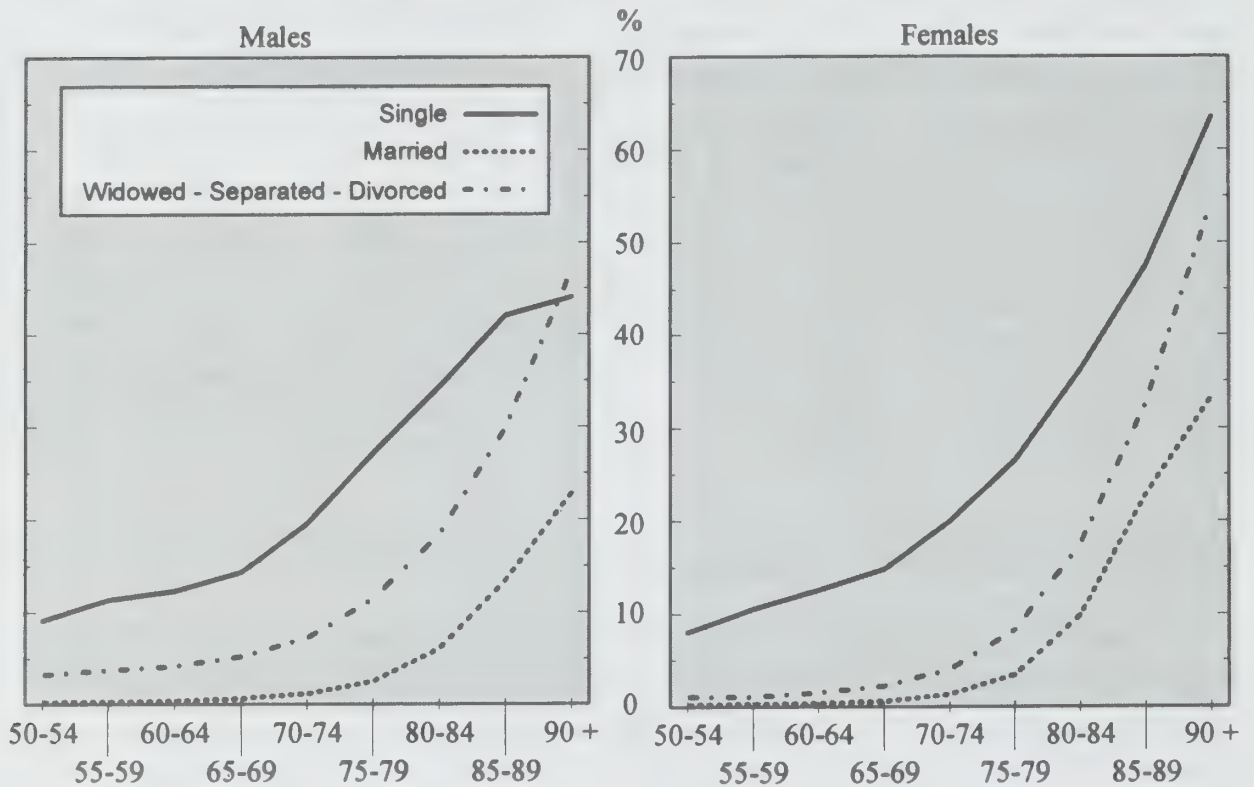
In 1987, Stone and Fletcher demonstrated that, disregarding disability, social support and income levels, age was a good indicator of senior citizens' living arrangements and of their chances of being institutionalised.

If age is the only variable we consider, we find significant disparities between the sexes. As soon as we factor marital status into the equation, those differences vanish. Figure 1 clearly shows that the differences are minimal for men and women of the same marital status.

Institutionalisation is most prevalent among never-married people of both sexes, regardless of age. People who have lost their spouse through death,

⁶ The data used in this section are taken from special tabulations prepared by Statistics Canada for a study of the Canadian population living in collective dwellings (Smith, 1996).

Figure 1. Percentage Distribution of the Institutionalized Population by Age Group, Sex and Marital Status, Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

These charts are not presented in the usual format, but the classic “bar charts” format would have made them impossible to interpret.

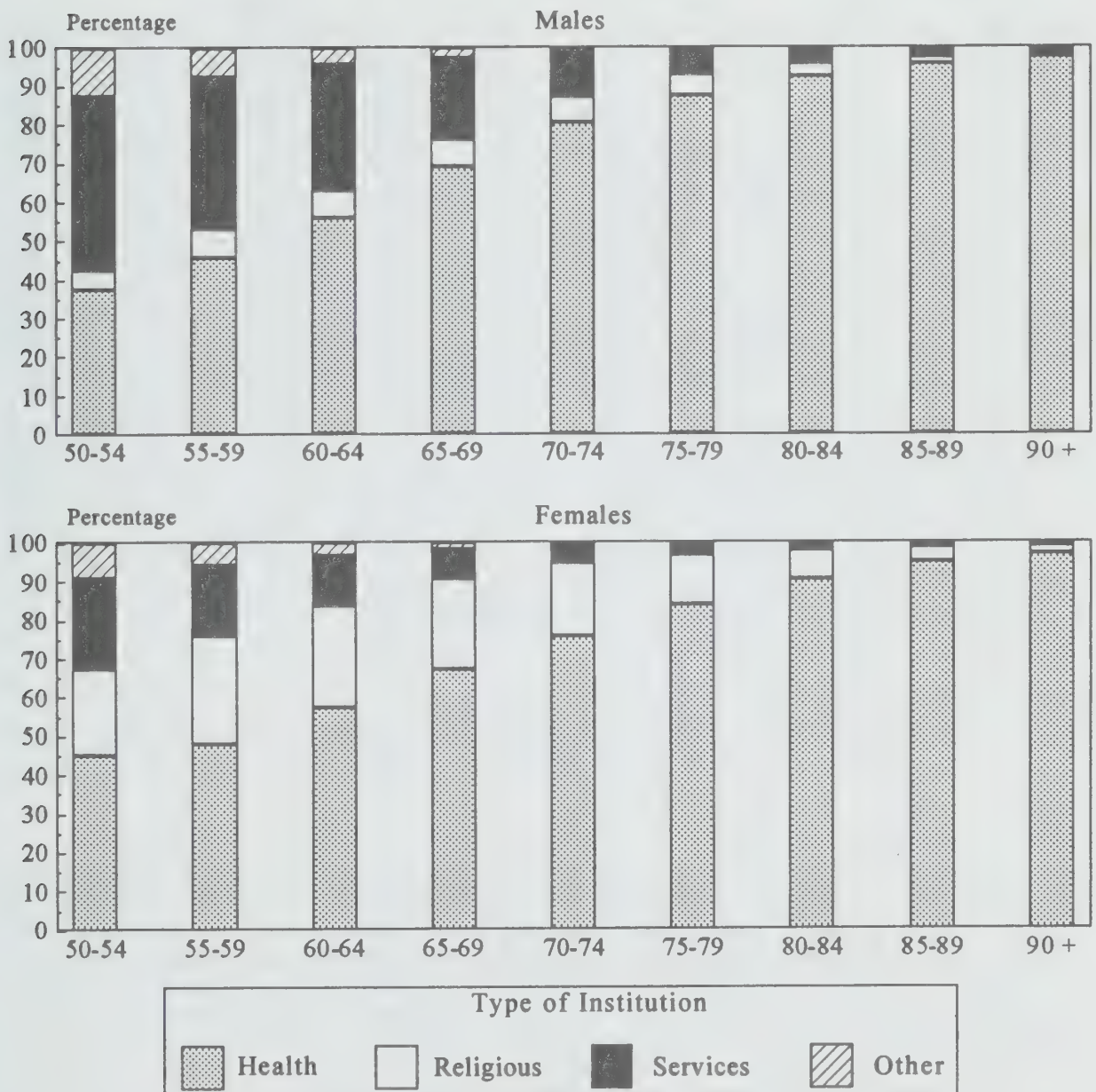
separation or divorce have the second highest proportion. Conversely, very few married men and women under age 80 live in collective dwellings. This suggests there is a strong link between being “alone” and living in an institution.

Our analysis so far has dealt with the institutional population, regardless of the type of collective dwelling. Part of that population undoubtedly consists of members of religious groups and other people serving the community, most of whom have never married.

Population in Health-Care Institutions

However, in view of Canada’s situation, given a rapidly ageing population and the restraints on public finances, the elderly population living in health-care institutions is of most interest. The people in that group place the greatest burden on the public purse, and it is important to know who and how many they are.

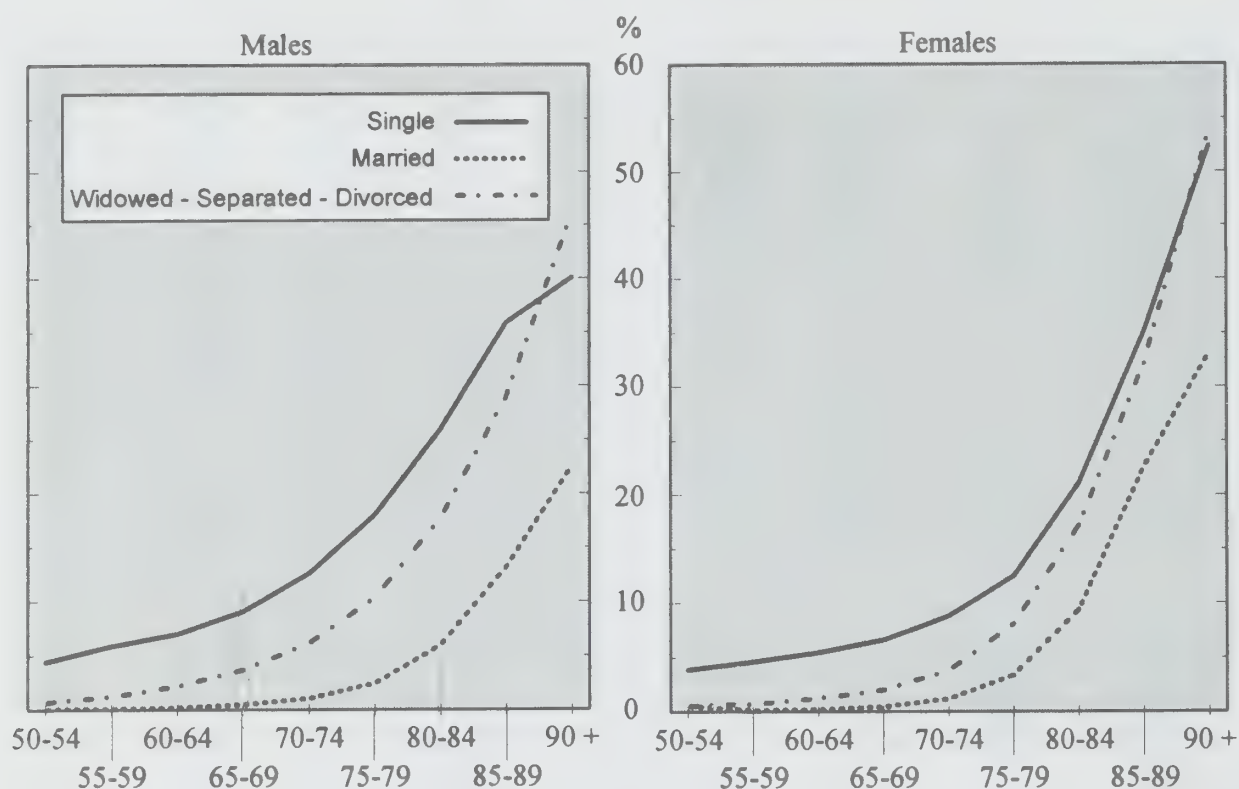
Figure 2. Percentage Distribution of the Institutionalized Population by Age Group and Sex, Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

As Figure 2 shows, there are only small differences between the percentages of men and women aged 50 and over living in health-care institutions. Fewer than half of the institutionalized 50-64 age group reside in such facilities. A large percentage of women in the group live in religious communities, while the majority of the men stay in commercial or communal facilities. From age 65 upward, however, the proportion of institutionalized men and women living in health-care institutions increases to almost 100% in the 80-and-over group. So it is an exaggeration to say, as some do, that all senior citizens live in health-care institutions. Some of them do live in collective dwellings, but the latter are not health-care facilities.

Figure 3. Percentage Distribution of Population in Health Institutions by Age Group, Sex and Marital Status, Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

Some elderly people have no choice but to rely on the formal support network—i.e. on health professionals and quasi-professionals—to cope with activity limitations, handicaps and incapacitating illnesses. This is the case in particular for those who have a small informal support network (spouse, children, other relatives, friends and neighbours).

Figure 3 shows, not surprisingly, that the never-married, widowed, divorced and separated groups have the highest percentages of health-care institution residents, and that, as in Figure 1, there is little or no difference between the men and women of the same marital status. Figure 3 also suggests that age 80 marks the beginning of true old age or, as Peter Laslett calls it, the Fourth Age.

Governments have instituted health and social services policies to foster prevention through awareness and to assist the informal support network in caring for the elderly.⁷ With the help of that network, elderly people are able

⁷ Angus, D.E "Future Horizons for Health and Health Care: A Policy Perspective" in *Vers le XXème siècle; Tendances socio-économiques et enjeux politiques au Canada* proceedings of the Colloquium organized by the Canadian Federation of Demographers, St. Paul University, Ottawa, October 23-25, 1995, p. 11-22.

to remain at home longer. However, the statistics indicate that some seniors,⁸ primarily those who are alone or have health problems, continue to depend on the formal support network. As it was clearly seen, the determining factor is marital status.

In the future, health care for the elderly will be affected by two opposing trends: on one hand, as Manton and al. pointed out in 1997, recent successes in controlling certain diseases or mitigating their effects will delay the institutionalisation of elderly people, while on the other, the greater prevalence of marriage breakdown and, in particular, the decline in the number of children since the 1970s will weaken the informal support network. Hence, the number of senior citizens with no relatives to help them is certain to grow during the first half of the next century, and neighbours and friends will be called upon more frequently to assist the elderly. Personal care will probably continue to be provided by close relatives (spouse and children). It is also likely that the formal support system will be asked more often to deliver personal care that is currently being given by the informal support network.

A word of caution is in order regarding institutionalisation and how it is measured. The percentage of people living in institutions can be misleading as an indicator of public health since it varies not only with the health status of the total population but also with the number of spaces available in institutions, as pointed out by De Jong-Gierveld and van Solinge.

It is also worth noting, before we move on to private households, that the census unfortunately does not provide data on length of stay in institutions. Institutions are often classified as either short-term or long-term care facilities. Length of stay in long-term care facilities is not independent of population ageing. Assuming the stay supply is constant, the fact that the average age of the long-term care population is climbing—i.e. patients are being admitted to long-term care institutions later in life—suggests that the average stay is probably shorter than it was in the 1960s or 1970s, when the average age of residents was lower because they were admitted earlier. This change is certainly affecting the type of care and services the institutions have to deliver: the patient population does not have the same morbidity profile, since some types of debilitating diseases emerge in extreme old age.

One final point needs to be made about the characteristics of the institutional population. For elderly people of the same age, the probability of being institutionalised depends not only on health status but also on previous living arrangements; for example, persons living alone are at greater risk.

⁸ In 1991, about 6% of the elderly population in Canada did not have an informal support network (Martel, 1998).

Living Arrangements of the Non-Institutional Elderly Population

Governments have introduced policies to help keep elderly people at home. The policies are supposed to be an effective way of meeting the rising costs of public health care, but they put even more pressure than before on the informal support network. Angus, Auer, Cloutier and Albert in 1995, Speare and Avery in 1993 and Spitze and Logan in 1992 showed that the informal network provided 80% of the assistance received by the elderly. Other studies, such as those by Chappell in 1991, Stinner et al. in 1990 and Cafferata in 1987, demonstrated that the presence of close relatives reduced the risks of morbidity and even mortality among the elderly. By facilitating the provision of assistance through the informal network, governments are helping older people to remain independent longer and postponing the time when they will have to be cared for by the formal support system.

However, not everyone over the age of 50 has an informal support network. The percentage of people living alone increases with age, while the percentage living in family households declines; very few people of any age live in non-family households (Table 3). Some 10% of the 50-54 age group live alone, compared with more than 35% of the 80-84 group.

These differences in population distribution suggest once again, as if further proof were needed, that marital status largely determines the living arrangements of elderly people. As Table 5 shows, the never-married proportion varies little across the age groups. The proportion of married people, on the other hand, decreases through the break-up of the couple. While only 6% of men aged 50 and over are widowers, more than 26% of their female counterparts are widows. The corresponding figures for women 60 and over and 85 and over are 37% and 80% respectively. For married people, the reverse is true. Proportionally more men than women are married, because they die before their spouses, who are younger, and because widowed or divorced men tend to remarry more quickly than widowed or divorced women. In the 50-and-over group, 83% of men are married, compared with only 60% of women. By age 85, the proportions are 60% for men and a mere 10% for women. These discrepancies in marital status affect the living arrangements of both sexes. Also worth noting is the fact that the proportion of separated or divorced people declines with age. The reason for this is that in addition to differences in the frequency of remarriage, there is a generation effect at play: divorce is more common in the younger cohorts than in the older ones, and if the trend continues, the phenomenon will become more pronounced.

Finally, the role that cohort fertility plays in determining the number of close relatives that elderly people have is also worth examining. In 1991, 13% of the cohorts aged 65 to 74 were childless, compared with 21% of the 85-and-over cohorts. The cohorts responsible for the baby boom will probably have a better chance of getting help from their children since they had large

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of Population Aged 50 and Over by Age Group, Sex and Marital Status, Canada, 1991

Age	Single	Married	Widowed	Separated or Divorced	Total
Males					
50-54	5.8	85.1	1.1	8.0	100.0
55-59	5.4	85.5	1.8	7.3	100.0
60-64	5.7	84.1	3.6	6.6	100.0
65-69	5.7	83.0	6.0	5.3	100.0
70-74	4.7	82.0	8.9	4.4	100.0
75-79	4.6	78.5	13.7	3.2	100.0
80-84	4.6	70.8	21.4	3.2	100.0
85 and Over	5.3	58.0	34.0	2.7	100.0
50 and Over	5.4	82.7	5.8	6.1	100.0
60 and Over	5.3	80.9	8.8	5.0	100.0
Females					
50-54	4.9	78.2	5.1	11.8	100.0
55-59	5.0	74.8	10.0	10.2	100.0
60-64	4.9	68.9	17.5	8.7	100.0
65-69	5.2	60.7	27.2	6.9	100.0
70-74	5.5	49.1	40.4	5.0	100.0
75-79	6.1	36.3	54.1	3.5	100.0
80-84	6.7	22.8	67.9	2.6	100.0
85 and Over	7.2	11.6	80.0	1.2	100.0
50 and Over	5.3	60.3	26.7	7.7	100.0
60 and Over	5.6	51.2	37.4	5.8	100.0

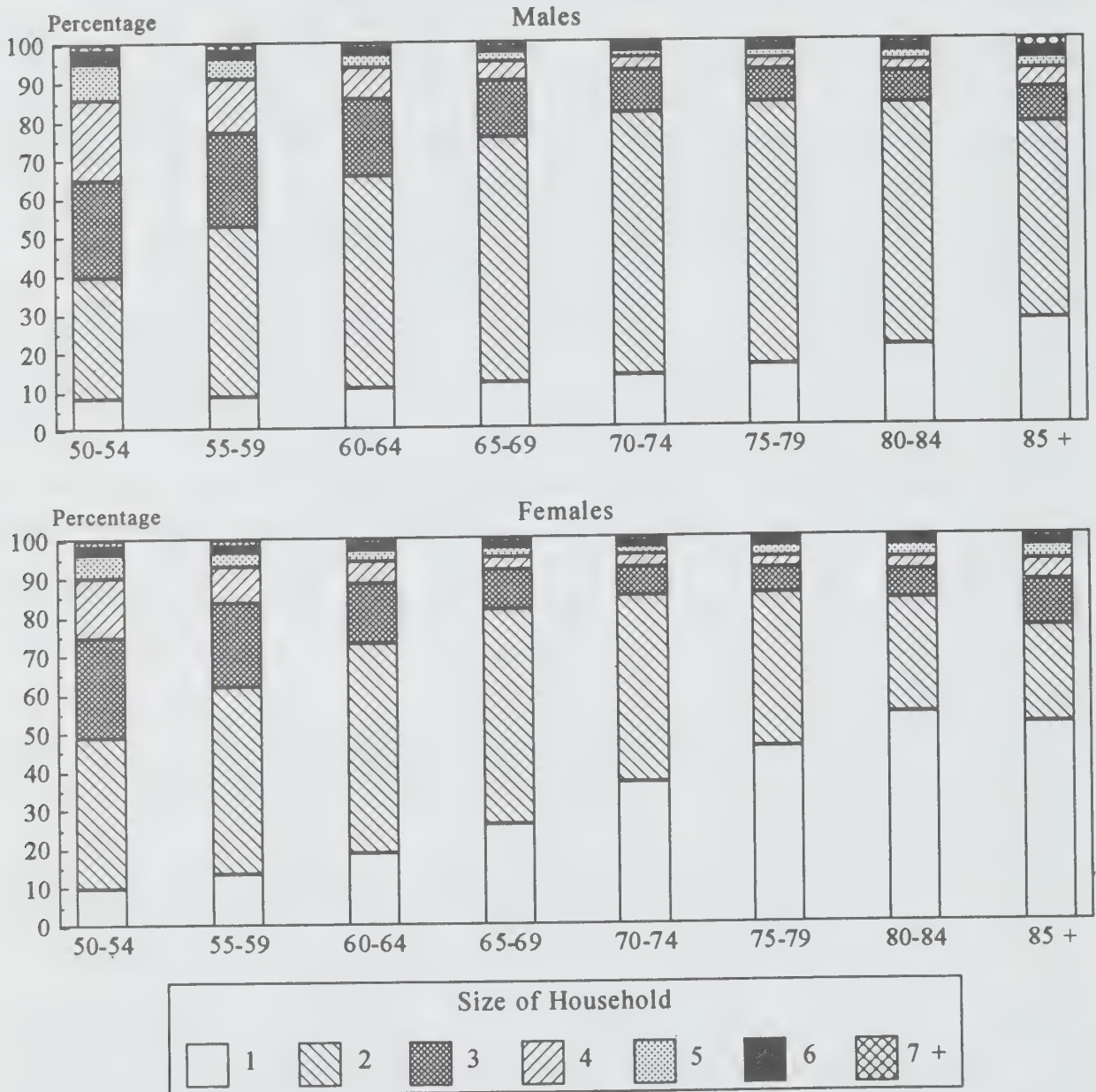
Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

families. In fact, Martel argues in his 1998 study that at age 65, only 7% of baby-boomer parents will have no descendants to rely on. The baby-boomers themselves, on the other hand, having had smaller families, will have fewer children to assist them when they get older. This, of course, is simply the demographic perspective. In reality, social life is much more complex.

Household Size

The available data can tell more about the families of elderly people who do not reside in institutions. For example, there are substantial differences between the household sizes of elderly men and women. When households are divided into two categories by size (1-3 persons, and 4 or more persons), there is no difference: the pattern from age 50 on is the same for both sexes (Figure 4). However, when we look at the distribution within the first category (households with 1-3 members), we find a marked difference between the sexes: about twice as many women live alone (one-person households), while a majority of men are members of two-person households.

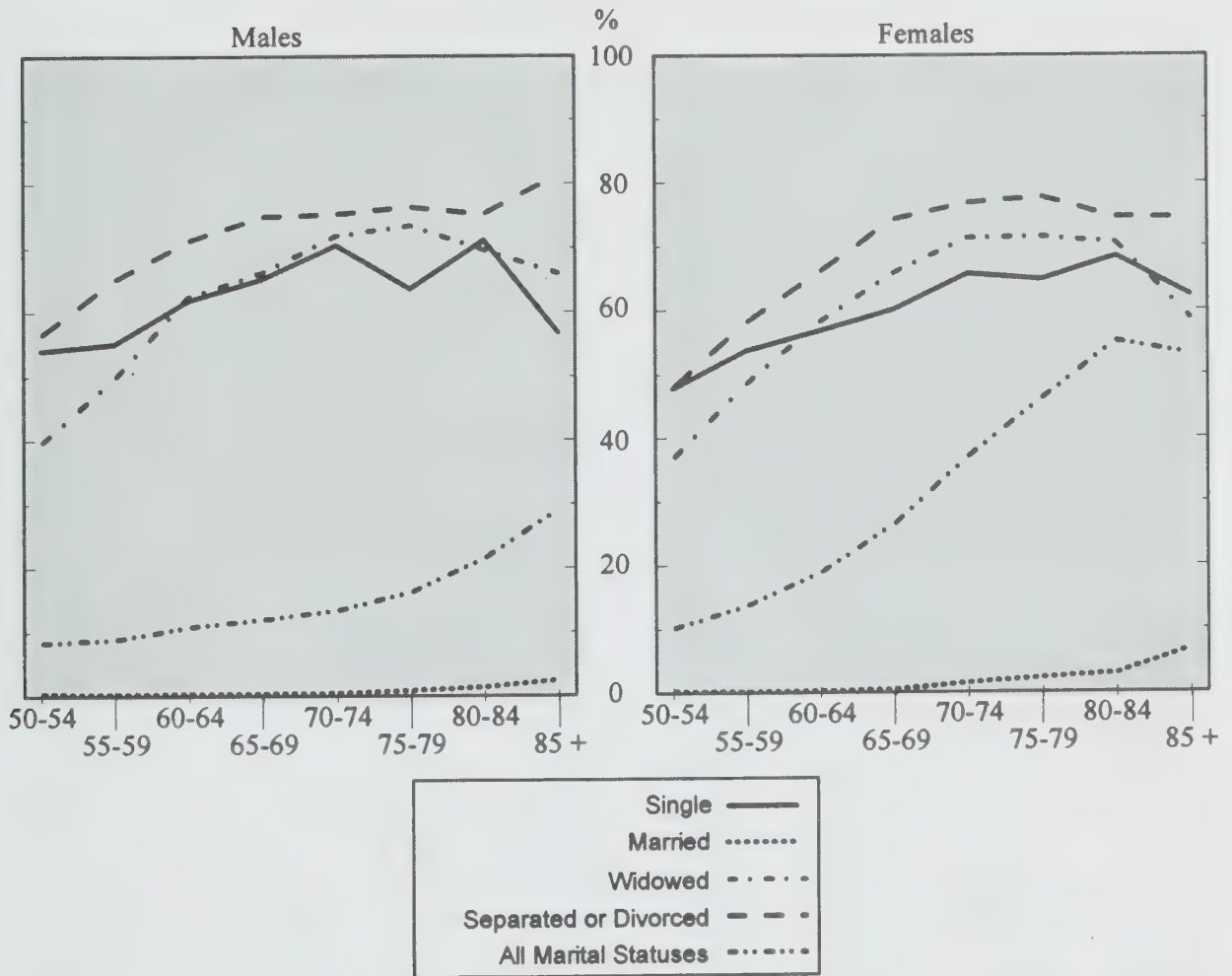
Figure 4. Percentage Distribution of Population by Age Group, Sex and Size of Household, Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

The way in which the proportion of households with four or more members changes from age group to age group reflects the changes that occur with ageing. Larger households are still fairly common among people in the 50-64 age groups because many of those people are the heads of nuclear families with some of the children still living at home (see Figure 8). As the children leave, the proportion of households with four or more members is smaller in each successive age group, bottoming out at less than 10% in the 80-84 group. Surprisingly, the proportion is higher in the next group, possibly because parents are being taken in by their children, and because the people in the group have decided to move in with family members or even strangers either for economic reasons, for security, or simply for peace of mind.

Figure 5. Proportion of Persons Living Alone by Age Group, Sex and Marital Status, Canada, 1991



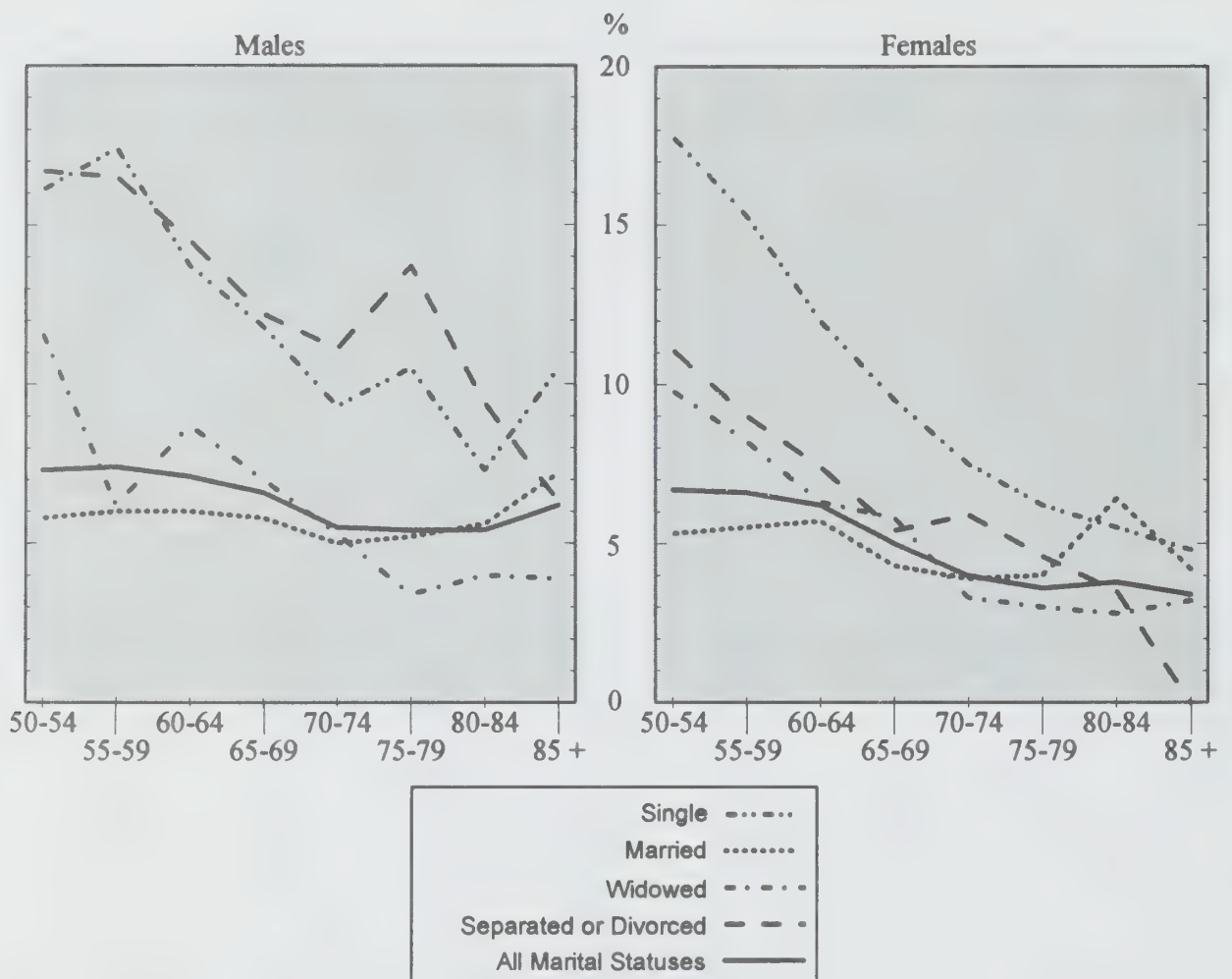
Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

The type of assistance and how frequently it is provided depend on who the provider is. Hence it is worth studying the composition of households with one or more elderly members. The data indicate that few married people, of either sex, live alone in advanced old age (Figure 5).

In fact, this situation occurs only when one spouse has had to be institutionalised because of serious disability. The proportion of people living alone rises from 50% in the 50-54 group to 70% very late in life. Solo living is mostly the lot of widowed, divorced, separated or never-married. The proportion of never-married people, especially never-married women, is higher in non-family households (Figure 6).

Nevertheless, very few elderly people live in non-family households. For all marital statuses combined, regardless of age or sex, the proportion of people aged 50 and over who live in that type of household ranges from 6% to 8%.

Figure 6. Proportion of Persons Living with Non-Relatives by Age Group, Sex and Marital Status, Canada, 1991



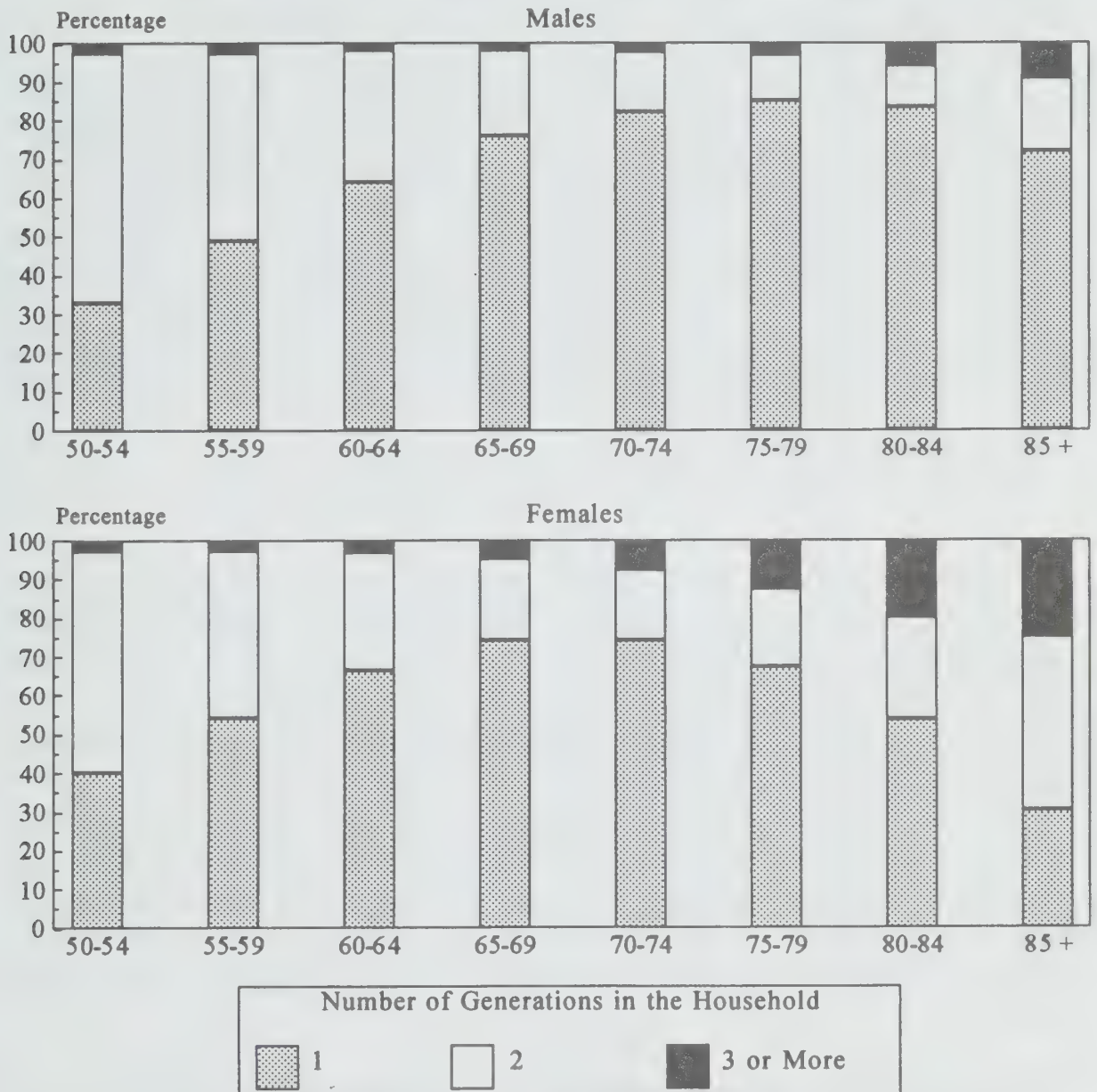
Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

Separated or divorced men choose such living arrangements more frequently than separated or divorced women. These findings are consistent with results reported in other studies, including de Jong-Gierveld and Dykstra in 1997. Those studies show that separated or divorced women who are not living alone have a greater tendency than men in the same situation to live with their children, i.e. in family households.

Number of Generations

Elderly people who live in non-family households (mostly never-married, separated or divorced men) share their daily lives with friends of the same generation. Analysis of the data reveals, however, that when non-family households are classified by the number of generations living in them (one,

Figure 7. Percentage Distribution of People Living in Family Households by Age Group, Sex and Number of Generations Present, Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

two or three)⁹, they are distributed almost evenly across the three categories (about 2% each).¹⁰

The vast majority of elderly people living in family households share their living space with people of their own generation (usually the spouse) or an adjacent generation (a child) (Figure 7).

⁹ For more details consult the United Nations publication for which the title appears at the bottom of the title page for Part 2.

¹⁰ An example of this type of arrangement would be an elderly person living in a household with an unrelated woman and her daughter. Such a household would be classified as a family household in the census.

The term “Generation” has several meanings:

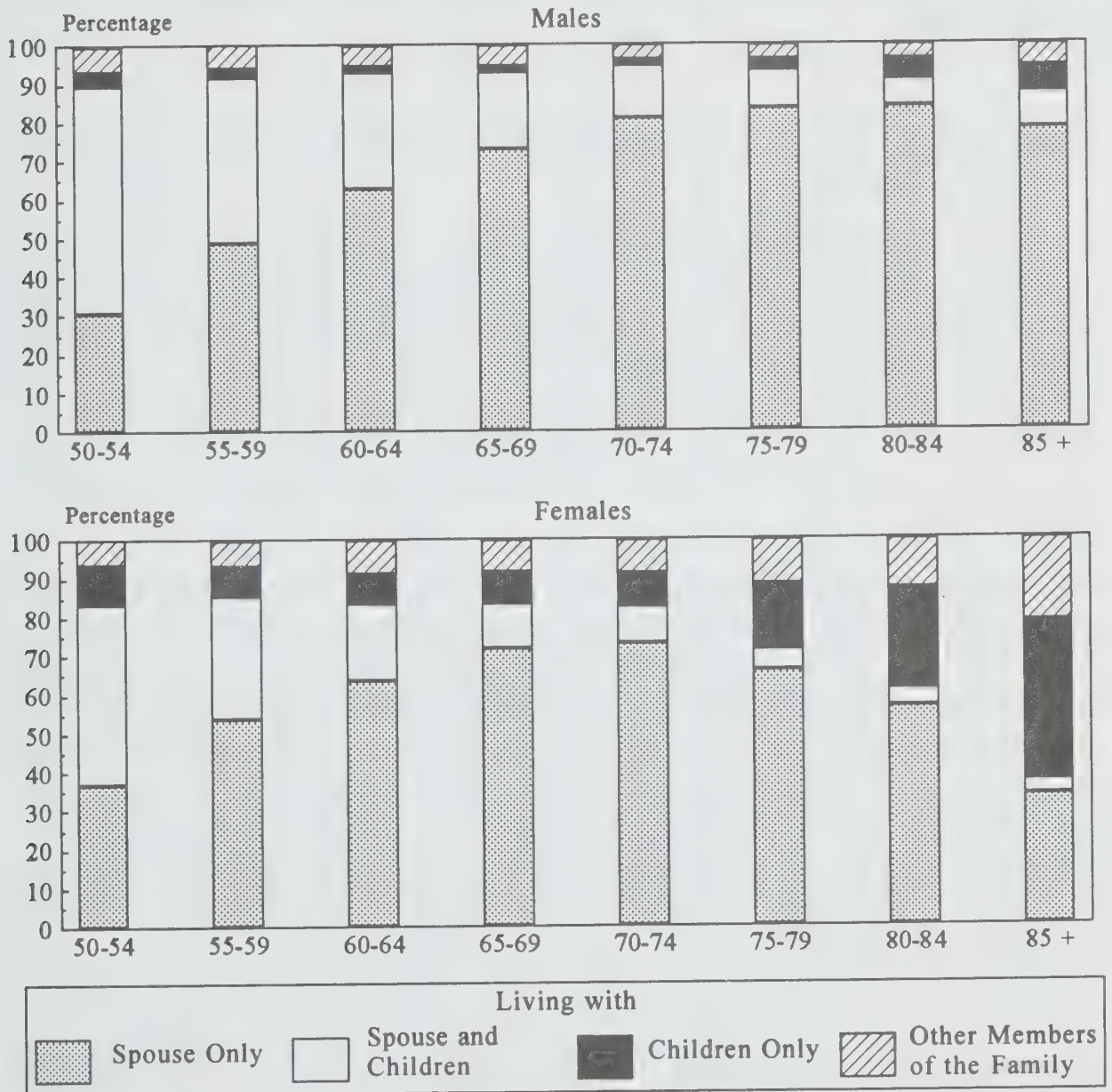
- 1 - The most common meaning is that of a group of persons who are about the same age. Generally the distance between generations is the average interval that separates parents and their children. In the text, 25 years was chosen when dealing with the cohabitation of people of different generations.
- 2 - The demographic meaning is restricted to people born in the same year.

Between the ages of 50 and 65, the two sexes exhibit much the same behaviour. From age 70 on, however, a majority of men live in family households whose members belong to the same generation. A majority of those men are married, which means that the proportion of elderly men whose spouses are still alive outweighs the proportion of elderly women who still have their husbands. And if women live in households whose members are from at least two generations, it is probably because they are living with their children and grandchildren. If life expectancy continues to climb in the future, it should be reasonable to assume that the number of multigenerational families should grow substantially. But this is far from a certainty if the elderly continue to value independence from their children.

Figure 8 delivers information about the characteristics of people who live in the households of the elderly. It shows that in general, an elderly man will tend to live with his children as long as his wife is there too. Of course, there are proportionally more husbandless women than wifeless men living with their children or grandchildren, especially in advanced old age. The few family households whose members are from three or more generations are composed of children and grandchildren, but in the upper age groups, usually only one grandparent is still alive.

Elderly people living with family members other than their descendants or with non-relatives rarely live in one- or two-generation households (approximately 10%). It is more common for them to live in three-generation households (about 25%). The characteristics of people living in the family households of the elderly suggest that men without their wives have difficulty fitting into their children's and grandchildren's families.

Figure 8. Percentage Distribution of Population Aged 50 and Over Living in Family Households of One or Two Generations by Age Group, Sex and Living Arrangements, Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

Conclusion

Marital status is the characteristic that weighs most heavily in senior citizens' choice of living arrangements. The presence of a spouse is the greatest source of support a person can have in later life. Today's more frequent marriage breakdown and low fertility will combine to weaken the informal support network of tomorrow's elderly. Friends, neighbours and the formal support network will probably be called upon to provide more assistance than they are providing today.

Because of increasing longevity, the different generations are being forced to coexist more now than in the past. But they seldom live together. It looks as if intergenerational support will grow in the future, but it will take as yet unknown forms if the elderly persist in keeping their increasingly long held independence.

CHAPTER 2 - LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND RETIREMENT

From the perspective of doing paid work, retirement and the labour market are opposites. Both concepts were shaped during the industrialisation period. Today, everyone views retirement as this part of life when a person essentially stops earning money and spends the rest of his or her life consuming the assets he or she previously accumulated in one form or another. In Canada, as in every other Western country, retirement lasts much longer nowadays than it did at the turn of the century. There are two reasons for this change.

One reason is demographic. Life expectancy at birth has risen in recent years because of an increase in life expectancy in old age. As a result of the latter increase, individuals are remaining in the elderly age group longer than before. Similarly, the advance in life expectancy at birth, due in part to lower mortality in the young age groups, means that more people than before will reach old age. In combination, the two phenomena increase substantially the number of years that survivors of a birth cohort collectively live as senior citizens (Table 6). Hence, a previously unknown period stretching from the end of the individual's "economically" active life to the sharp decline in vital functions that accompanies advanced age has crept into the human life cycle. The British sociologist Peter Laslett refers to this period as the *Third Age*. By extension, the final period of life, which usually involves disabilities and a loss of independence, can be thought of as the *Fourth Age*. It is old age in the real sense of the term.

The other reason is economic. In the closing years of this century, the demand for labour has been profoundly affected by the technological progress and the many inventions we have seen over the past few decades. Businesses have had to update their lines of products and services and their manufacturing processes, and they have made major changes to keep up with new demands. Workers specialising in certain types of products have seen their usefulness diminished as their skills have become less valuable to employers. New manufacturing technologies have made many jobs redundant, and it is of the interest of employers in economically prosperous countries to offer attractive early retirement packages to the now less valuable incumbents of those jobs when they are still relatively young. The number of companies and organizations undergoing downsizing is doubling, especially in the social services, as budget

Table 6. Number of Survivors at Age 65 in the Life Table and Life Expectancy at Age 65 by Sex for Cohorts from 1801 to 1941

Cohorts	Survivors at Age 65		Life Expectancy at Age 65 in Years	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1801	27,448	31,092	10.6	11.5
1821	29,640	34,115	10.9	11.8
1841	31,959	37,017	11.4	12.5
1861	35,901	40,968	12.9	13.8
1881	44,909	49,331	13.5	15.7
1901	51,561	59,715	14.0	18.7
1921	63,984	74,131	15.9	21.2
1941	74,502	83,380	18.0	22.4

Source: Bourbeau and al., 1997.

cuts also eliminate jobs. For all these reasons, about 60% of people in the 60-64 age group are unemployed or out of the labour force.

The longer period of retirement and the larger numbers of retired people resulting from the changes described above may cause problems in some cases, depending on the demographic and economic circumstances in which they arise. The employed have to support an ever-growing number of people who do not work because they are either retired or unemployed.

This trend will be exacerbated, particularly in Canada, by the decline in the proportion of adults due to the small birth cohorts that first made their appearance in the early 1970s. In numbers of births, subsequent cohorts were 20% smaller on average than the cohorts of their baby-boomer parents. On the other hand, a larger proportion of women in the smaller cohorts entered the labour market when they reached adulthood. Will there—as some analysts, including Fellegi in 1988, suggested—be enough women in that group to offset the decline in the number of workers who contribute to pension funds? Nobody knows whether it is the beginning of a trend or simply a transitory fluctuation, but since 1993 and 1994, female participation rates have levelled off or even dipped slightly. It might seem paradoxical that a society would readily part with people of working age and at the same time worry about the decrease in the adult population caused by lower fertility. But this paradox is largely due to the fact that workers are not interchangeable and that recycling has its limits.

This important question of dependency ratios will be studied in greater detail following an analysis of labour market participation by people aged 50 and over and of their retirement patterns.

In an effort to understand their labour market behaviour and this economic well being in relation to their living arrangements, various characteristics of

older people will be examined. For example, it will appear that the length of time a person remains employed is influenced by the size and nature of his or her family.

Concepts

The line between employment and retirement is becoming increasingly blurred, as both working and retiring are taking many diverse and varied forms. In this study, a person who is working full time or part time or looking for work is considered to be “in the labour force”. The “retired” category includes everybody who reported receiving pension income other than benefits provided automatically by the government under its programs for senior citizens (primarily Old Age Security, guaranteed income supplement and other government transfers). In other words, the term “retired” applies only to people who used to be in the labour market.

People are not entitled to full benefits under government programs (Old Age Security, guaranteed income supplement and so on) until age 65. Consequently, if, for ease of reference, we had to choose a dividing line between the working period of one’s life and retirement, that is the age we would select, and this is the age that is recognized in most industrialised nations. A person can of course retire earlier and collect benefits from a private pension plan if he or she qualifies. One can also retire anytime after age 60 and receive C/QPP benefits, but they are reduced by an amount based on the time between one’s retirement and one’s 65th birthday. Despite these penalties, participation rates for people under 65 have fallen sharply in the past two decades (Légaré et al., 1991). Whether by choice or by necessity, Canadians are departing from the labour force earlier and earlier.

Labour Force Participation After Age 50

Using data from the 1991 Census of Canada, a breakdown of the population by labour market activity can be obtained. As shown in Table 7, the population is first divided into two major categories: those who are in the labour force, and those who are not. Then the first category is split into those who are employed (full time or part time), and those who are looking for work (essentially the unemployed). The second category consists of people who are retired, as the term is defined above, and others.

In 1991, about 76% of men aged 60 and over and close to 90% of women in the same age range did not have paid employment (Table 7). While a large majority of men fell into the “retired” category (59%), less than half of the women were in the same situation (46%). Unemployment was low for both sexes, for the simple reason that not many people in that age group are still in the labour force. In the 65-and-over group, the proportion of retired men was 71%, 13 percentage points higher than the proportion in the 60-and-

Table 7. Percentage Distribution of Population Aged 60 and Over by Labour Force Activity and Sex, Canada, 1991

Age	In Labour Force		Not in Labour Force		Total
	Employed	Unemployed	Retired	Others	
60 and Over 65 and Over	Males				
	24.3	3.1	58.8	13.8	100.0
	13.2	0.7	71.3	14.8	100.0
	Females				
60 and Over 65 and Over	10.3	0.9	45.7	43.1	100.0
	5.0	0.4	51.4	43.2	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

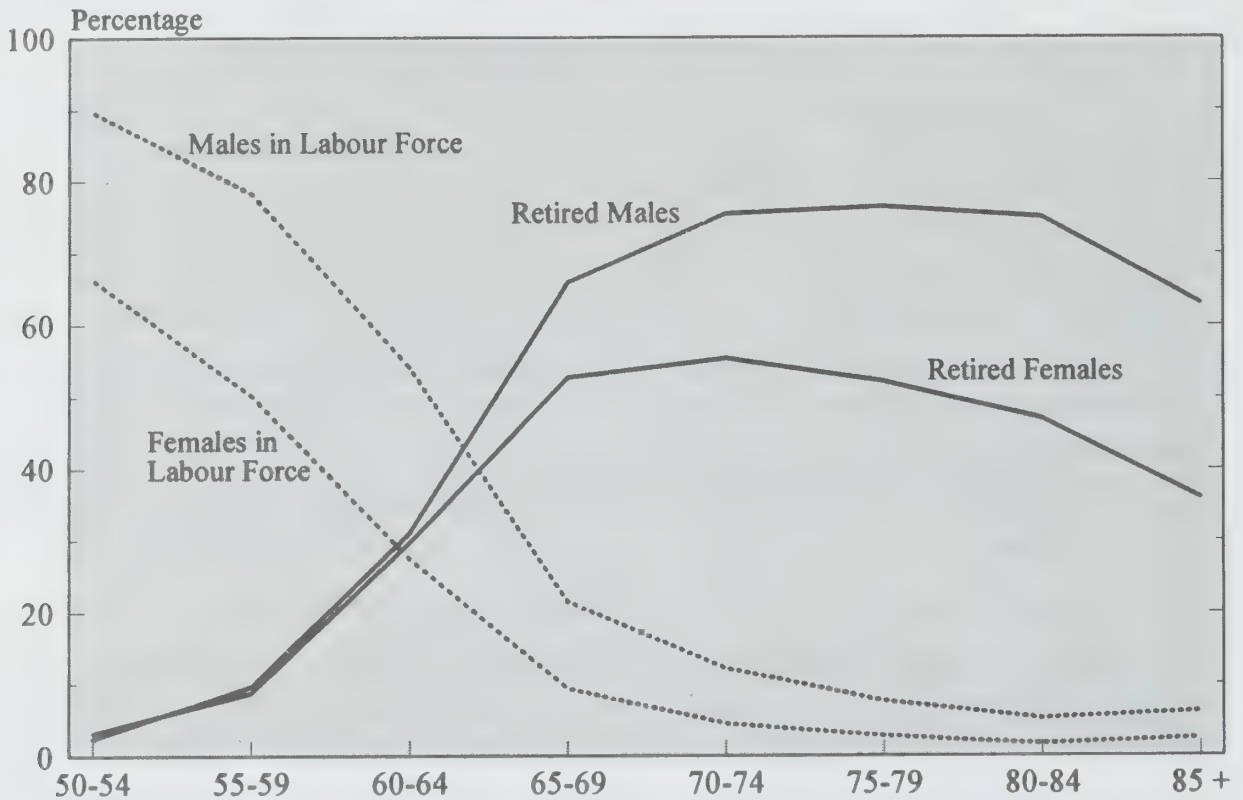
over group. For women, the proportion was less than six percentage points higher in the 65-and-over group (51%) than in the 60-and-over group. These differences in percentage and percentage-point change between the sexes stem from the fact that the female cohorts represented in Table 7 participated less in the labour force during their lives.

The percentages of men and women in each category are plotted in Figure 9. The lines show how the percentage of people in the labour force declines between the 50-54 age group and the 55-59 group. The biggest change, however, is between the 60-64 group and the 65-69 group: the proportion of men in the labour force drops from 54% to 22%, and the proportion of women from 28% to 9%. Conversely, the proportion of “retired” people (the proportion receiving a pension, rather than the proportion not in the labour force) climbs from 31% to 66% for men and from 30% to 53% for women. The figure suggests that a large percentage of people retire a little before the age of 65. In fact, that age has been decreasing since the 1970s. According to a recent Statistics Canada study, the average age at retirement is now 62, compared with 65 in 1971.¹¹ In other words, the period between the time when people actually retire and the time when they are entitled to government pensions is becoming longer.

The fact that the percentage of retired women increases by a smaller amount between the 60-64 group and the 65-69 group than the percentage of retired men reflects once again the fact that few women contributed to pension plans during the years in which men were able to do so because they were employed. According to 1991 data (Table 7), 49% of women aged 60

¹¹ Gower D (1997). “Retirement Age and Statistical Estimation” in *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, Vol. 9, Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE, p. 13-20.

Figure 9. Distribution of the Population in Labour Force and Retired Population by Age Group and Sex, Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

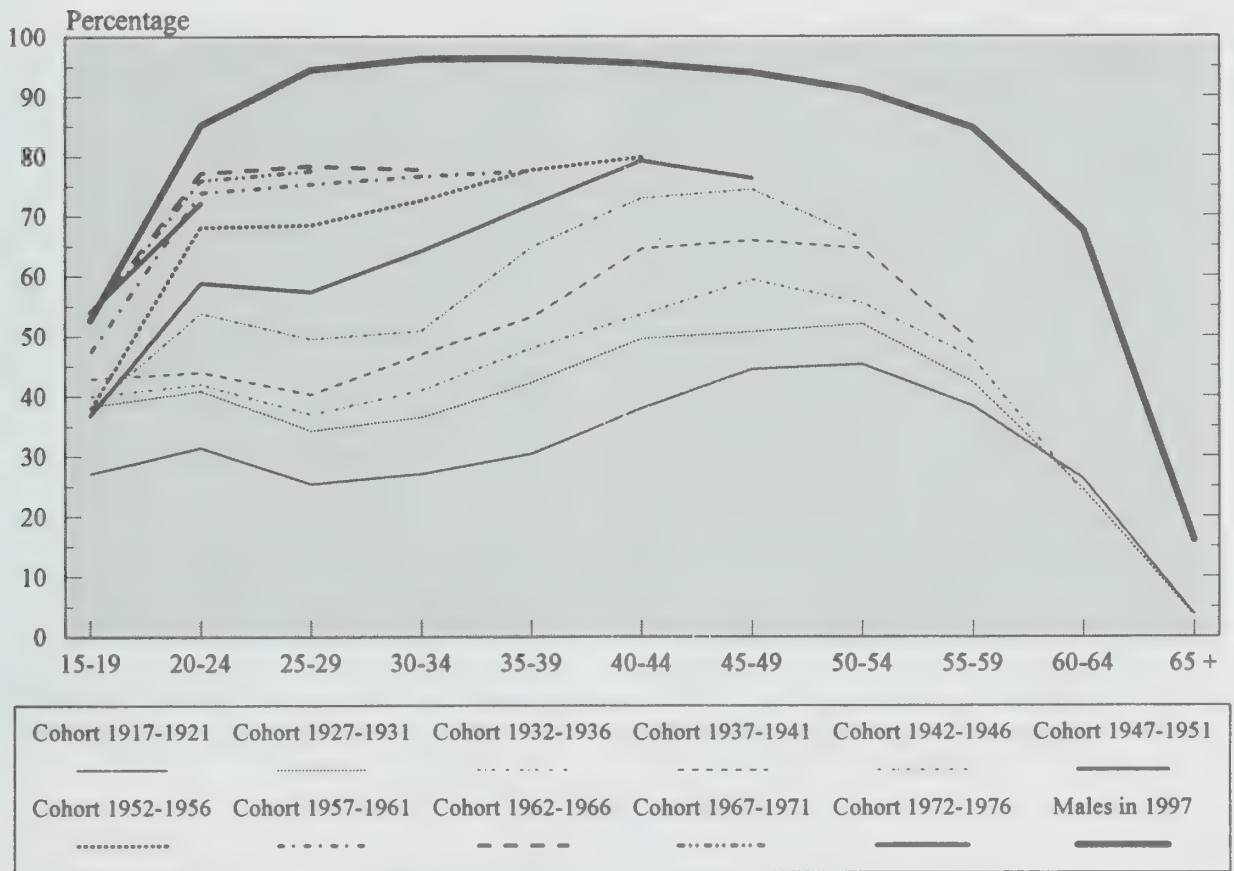
and over who were not in the labour force were not retired. That is because they were “housewives”. This observation is supported by the results of the 1994 General Social Survey: half of elderly women reported that their principal occupation was “homemaker” (Lindsay, 1997). The survey data also showed that more than 20% of women of that generation had never been in the labour force.

The graph for retired men bends downward beyond the 80-84 age group because members of that generation were unable to contribute to the C/QPP, which did not exist at the time.¹² There are significant differences in retirement behaviour between men and women around the age of 65. Moreover, the situation is changing rapidly because it is largely due to a generation effect.

With their increasing presence in the labour market, younger female cohorts are behaving less like their elders and more like male cohorts. Though visible in census data, this trend can be seen even more clearly in the movement of quarterly participation rates based on Labour Force Survey (LFS) data. The

¹² The C/QPP program was introduced in 1966.

Figure 10. Proportion of Women in the Labour Force by Age Group for Various Cohorts, Canada



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

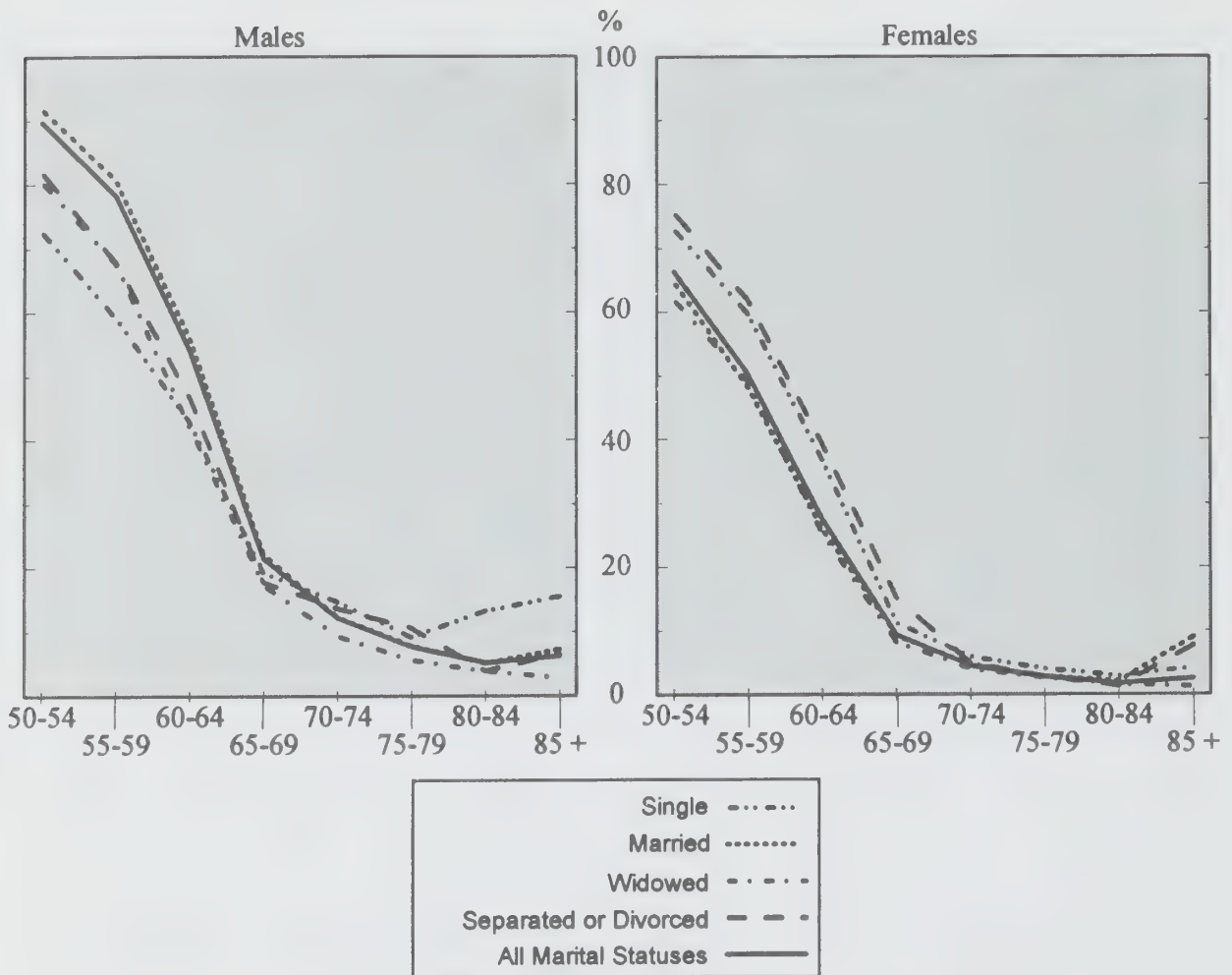
rates have increased substantially over the past 30 years. More recently, however, they slowed down and levelled off; now they are showing signs of declining (figure 10).

Another generation effect is probably behind an oddity that is just barely visible in Figure 9: a larger proportion of people in the 85-and-over group reported being employed than in the 80-84 group. The reason for this is probably that many very elderly people worked in primary industries, especially agriculture. Those people tend to regard themselves as still “active” in the labour force, even though their participation is merely symbolic in most cases.

According to the Census, only a small proportion of people over 50 years of age were unemployed: 3.9% of men and 2.3% of women. The actual counts, 118,800 men and 80,800 women, are much lower than in other age groups, especially the young adult groups.

In Chapter 3, it will be seen how difficult it is to measure with any precision how much paid work is done by people aged 65 and over. The curves in

Figure 11. Labour Force Participation Rates of Population Aged 50 and Over by Age Group, Sex and Marital Status, Canada, 1991



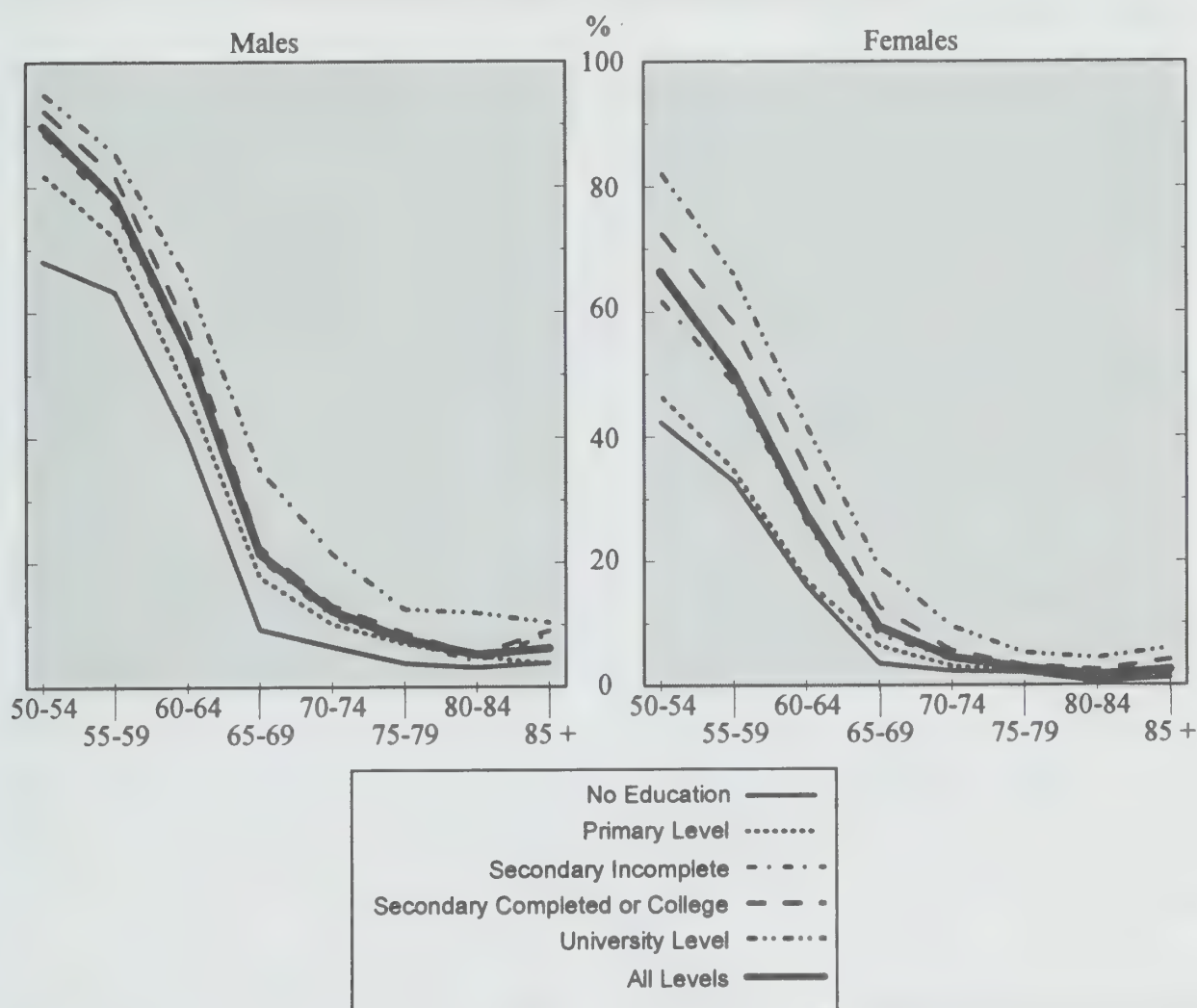
Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

Figure 9 indicate that in the 65-69 and subsequent age groups, the percentages of people who are in the labour force are low, but they are far from zero, especially for men.

Marital Status

Graphs of the participation rates of the 50-and-over population, broken down by marital status, are presented in Figure 11. For the age groups before 65-69, the lines are quite distinct. The participation rates for never-married and divorced women are far higher than the rates for widows and married women. The logical explanation for this difference is that never-married and divorced women have to earn a living, whereas married women and widows do not because they can live off their husband's employment income, pension or estate. The much lower participation rates of never-married men could be due to poor health or handicaps, which may be why they never married. We might also speculate, in the case of widowed, separated and divorced

Figure 12. Labour Force Participation Rates of Population Aged 50 and Over by Age Group, Sex and Level of Education, Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

men, that the end of their marriages caused some instability that put them at a disadvantage in the labour market, or, in the case of separated and divorced men, that the loss of their jobs led to their marital problems.

Education

Participation rates fluctuate more, and more systematically, with level of education. As Figure 12 clearly shows, from age 50 on, the lower the level of schooling is, the lower the participation rate is. In the 50-54 group, only about 70% of poorly educated men are still in the labour force, compared with 95% of highly educated men. The rates for women follow the same pattern. There is something paradoxical in these findings. Since income is, in general, positively correlated with level of education, one might expect that people who are poorly educated and therefore have low incomes would remain in the labour force longer than better educated people. But that is not

the case, probably because their low level of schooling makes them unsuitable at an earlier age for many types of jobs, or because they are prematurely exhausted by hard work.

There is no difference between the sexes in the order of the lines representing the various levels of education. The gaps between the lines are roughly the same for both sexes in the 65-69 group, but they are much wider for men in the 50-54 group. While female participation rates show a steady, almost linear decline between the 50-54 and the 65-69 age groups, male rates remain comparatively high in the 60-64 group and then decrease appreciably in the subsequent group. This difference may be related to the occupational differences between the sexes. In any case, participation rates after age 65 are substantially higher among highly educated people—even more so for men than for women—than among people with less education.

To properly interpret these relationships between level of education and age, it is necessary to take generation effects into account. Lindsay (1997) pointed out that there are twice as many university graduates and half as many poorly educated people in the generation aged 45 to 64 as in the generation aged 65 and over. However, it cannot be concluded that the relationship between level of education and participation rates in the upper age groups is fixed and that, since each succeeding generation has a higher level of education, people in the future will retire from the labour force at an increasingly advanced age.

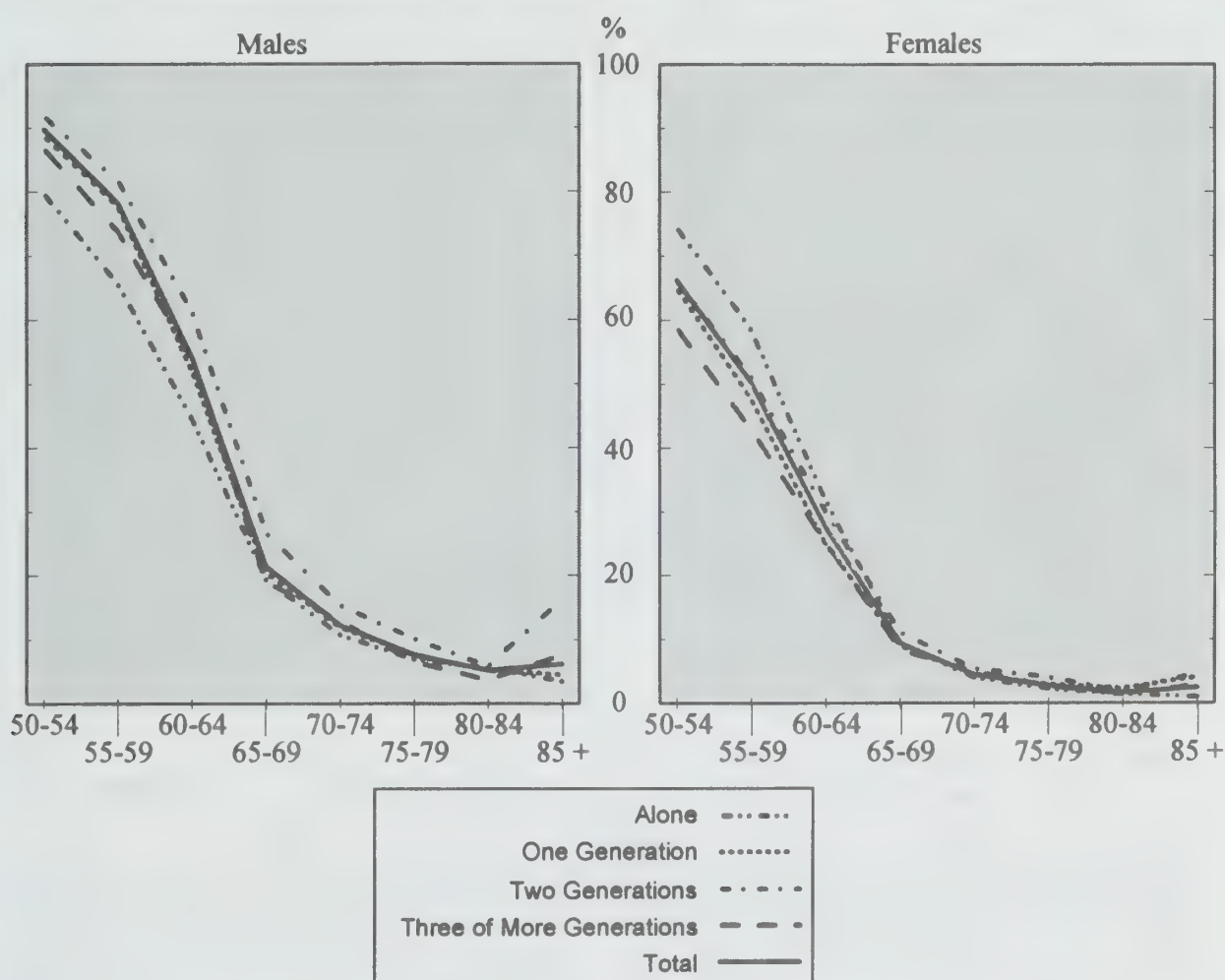
Number of Generations

Marital status and education have provided a satisfactory “explanation” of the variations in participation rates in the upper age groups. Now we will see how much influence the family—i.e. the composition of the household—has on the participation rates of older people. Some data are provided in Figure 13.

Men and women living alone¹³ have similar participation rates in every age group; hence, the comments made in the analysis of marital status also apply here. However, there is an important difference between the sexes in the relative positions of the graph lines. The rates for women who do not live alone are below the rates for women who do live alone, while the opposite is true for men. The possible reasons mentioned earlier—that women who are alone have a greater need to earn a living—still apply. According to some sociologists, women who are now in the upper age groups are paying with their solitude for the comfortable standard of

¹³ In the legends of Figure 13, one, two and three or more refer, as the title indicates, to the number of generations, rather than the number of individuals, in the household. People living alone are a special case within the one generation category.

Figure 13. Labour Force Participation Rates of Population Aged 50 and Over by Age Group, Sex and Number of Generations in the Household, Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

living provided by their high level of education.¹⁴ Men who live alone and are not in the labour force are proportionally more numerous, and some of them have been living in that situation for a long time, probably for health reasons. Many of them probably have comfortable pensions and no dependants. The participation rates for men who live in two-generation households are somewhat higher than the rates for other men, probably because some older men still have dependent children. Conversely, those who live in households of three or more generations are probably being supported by their children.

Part-Time Work

Older men have higher full-time participation rates in all age groups than older women. That is no surprise since part-time work, even in the younger age groups, has always been more common among women than among men.

¹⁴ Goldscheider and Waite (1986), cited in Beaujot R. *“Family Over the Life Course”*, Statistics Canada. 1995. Catalogue no. 91-543.

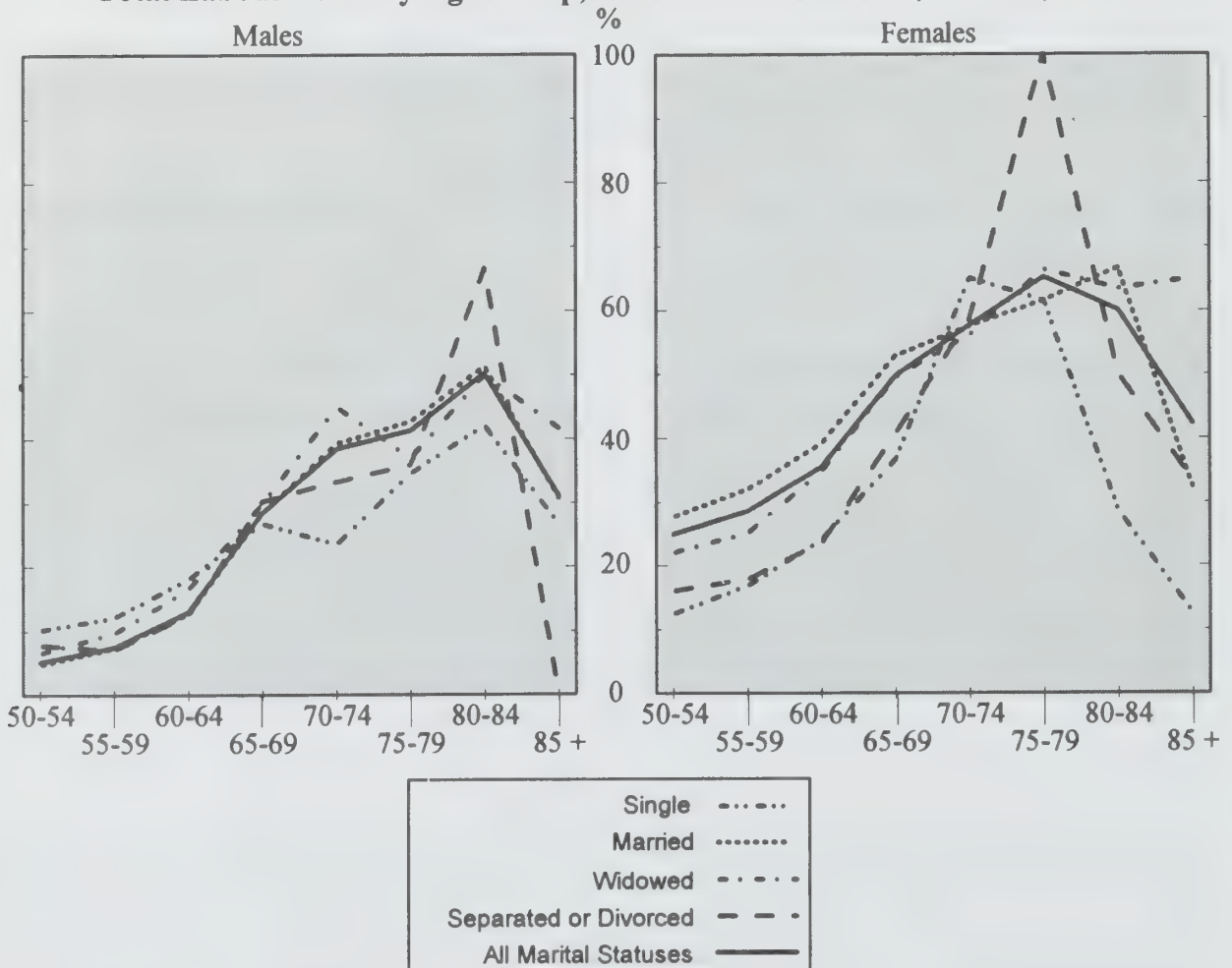
Table 8. Percentage of the Labour Force Aged 50 and Over Working Part Time, by Age Group and Sex, Canada, 1991

Age Group	Males	Females
50-54	5.2	25.0
55-59	7.6	28.5
60-64	13.0	35.5
65-69	28.5	49.8
70-74	38.4	57.7
75-79	41.3	65.2
80-84	50.3	60.1
85 and Over	31.1	42.3
60 and Over	20.6	41.8
65 and Over	33.2	53.2

Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

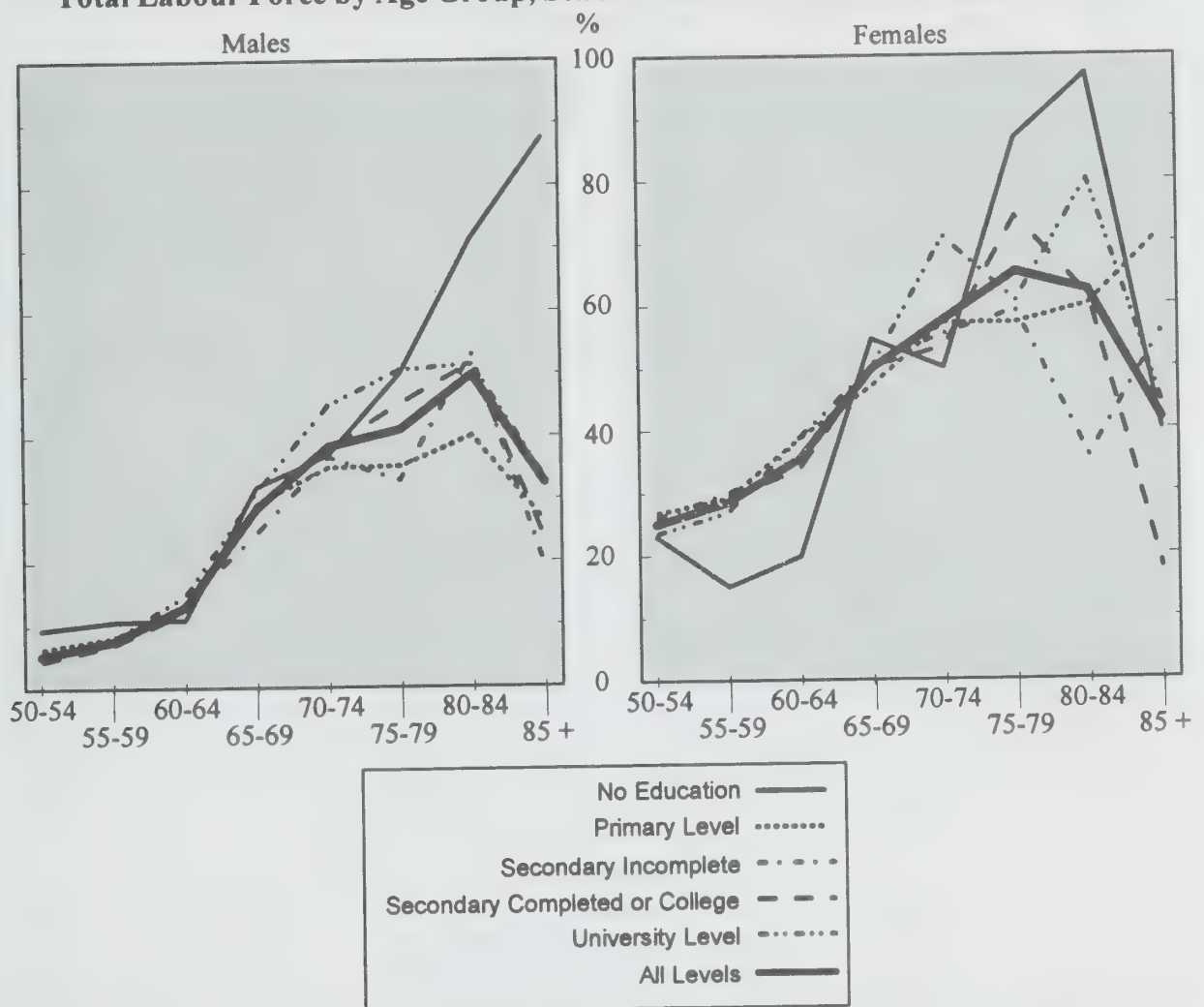
Table 8 leaves no doubt: in every age group, the gap between the sexes is quite large, as we expected. But there is something more interesting: the part-time percentage for both sexes increases significantly between the 60-64 group and the 65-69 group. And the percentage continues to rise in subsequent age groups. In all likelihood, as Quinn and Burkhauser suggest, this phenomenon is due to people's inclination to retire gradually rather than abruptly. However, this conclusion has to be tempered by the fact that, as mentioned earlier, the restructuring of many businesses has resulted in involuntary part-time work.

Figure 14. Population Aged 50 and Over Working Part Time as a Proportion of the Total Labour Force by Age Group, Sex and Marital Status, Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

Figure 15. Population Aged 50 and Over Working Part Time as a Proportion of the Total Labour Force by Age Group, Sex and Level of Education, Canada, 1991

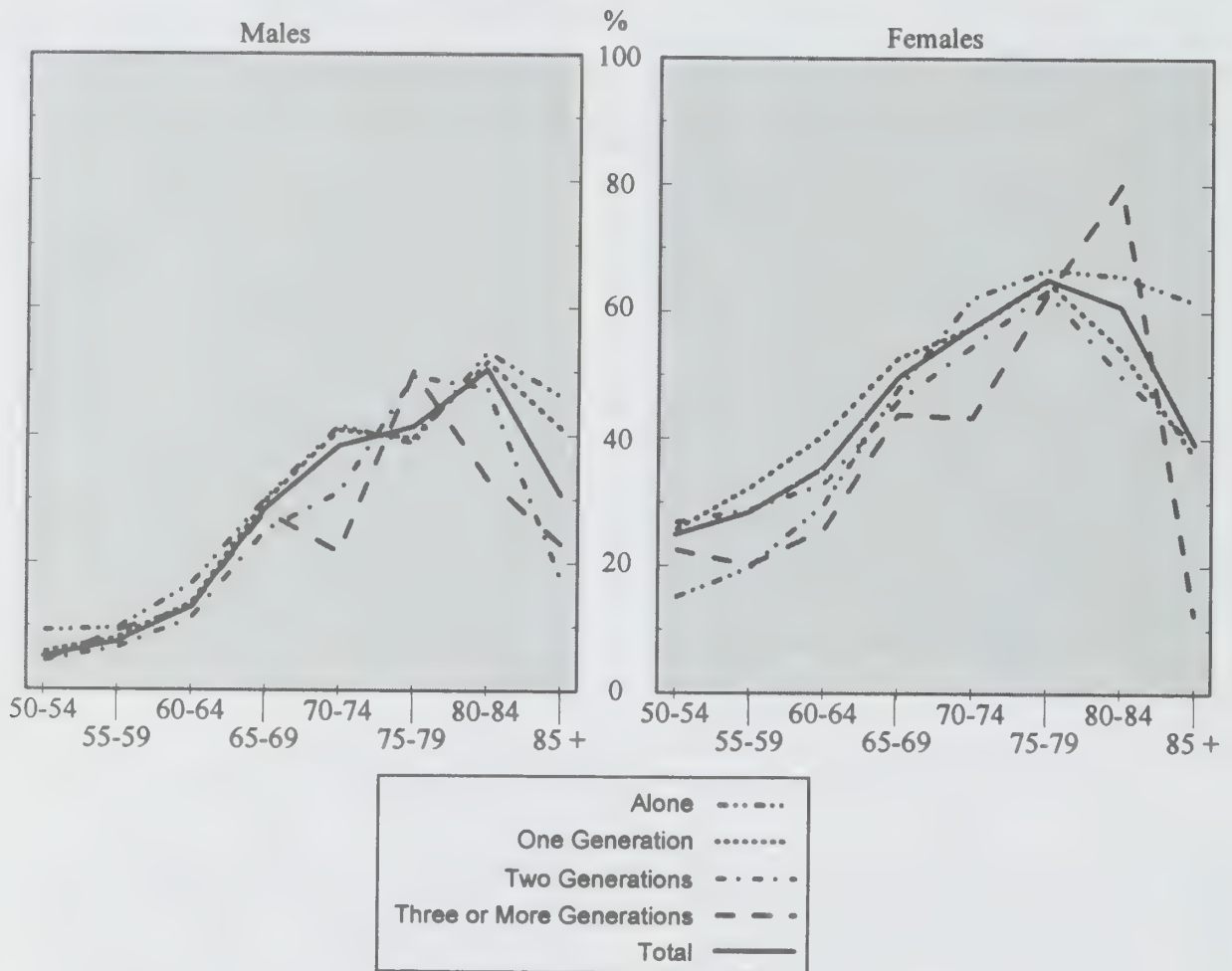


Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

The relative positions of the lines representing marital status in Figure 14 tend to support the hypothesis that the need to earn income affects female participation rates: never-married, divorced and separated women have lower part-time rates than other women. The behaviour of the lines in Figure 15 indicates that level of education has no effect whatsoever on part-time participation rates. On the other hand, the need to work in order to keep one's financial independence, as discussed earlier, is reflected once again in the

One could be surprised by the table legend which shows one curve for living alone and one for households with one, two, three generations, etc. It must be understood that there are households where two or three people from the same generation are living together. Thus there is no contradiction.

Figure 16. Population Aged 50 and Over Working Part Time as a Proportion of the Total Labour Force by Age Group, Sex and Number of Generations in Household, Canada, 1991



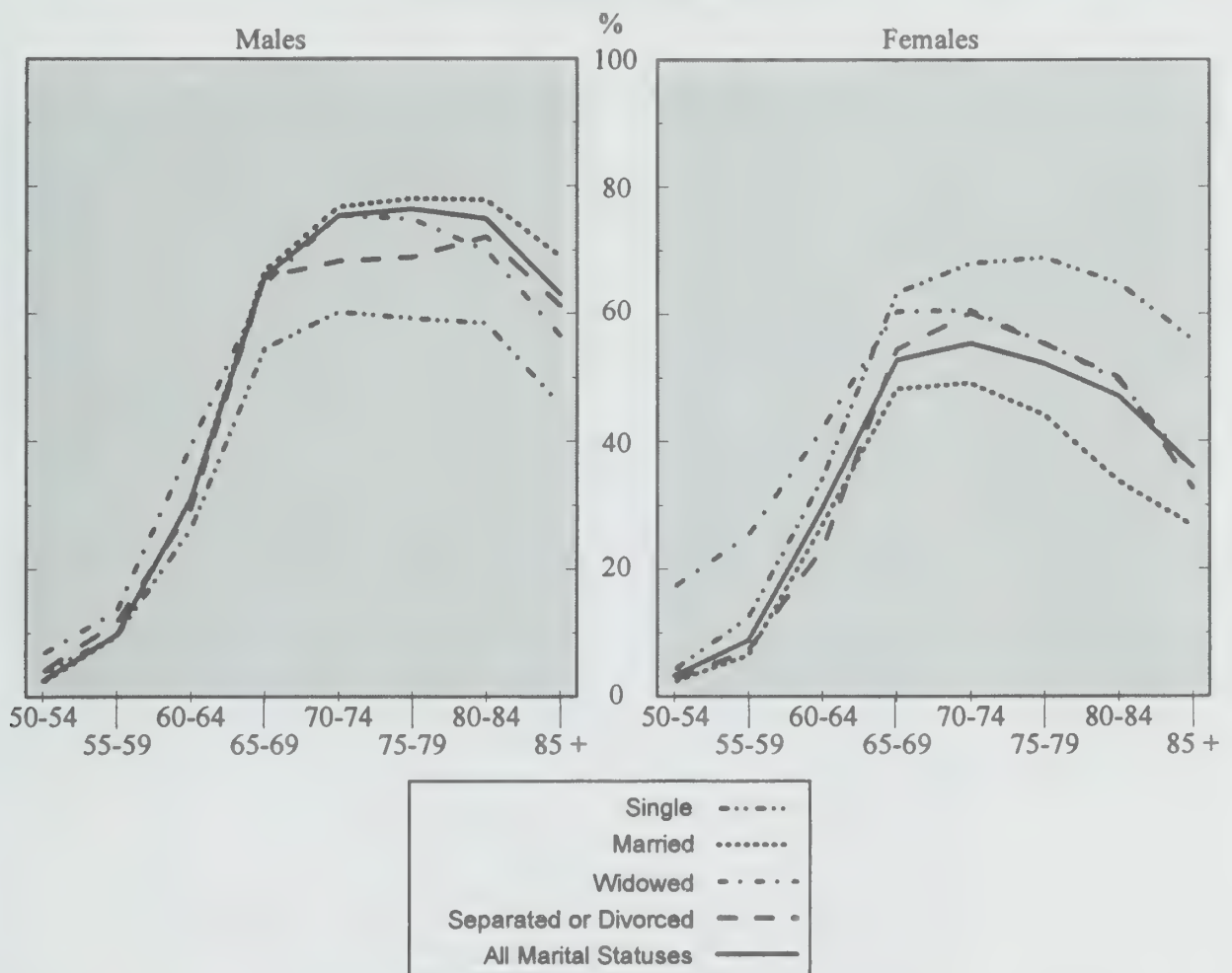
Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

lines in Figure 16: they show that women under age 60 who live alone have the lowest part-time participation rates. There is no similar pattern in the rates for men.

Retirement

Retirement represents not only a movement out of the labour force, but a corresponding transition to the stage of being retired. This section is drafted from that point of view. So, the focus in this section will be on the counts and percentages of retired people by age group, based on Census tables. It can be expected that the two sets of results complement one another quite effectively. As it appears in Figure 9, the proportion of people who were not in the labour force climbed sharply between the 60-64 group and the 65-69 group.

Figure 17. Percentage Distribution of Retired Persons by Age Group, Sex and Marital Status, Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

Marital Status

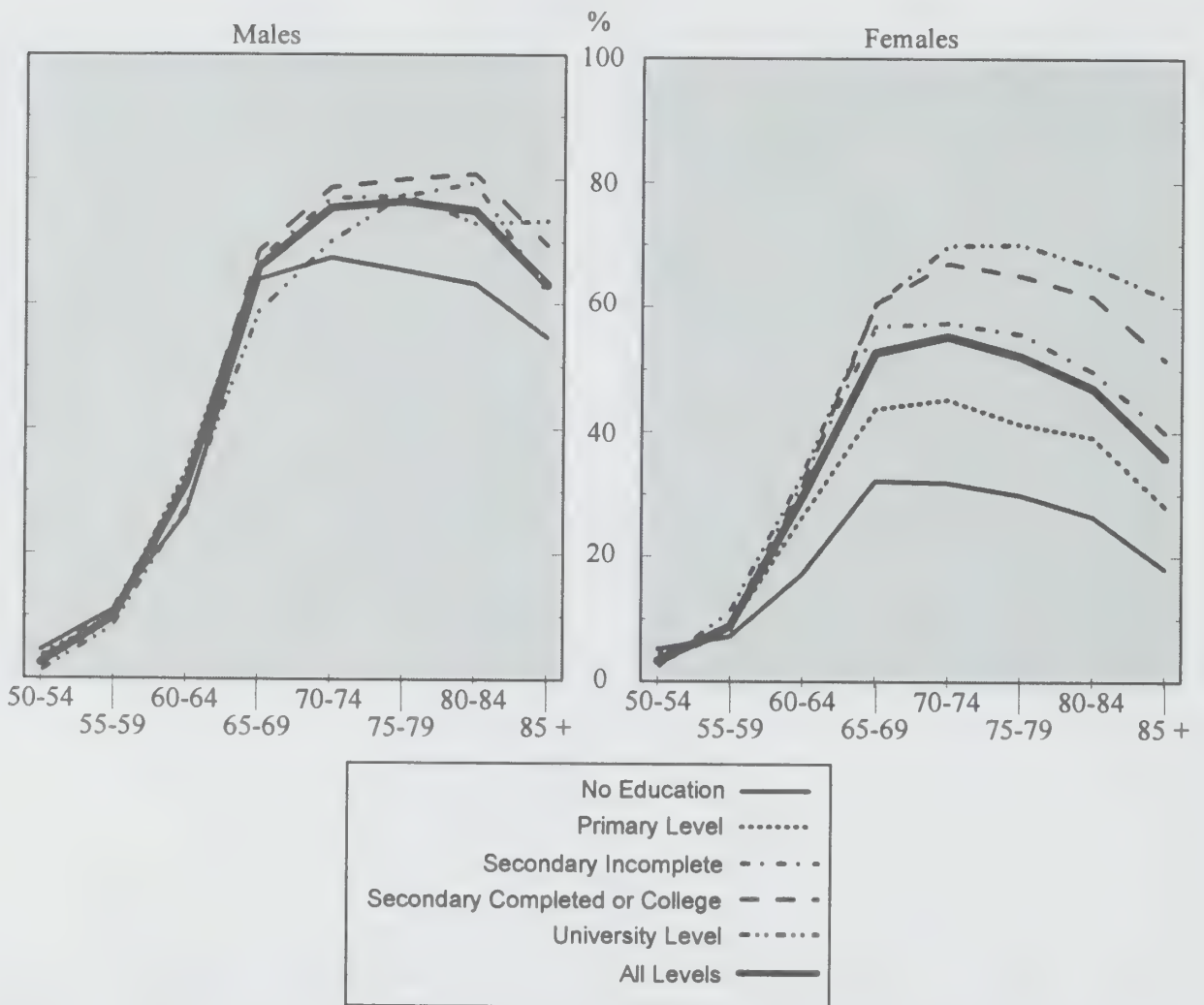
From the 65-69 group on (Figure 17), almost three quarters of all men are receiving C/QPP benefits, compared with only 50% of women.

Once again, this difference stems from the fact that fewer women entered the labour market at ages where they could have done so. The groups with the highest proportions of women receiving pensions in all age groups are widows, because they are collecting part of their husbands' pensions, and never-married women, because they were in the labour force. As expected, the reverse is true for men, because, as explained above, some men are unable to work for health reasons.

Education

Many uneducated men and women find themselves without a pension when they get older. According to calculations not presented here, the

Figure 18. Percentage Distribution of Retired Persons by Age Group, Sex and Level of Education, Canada, 1991



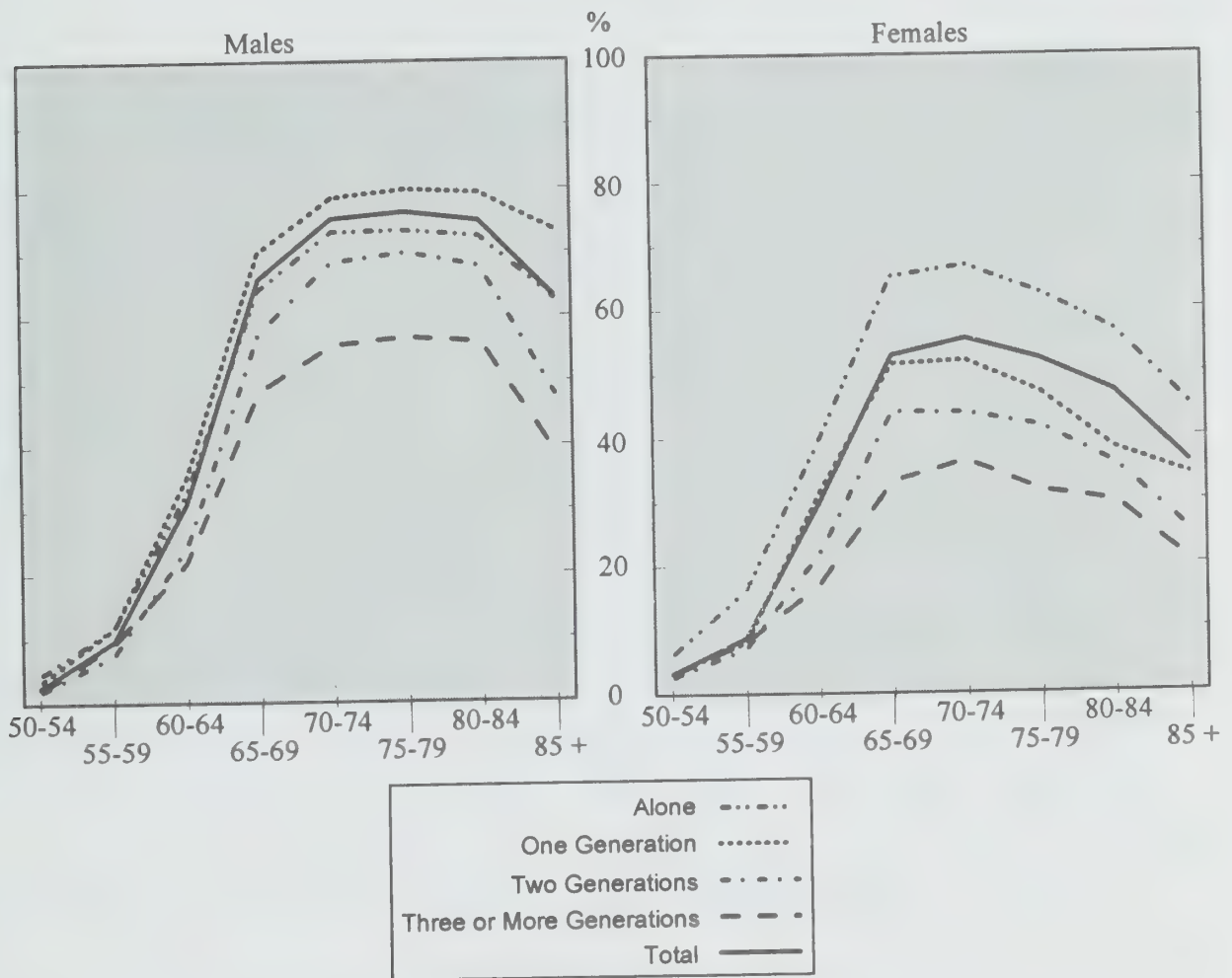
Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

uneducated were the group with the highest proportion of older people who do not receive a pension (66% of women and 30% of men). Many of them did not contribute to pension plans, having not worked for different reasons as poor health, or because they have been on welfare for long periods. Yet the correlation between a low percentage of retired people and level of education is found only in the uneducated group. There are no differences in the percentages of retired people with other levels of schooling, as if the time they spent on the labour market had overridden the differences in education (Figure 18).

Number of Generations

The curves in Figure 19 reveal a distinct trend: the larger the number of generations in a household, regardless of age group, the lower the proportion

Figure 19. Percentage Distribution of Retired Persons, by Age Group, Sex and Number of Generations in Household, Canada, 1991



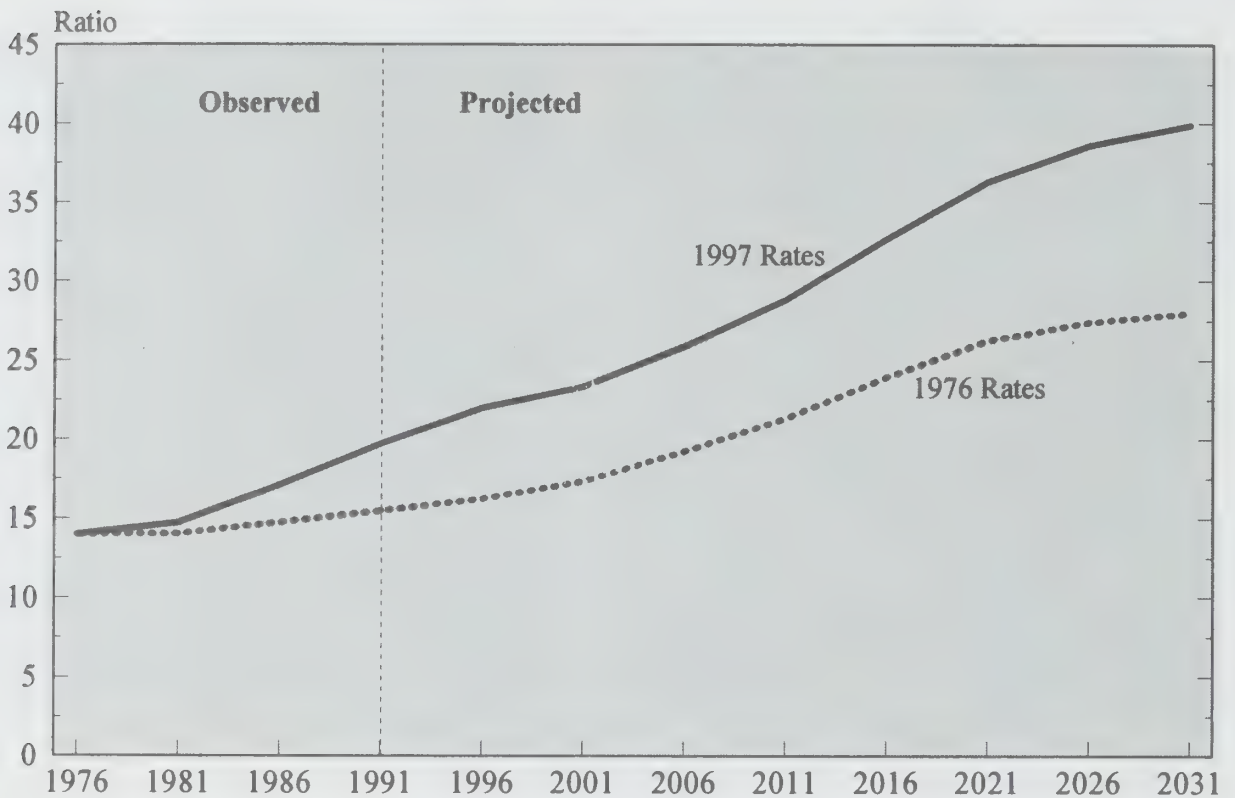
Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

of retired people. This situation may be due to the need to share living expenses with children and grandchildren. Women receiving a pension have a much greater tendency to live alone than other women.

Dependency Ratios

The conventional demographic dependency ratio is the population aged 0-14 plus the population aged 65 and over, divided by the population aged 15-64. This very crude indicator continues to be used in international comparisons because the data required to compute it are easy to obtain. Of more value to us, however, would be an indicator that takes labour market activity into account, since in the various age groups, some people contribute to pension plans while others collect benefits. The indicator we use here is the ratio of the 55-and-over population that is not in the labour force to the 15-and-over population that is in the labour force. Although the economist's

Figure 20. Dependency Ratio for Males Aged 55 and Over Not in Labour Force, Canada, 1976-2031



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

ceteris paribus is inappropriate here because of factors such as increased productivity, the ratio does take unemployment and early retirement into account. Since the generation effect seriously distorts the ratio for the female population, we will confine our analysis to the male ratio (figure 20).

In Canada in 1991, there were approximately 20 people aged 55 and over who were not in the labour force for every 100 people aged 15 and over who were in the labour force.

The ratio was only 14% in 1976. It is expected to climb to 29% in 2011, 50% higher than in 1991, and by 2031 it likely will be 40%, double its 1991 value. The solid line in the Figure 20 represents the dependency ratio projected with 1997 participation rates. The dotted line shows what the dependency ratio would have been if participation rates had remained at 1976 levels. The space between the two lines represents the change in participation rates, and the space between the dotted line and the 1976 ratio (14%) represents solely the effect of population ageing. A number of European countries have already reached those levels, but their historical, cultural and economic circumstances are so different that we cannot learn much from their experiences. Given the Canadian data, some experts believe that our social security systems in

the areas of pensions and health care need to be reviewed and updated. Steps have already been taken to improve the financial security of the C/QPP. Since 1987 the C/QPP contribution rate has been increasing and recent changes will see that rate almost triple early in the next century from the original rate. Also, C/QPP benefits have been marginally reduced and OAS cost have been reduced. Since 1989 high income seniors have seen their OAS reduced or even eliminated; this review will involve changes in the criteria governing who qualifies for benefits and who contributes, as well as how much the contributions will be. In the same vein, it has been suggested that the age at which a person qualifies for Old Age Security programs should be raised; in fact, some industrialised countries have already taken this step, as Kinsella and Gist reported in 1995.

Conclusion

The current trend is clearly toward earlier retirement. On the other hand, over time, succeeding generations are increasingly educated, and the analysis has shown that well-educated older people stay longest in the labour force. This observation suggests that proposals to raise the age of retirement have a certain logic to them. Today's adults would do well to take note of the situation. Because they will have small numbers of children, an increasing number of them will probably, all other things remaining equal, be forced to stay in the labour market and forego earlier retirement.

Whether they decide to help their fellow men and women for free or remain in the labour force, the elderly are an asset to this country. As long as they are healthy, they will want to remain as active as possible. Thus, volunteer work and paid work by senior citizens are likely to become more prevalent.

CHAPTER 3 - THREE: SOURCES OF INCOME¹⁵

The economic status of the elderly in Canada has improved appreciably in the past few decades. A recent study by Statistics Canada revealed that Canadians aged 65 and over were the main beneficiaries of the tax changes introduced between 1973 and 1995 (Corak, 1998). Oja and Love in 1988 and Lesemann in 1990 also showed that elderly people's purchasing power is now greater than or at least equal to that of working people, whereas after the last war it was lower. This improvement is partly due to the introduction of income security programs by governments, to the requirement that every worker

¹⁵ Average income expressed in 1991 dollars. The averages were computed by taking the total income reported in the census for each age and category and dividing it by the number of people at that age and in that category.

The source of the data for income tables is an original data base drawn from the public use micro data file of the 1991 census.

The numbers appearing in each cell were obtained by dividing the sum of the incomes reported in the census by the number of respondents in the category including those with zero income.

Given that the base was obtained from a sample, the figures are not the same as those found in other Statistics Canada publications. As for the average, they are “per capita”, and are derived from respondents who indicated positive, negative or nul income. Standard practice in other Statistics Canada publications is to calculate averages only for those with non-zero incomes.

contribute to a pension plan and, since at least the mid-1970s, to the strong incentives for people to have private savings plans. There nevertheless remain serious disparities between different groups of senior citizens.

The financial situation of the elderly remains closely tied to the type of work they did while they were on the labour market. Two key factors are how long the person contributed to a pension plan and therefore when he or she actually retired. Another is the person's perception of retirement. Yet an elderly person's standard of living also depends heavily on the number of people in the household he or she lives in. If the elderly person's income is inadequate, he or she may benefit from the affluence of other household members. The information in this study will enable us to use certain characteristics of elderly people's family and friends to produce a more detailed picture of their financial circumstances. This in turn allows us to answer some important questions about the diversity of senior citizens' sources of income, about the sources of income of elderly people who live alone, and about the advantages of living with others to lower the cost of living.

Concepts

Because of the socio-economic system that has evolved in industrialised countries, there is an increasingly common belief that elderly people should normally receive incomes from not just three sources, but four. These sources are the “four pillars” described by experts studying the economic circumstances of older people (The Geneva Paper, 1996). Such diversification provides greater financial security in case one of the sources declines.

Elderly people in Canada can have four sources of income:

- 1 - They are entitled to Old Age Security benefits, which the federal government pays to all but a few people aged 65 and over (the exceptions are mostly related to residency in Canada);
- 2 - They may receive a pension
 - a) from a public pension plan if they had paid employment at some point in their working life (pay-as-you-go plan);
 - b) from a pension plan set up by their employer (essentially a funded plan);
- 3 - They may receive income from personal savings. Today, such savings are often in the form of RRSPs; those who do receive RRSP benefits do so because they planned for their retirement and had the financial means during their working lives to make the necessary investments. Until recently this was not common practice for people in the labour force, but the government is making this form of saving easier, and the incentives seem to be starting to produce results;¹⁶
- 4 - They may earn income if they remain employed.

Income of the Population Aged 50 and Over

Figure 21 shows that the average total income of men decreases fairly substantially between ages 50 and 69, whereas the average total income of women remains much steadier during that period. Men's income is nearly cut in half, dropping from about \$39,000 a year between ages 50 and 54 to just over \$20,000 at age 80. Women's income, though far lower on average than men's, stays virtually unchanged at approximately \$15,000 a year over the same period.

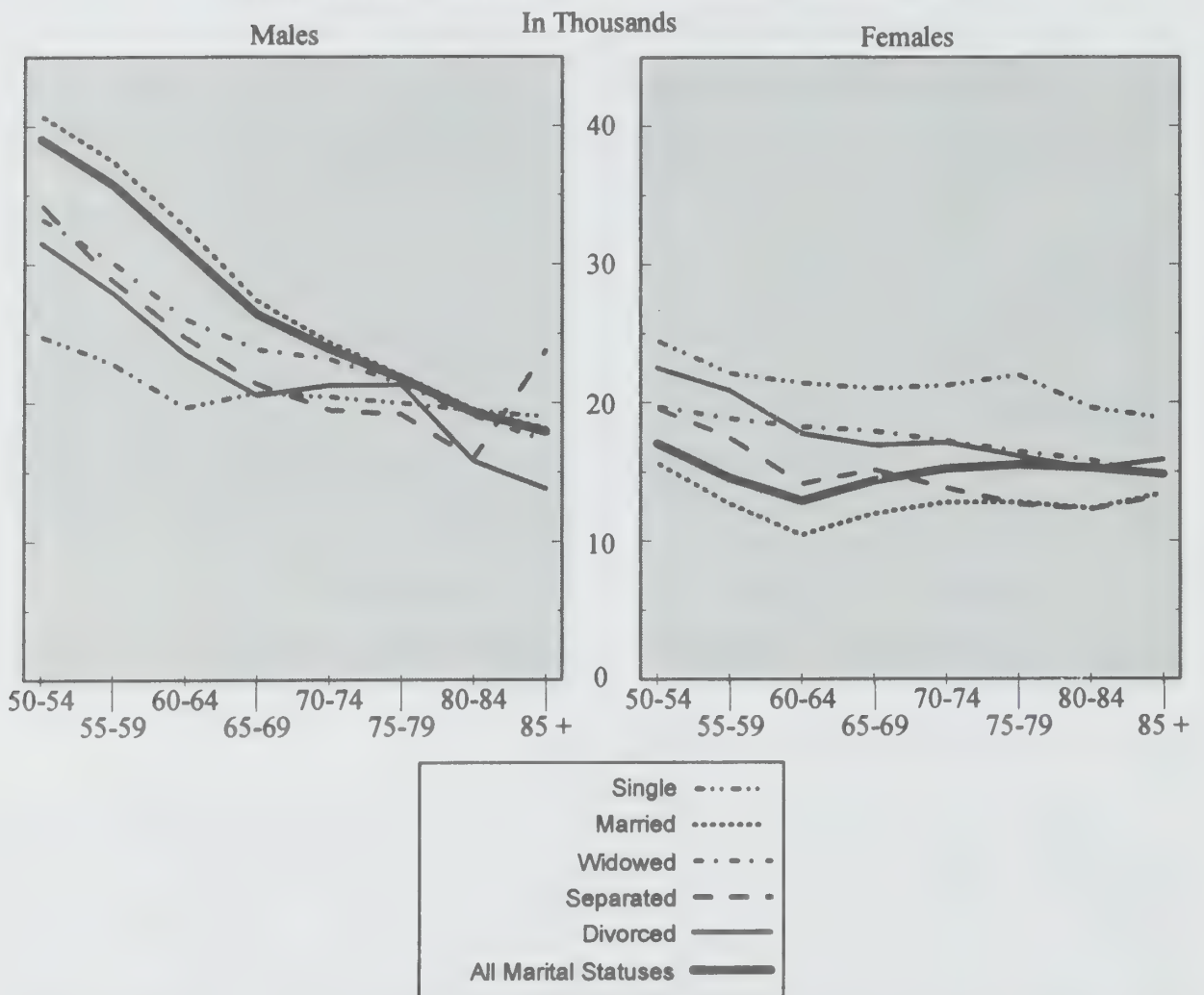
Thus, the transition from working life to retirement results in a greater loss of income for men. Women, especially those who were never in the labour force, may even have a higher income after they turn 65, since they become eligible for benefits under the government's Old Age Security program.

Marital Status

It is also interesting to look at average income by marital status, as the patterns for the two sexes are quite different. Never-married women are the women with the highest average income, whereas the reverse is true for men. Very few men are not in the labour force at some point between the ages of 15 and 65; men who never married were probably unable to work for the same reason they did not marry. Never-married women had to work to support

¹⁶ Karen Maser, "Who saves for retirement", in *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, Winter 1995. Catalogue No. 75-001E.

Figure 21. Total Average 1990 Income (in Dollars) for Population Aged 50 and Over by Age Group, Sex and Marital Status, Canada, 1991



Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

themselves. As a result, they are in the most comfortable financial situation. Conversely, married women have the lowest average income, since they are usually able to depend on their husband's income for their living. This conclusion is supported by the statistics in Figure 21, which shows that married men have the highest average income. For both sexes, the incomes of widowed, separated and divorced people fall between the two extremes.

This brief description of average personal incomes does not, however, provide enough information to enable us to determine the extent to which older people are in difficult financial straits.

Income sources of the population aged 50 and over

Table 9 provides more information. It shows, for each age group, the percentage distribution of people by the number and type of sources of income they receive.

Table 9. Percentage Distribution of People Aged 50 and Over by Age Group, Sex and Income Source, Canada, 1991

Age Group	No Income	One Source of Income					Several Sources of Income					
		Work	Pension	State	Other	Total	Work and Pension	Work and State	State and Pension	Two Others	Total 2 Sources	Total 3 Sources or More
50-54 55-59 60-64 65-69 70-74 75-79 80-84 85 + 65 +	Males											
	2.01	32.16	0.93	4.19	1.28	38.56	1.08	22.56	0.72	19.77	44.13	15.31
	2.51	31.08	3.08	5.05	2.11	41.32	2.21	12.88	1.63	24.19	40.91	15.26
	2.62	20.76	7.77	5.35	1.84	35.72	3.90	5.92	4.72	28.45	42.99	18.67
	0.94	2.34	1.36	6.59	0.48	10.77	0.61	2.67	23.64	5.38	32.30	56.00
	0.38	0.09	0.11	7.54	0.22	7.96	0.05	1.81	27.17	2.21	31.24	60.42
	0.35	0.01	0.06	9.73	0.10	9.90	—	1.90	25.54	3.66	31.10	58.66
	0.27	0.08	0.05	12.17	0.05	12.35	—	1.25	24.01	5.34	30.60	56.78
	0.68	—	0.11	18.71	0.26	19.08	—	3.00	23.33	9.41	35.74	44.51
	0.59	0.93	0.57	8.61	0.28	10.39	0.25	2.16	25.01	4.37	31.79	57.24
	Females											
	16.31	32.01	1.12	4.64	6.02	43.79	1.00	7.81	0.83	21.64	31.28	8.61
	20.35	23.17	3.06	5.47	9.53	41.23	1.44	5.18	1.54	21.11	29.27	9.15
14.36	10.73	6.50	11.08	7.72	36.03	1.84	2.92	7.10	23.05	34.91	14.70	
1.98	1.07	0.97	19.25	0.98	22.27	0.20	1.91	20.81	11.37	34.29	41.45	
0.56	0.07	0.07	20.30	0.15	20.59	0.02	1.48	22.02	11.27	34.79	44.07	
0.40	0.02	0.08	22.46	0.06	22.62	—	1.20	20.46	13.08	34.74	42.22	
0.29	0.02	0.05	24.98	0.02	25.07	—	1.15	19.48	15.18	35.81	38.83	
0.55	0.03	0.19	31.80	0.08	32.10	—	1.88	15.11	21.11	38.10	29.23	
0.98	0.39	0.39	21.75	0.40	22.93	0.08	1.56	20.50	12.83	34.97	41.12	

Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

First, far more women than men under age 65 have no income. They have never been in the labour force, but they are probably not indigent; in all likelihood, most of them are supported by their husbands.

The proportion of men and women under 65 who have only one source of income is just about equal. That source is usually employment, except in the case of women aged 60 to 64. In the latter group, those who receive benefits from the government are as numerous as those whose only source of income is employment. This suggests that some of them already regard themselves as retired. On average, women under 65 who have only one source of income receive between \$10,000 and \$17,000 a year, while men in the same category fare twice as well, with incomes of \$25,000 to \$33,000 (Table 10).

The fact that a smaller percentage of women under 65 report having two different sources of income is another indication of their less comfortable financial situation. When men report two sources of income, it is either a combination of salary and government transfers such as family allowance or Unemployment Insurance benefits, or a combination of salary and investment

Table 10. Average and Median¹ 1990 Income (in Dollars) for Persons Aged 50 and Over by Age Group, Sex and Number of Income Sources, Canada, 1991

Age Group	Number of Income Sources				
	1	2	3	4	Average Income
Males					
50-54	32,574	42,899	49,712	49,302	39,025
	<i>30,000</i>	<i>37,225</i>	<i>42,490</i>	<i>43,681</i>	<i>35,000</i>
55-59	29,726	41,187	43,675	45,409	35,768
	<i>26,000</i>	<i>34,544</i>	<i>36,947</i>	<i>38,797</i>	<i>30,565</i>
60-64	24,845	35,068	38,043	40,791	31,086
	<i>20,233</i>	<i>28,000</i>	<i>31,158</i>	<i>33,928</i>	<i>25,287</i>
65-69	14,305	19,213	28,378	48,713	26,410
	<i>9,296</i>	<i>14,518</i>	<i>23,579</i>	<i>37,697</i>	<i>20,000</i>
70-74	9,121	15,682	26,600	50,302	23,888
	<i>9,004</i>	<i>12,770</i>	<i>21,600</i>	<i>36,855</i>	<i>17,588</i>
75-79	8,783	14,642	25,049	49,798	21,735
	<i>9,004</i>	<i>11,749</i>	<i>19,040</i>	<i>35,289</i>	<i>14,996</i>
80-84	9,156	13,691	22,369	49,228	19,290
	<i>9,077</i>	<i>11,148</i>	<i>16,650</i>	<i>32,294</i>	<i>13,202</i>
85 +	9,217	14,401	22,651	50,388	17,903
	<i>9,077</i>	<i>10,747</i>	<i>15,783</i>	<i>32,954</i>	<i>11,656</i>
65 +	11,129	16,598	26,252	49,329	23,688
	<i>9,077</i>	<i>12,650</i>	<i>21,000</i>	<i>49,329</i>	<i>16,958</i>
Females					
50-54	16,850	23,940	25,357	29,568	17,041
	<i>13,108</i>	<i>20,412</i>	<i>20,638</i>	<i>26,075</i>	<i>13,000</i>
55-59	13,913	22,106	25,471	32,491	14,572
	<i>10,000</i>	<i>18,000</i>	<i>21,136</i>	<i>27,294</i>	<i>10,000</i>
60-64	10,466	17,555	20,262	23,676	12,915
	<i>6,830</i>	<i>12,460</i>	<i>16,095</i>	<i>19,928</i>	<i>8,514</i>
65-69	7,510	11,643	19,082	32,154	14,367
	<i>7,000</i>	<i>9,960</i>	<i>14,846</i>	<i>26,987</i>	<i>10,723</i>
70-74	7,761	12,131	20,137	36,280	15,213
	<i>7,838</i>	<i>10,746</i>	<i>15,587</i>	<i>28,331</i>	<i>11,308</i>
75-79	8,338	12,859	20,742	37,366	15,495
	<i>9,077</i>	<i>10,813</i>	<i>15,637</i>	<i>28,284</i>	<i>11,376</i>
80-84	8,851	13,188	20,990	33,555	15,278
	<i>9,077</i>	<i>10,926</i>	<i>15,300</i>	<i>25,546</i>	<i>11,239</i>
85 +	9,702	13,951	21,436	36,647	14,813
	<i>9,669</i>	<i>11,348</i>	<i>15,401</i>	<i>30,338</i>	<i>10,928</i>
65 +	8,124	12,380	20,095	33,948	14,958
	<i>8,404</i>	<i>10,746</i>	<i>15,323</i>	<i>27,481</i>	<i>11,075</i>

¹ The numbers represented in this table are the average incomes. The numbers in italics represent the median income.

Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

income. Their average total income ranges between \$35,000 and \$43,000, while women with two sources of income receive an average of only \$18,000 to \$24,000 a year (Table 10).

Few men and women under 65 report income from three or more sources. Those who do have the highest average incomes: over \$45,000 for men and over \$25,000 for women (Table 10).

Many women are better off economically after they turn 65, since they are then eligible for the Old Age Security benefit. As the program is almost universal, very few people over 65 report having no income. On the other hand, because of the circumstances they are in before turning 65, about twice as many women as men have only one source of income. In almost every case, for both women and men, the source of that income is Old Age Security benefits. The women in that situation have an average total income of only \$6,156 per year (Table 11). While the income figures alone suggest that women are more likely to be living in poverty, the picture changes significantly when living arrangements are taken into account.

Roughly the same proportion of elderly men and women report having two sources of income. In most cases, one of them is Old Age Security benefits, and the other is a public or private pension plan. On average, men and women in this situation receive \$14,767 and \$9,786 respectively (Table 11). Unlike men, however, a significant percentage of women who report having two different sources of income probably receive a combination of Old Age Security benefits and investment income (Table 9, "Two other" column).

A majority of men, but not of women, report having three or more sources of income. Men in this situation receive an average of \$26,000 (which makes them the most affluent senior citizens), while women receive \$20,000 (Table 10). When the combination involves OAS, retirement plans and investments, the amounts are slightly smaller (\$14,000 for women and \$20,000 for men (Table 11).

So far, we have looked at the financial situation of elderly people without regard for their living arrangements. The figures suggest that those most likely to be in financial difficulty are women under age 65 not living in a couple, who have no own income (essentially women separated and divorced) or people aged 65 and over who receive only Old Age Security benefits.

Income and Living Arrangements

From now, the analysis will be expanded to include living arrangements, i.e. the number of persons in the household. As it turns out, this changes the picture significantly. To highlight general characteristics, some of the five-year age groups have been combined.

The first observation we should make is that only a small percentage of women under 65 have no income and live alone, in contrast with those who are living with others (Table 12). It can only be supposed that a large percentage of the former must have worked to support themselves.

Table 11. Average and Median¹ 1990 Income (in Dollars) for Persons Aged 50 and Over by Age Group, Sex and Income Source, Canada, 1991

Age Group	Income Source				
	State ²	State and Pension ³	State, Pension and Private Savings ⁴	State, Pension, Private Savings and Work ⁵	Average Income
Males					
50-54	1,387	2,059	4,004	39,017	39,025
	—	—	780	35,000	35,000
55-59	1,502	4,130	6,963	35,768	35,768
	—	—	1,475	30,565	30,565
60-64	1,613	7,803	11,675	31,086	31,086
	—	2,187	6,000	25,287	25,287
65-69	5,279	15,205	19,675	26,410	26,410
	4,798	12,433	15,571	20,000	20,000
70-74	6,260	16,018	20,855	23,888	23,888
	4,928	12,830	16,051	17,588	17,588
75-79	6,228	14,381	19,846	21,735	21,735
	5,159	11,426	14,328	14,996	14,996
80-84	6,456	12,372	17,887	19,290	19,290
	5,724	10,371	12,818	13,202	13,202
85 +	6,882	10,662	16,252	17,903	17,903
	6,614	9,436	11,149	11,656	11,656
65 +	5,929	14,767	19,608	23,688	23,688
	4,850	11,786	14,804	16,958	16,958
Females					
50-54	830	1,254	3,042	17,041	17,041
	—	—	130	13,000	13,000
55-59	864	1,993	4,439	14,572	14,572
	—	—	600	10,000	10,000
60-64	1,640	4,108	7,242	12,915	12,915
	—	—	4,000	8,514	8,514
65-69	5,153	8,966	12,470	14,367	14,367
	4,352	8,090	9,954	10,723	10,723
70-74	6,232	10,277	14,368	15,213	15,213
	5,218	9,297	11,015	11,308	11,308
75-79	6,659	10,320	14,865	15,495	15,495
	6,062	9,523	11,179	11,376	11,376
80-84	7,122	10,054	14,822	15,278	15,278
	7,038	9,556	11,115	11,239	11,239
85 +	7,837	9,945	14,304	14,813	14,813
	8,222	9,669	10,753	10,928	10,928
65 +	6,156	9,786	13,864	14,958	14,958
	5,312	9,088	10,747	11,075	11,075

¹ The numbers represented in this table are the average incomes. The numbers in italics represent the median income.

² The income coming from the state includes Family Allowances, Federal Child Tax Benefits, the Old Age Security Pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement, Unemployment Insurance Benefits and other income from government sources.

³ Pensions include benefits from the Canada Pension Plan and the Quebec Pension Plan as well as retirement pensions from private sources.

⁴ Private savings include income from investments as well as other private sources.

⁵ Work income includes wages and salaries and other income from independent work.

Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

Table 12. Percentage Distribution of the Number of Income Sources for People Aged 50 and Over by Age Group, Sex and Living Arrangement, Canada, 1991

Age Group	Number of Income Sources									
	None	1	2	3 or More	Total	None	1	2	3 or More	Total
	Males					Females				
50-64 65-79 80 and Over 65 and Over	Living Alone									
	2.4	48.3	37.3	12.0	100.0	2.6	38.1	38.9	20.4	100.0
	0.2	12.5	36.2	51.1	100.0	0.1	13.7	32.9	53.4	100.0
	—	15.6	34.7	49.7	100.0	—	20.4	36.1	43.5	100.0
	0.2	13.2	35.9	50.8	100.0	0.1	15.4	33.7	50.8	100.0
	Living with One or Two People									
	2.1	40.2	42.5	15.2	100.0	18.4	40.4	31.6	9.6	100.0
	0.3	7.9	30.2	61.6	100.0	1.0	24.4	35.8	38.8	100.0
	0.2	11.9	30.5	57.4	100.0	0.4	33.2	38.4	28.1	100.0
	0.3	8.4	30.2	61.0	100.0	1.0	25.6	36.1	37.4	100.0
	Living with 3 People or More									
	3.1	30.5	45.4	21.0	100.0	23.0	42.4	27.1	7.5	100.0
	4.2	21.3	38.2	36.4	100.0	6.1	37.9	33.3	22.7	100.0
	2.7	31.2	39.4	26.7	100.0	2.5	46.2	34.0	17.3	100.0
	3.9	22.9	38.4	34.8	100.0	5.3	39.8	33.5	21.5	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

Other women with no source of income are able to rely on the income of other household members, usually their spouse. The same observation does not apply to men. The proportion of men with no income is roughly the same among those who live alone as among those who live in multi-person households. Table 13 shows that of all women aged 50 and over, those who live alone have the highest average income, regardless of age group.

Among men under age 65, those who live alone are the most likely to have only one source of income (48.3). In contrast to women, men under age 65 who live alone, have the lowest average income (Table 13).

Among people aged 65 and over who report having no income, the percentage of men and women who live in households with four or more members is slightly higher than the percentage who live in smaller households. Average incomes are lowest in households with four or more members: \$11,315 for women and \$17,817 for men (Table 13). It seems clear that living with others is a way of sharing certain basic expenses.

In addition, it is often individuals in the same situation—i.e. living in households with four or more members—who report having only one source of income. Clearly, older people with no income or only one source of income

Table 13. Average and Median¹ 1990 Income of Persons Aged 50 and Over by Age Group, Sex and Size of Household, Canada, 1991

Age Group	Number of Income Sources				
	1	2	3	4	Average Income
Males					
50-54	32,298	37,879	40,297	40,721	39,025
	<i>28,000</i>	<i>34,145</i>	<i>36,000</i>	<i>35,550</i>	<i>35,000</i>
55-59	28,893	36,418	37,342	35,473	35,768
	<i>22,378</i>	<i>31,000</i>	<i>32,823</i>	<i>30,000</i>	<i>30,565</i>
60-64	24,031	32,647	32,559	28,226	31,086
	<i>17,955</i>	<i>26,600</i>	<i>27,109</i>	<i>23,000</i>	<i>25,287</i>
65-69	23,129	28,036	26,508	19,870	26,410
	<i>15,777</i>	<i>21,553</i>	<i>20,432</i>	<i>14,947</i>	<i>20,000</i>
70-74	22,783	24,904	22,743	18,129	23,888
	<i>15,018</i>	<i>18,623</i>	<i>16,872</i>	<i>12,439</i>	<i>17,588</i>
75-79	22,258	22,571	19,540	15,432	21,735
	<i>14,342</i>	<i>15,970</i>	<i>14,015</i>	<i>11,636</i>	<i>14,996</i>
80-84	19,702	19,951	18,699	13,817	19,290
	<i>13,289</i>	<i>13,837</i>	<i>12,517</i>	<i>10,547</i>	<i>13,202</i>
85 +	18,301	18,694	16,485	14,813	17,903
	<i>12,399</i>	<i>11,748</i>	<i>11,239</i>	<i>10,192</i>	<i>11,656</i>
65 +	21,929	24,892	23,588	17,817	23,688
	<i>14,318</i>	<i>18,143</i>	<i>17,320</i>	<i>12,491</i>	<i>16,958</i>
Females					
50-54	23,137	17,207	16,127	15,345	17,041
	<i>20,800</i>	<i>13,135</i>	<i>12,000</i>	<i>11,628</i>	<i>13,000</i>
55-59	21,304	14,131	13,223	12,165	14,572
	<i>18,000</i>	<i>9,564</i>	<i>8,569</i>	<i>7,464</i>	<i>10,000</i>
60-64	19,556	11,914	11,105	9,347	12,915
	<i>15,095</i>	<i>7,358</i>	<i>6,871</i>	<i>5,995</i>	<i>8,514</i>
65-69	19,162	12,976	12,537	10,808	14,367
	<i>13,755</i>	<i>9,312</i>	<i>9,146</i>	<i>9,077</i>	<i>10,723</i>
70-74	18,599	13,591	13,131	11,431	15,213
	<i>13,459</i>	<i>9,805</i>	<i>10,154</i>	<i>10,123</i>	<i>11,308</i>
75-79	17,981	13,857	13,246	11,559	15,495
	<i>12,939</i>	<i>10,091</i>	<i>10,219</i>	<i>10,123</i>	<i>11,376</i>
80-84	17,167	13,415	13,923	11,303	15,278
	<i>12,416</i>	<i>10,147</i>	<i>10,598</i>	<i>10,123</i>	<i>11,239</i>
85 +	16,010	14,277	13,416	12,217	14,813
	<i>11,763</i>	<i>10,568</i>	<i>10,537</i>	<i>10,123</i>	<i>10,928</i>
65 +	18,094	13,392	13,008	11,315	14,958
	<i>13,000</i>	<i>9,780</i>	<i>10,123</i>	<i>10,124</i>	<i>11,075</i>

¹ The numbers represented in this table are the average incomes. The numbers in italics represent the median income.

Source: Statistics Canada, according to the 1991 Census of Canada and calculations by the authors.

are most vulnerable to financial difficulties. For almost all of them, that single source of income is Old Age Security, which amounts to only about \$6,000 a year (Table 11).

While women who live with at least three other people are least likely to have three or more sources of income, women living alone are the most affluent: about 85% of them have at least two sources of income, and half of them have at least three. The corresponding figures for women who live with one or two other people are 73.5% and 37.4%. Since more never-married women living alone were employed at one time or another, they generally had the opportunity to contribute to private pension plans and invest some of their savings for retirement. Similarly, widowed or divorced women who live alone are often supported by income from their deceased or former husbands. Hence women who live alone are the most financially independent women, even in their old age.

Men who live with one or two other people seem to be the most comfortable: 61% of them report having three or more sources of income. The corresponding figures for men who live alone and men who live with at least three other people are 51% and 35%. The figures in Table 13 support these findings: they show that men living in two- or three-person households report the highest incomes. In most cases, those men are living with their spouse.

In conclusion, the popular notion that an old woman is a poor woman is probably an exaggeration. The analysis has shown that although women generally have lower incomes than men, many of them benefit from the affluence of their husbands. It was also demonstrated that women who live alone have taken steps to provide themselves with adequate retirement income. The most financially vulnerable older people are probably those who live in complex, multi-member households. This suggests that income is a major determining factor in the lifestyle of the elderly. Thus, the fact that the proportion of people aged 65 and over who live alone has increased substantially over the past 20 years in Canada can probably be attributed to an improvement in their financial situation.

CONCLUSION

For a number of decades now, Canada, like the rest of the Western world, has “chosen” to age rather than grow. The rest of the world is probably doing the same thing. Having long neglected the transformation of its age pyramid, it is now faced with the need to adjust to situations created by the process. These are felt acutely at a time when changes in economic conditions, production facilities, global competition and a number of new social behaviour patterns are transforming the country at a rate which few other countries which preceded it in this process have experienced. Ageing, which has yet to reach its maximum rate, is creating concern as well as conditions that are at times difficult for some segments of society. An ageing population is of course only one ingredient among others in the evolution of our country. In this respect, the pessimist view which sees Canada’s future crushed under the weight of an ageing population

is no more scientifically valid than the optimistic confidence in the untapped potential of the country. Nevertheless, in these times of transition, the present and immediate future require constant description and analysis if we are to grasp as precisely as possible the situation of people involved in these transformations, and if we are to discern out what might be done to influence the outcomes.

Our objective was to study the economic and social conditions of senior citizens using information from the 1991 census. The original contribution of the study was to take into consideration the human environment of senior citizens, including the number of people within households, the number of generations brought together, not only when seniors head the household, but when they are members of it.

While the data shows that substantial progress has been made in promoting the welfare of senior citizens, in Canada, some segments of society have been left in precarious circumstances. This applies mostly to single or divorced women who were never part of the labour market and who, not having contributed, now find themselves without any income until they reach the age of 65 and become eligible for old age security.

Before the interesting findings of the study are dealt with, it should be emphasized that the reduced time spent at work during a lifetime, which in our day and age is due to later entry into the labour market and earlier retirement from it, fits into a historical continuum. The ancestors, grandparents and parents of those who are approaching their fifties have successively devoted less and less time, on the average, to ensuring their subsistence. Because of an increased life expectancy, more and more people are thus facing a long period of inactivity before they reach old age. As a result, and more so than in the past, the financial situation of senior citizens is of great importance and their domestic circumstances play a role in structuring their life.

The analysis clearly shows that marital status rather than age or gender plays a decisive role in the quality of life of people over the age of 60. As an aggravating source of solitude, recent patterns of family behaviour such as divorce and fewer children have had a significant impact on the independence of senior citizens and there may well be an increase in this trend in the years to come.

The study has shown, however, that ageing people care little for living in non-family households. This would lead us to think that the increase in life expectancy might mean greater coexistence of generations within society, but that the sharing of accommodation by members of different generations might remain a rare phenomenon even within the family. For example, women who are now aged 75 or more are living independent of their relatives.

The financial situation of people who have left the labour market varies greatly as a result of choices made earlier on during their life when social

and economic conditions were being transformed. Public authorities are showing unequivocally by their policies that the welfare state is a thing of the past. Mandatory retirement at age 65 is long gone, and this can be seen somewhat as a precursor of the change in responsibilities between citizens and the state. More and more governments are encouraging people to manage their own old age through individual savings. They are suggesting that, as time goes on, caring for senior citizens will increasingly come under the informal network of friends and relatives. It was felt useful to outline, within this complex reality, a few major patterns of behaviour and to give some idea of their magnitude so that stakeholders might assess present and future social challenges. In spite of some dark spots, the general picture is one of a society seeking a new equilibrium that will provide senior citizens with a comfortable life. Society will of course have to face the inevitable increase in the number of senior citizens as baby-boomers enter the final period of their lives and make increasing demands on the working age population to meet their needs.

While this study certainly did not throw light on all aspects of the economic and social circumstances surrounding senior citizens, it is to be hoped that the questions it raises will encourage researchers to carry out further research on better living conditions.

It was found that ageing women who are single, divorced or separated remain in the labour market longer than others, and everything would seem to indicate that they are doing so by necessity.

The study has confirmed that educated people remain longer than others in the labour market. Since successive generations are more and more educated, it may well be that they will gradually take greater advantage of paid work to meet their needs. Women, are increasingly present in the labour market and their contributions will allow them to retire on an equal footing with men before the old age security pension kicks in.

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Glossary¹

Census year: A neologism patterned after «fiscal year». In Canada, it refers to the 12-month period between June 1 of one year to May 31 of the following year. It can equally designate the year during which a census is held.

Cohort: A group of individuals or couples who experience the same event during a specified period.

Cohort, fictitious: An artificial cohort created from portions of actual cohorts present at different successive ages in the same year.

Crude rate: Relates certain events to the size of the entire population. For example, the crude birth rate for Canada is the ratio of the number of births in Canada in a year to the size of the Canadian population at mid-year. Crude death rates and crude divorce rates are calculated in the same way.

Current index: An index constructed from measurements of demographic phenomena and based on the events reflecting those phenomena during a given period, usually a year. For example, life expectancy in 1981 is a current index in the sense that it indicates the average number of years a person would live if he or she experienced 1981 conditions throughout his or her life.

Dependency ratio: A ratio that denotes the dependency on the working population of some or all of the non-working population.

Endogamy: Marriage within a specific group.

Endogenous: Influences from inside the system.

Excess mortality: In differential mortality, the excess of one group's mortality rate over another's.

Exogamy: Marriage outside of a specific group.

Fertility: Relates the number of live births to the number of women, couples or, very rarely, men.

Infant mortality: Mortality of children less than a year old.

Intensity : Frequency of occurrence of an event among members of a given cohort.

¹ For further information consult the following: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (1980). **Multilingual Demographic Dictionary**, Ordina Editions, Liège and Van de Walle, Étienne. **The Dictionary of Demography**, ed. Christopher Wilson. Oxford, England, New York, New York, United States of America.

Intercensal: The period between two censuses.

Life expectancy: A statistical measure derived from the life table that indicates the average years of life remaining for a person at a specified age, if the current age-specific mortality rates prevail for the remainder of that person's life.

Life table: A detailed description of the mortality of a population giving the probability of dying and various other statistics at each age.

Natural increase: A change in population size over a given period as a result of the difference between the numbers of births and deaths.

Neonatal mortality: Mortality in the first month after birth (part of infant mortality).

Net migration: Difference between immigration and emigration for a given area and period of time.

Parity: A term used in reference to a woman or a marriage to denote the number of births or deliveries by the woman or in the marriage. A two-parity woman is a woman who has given birth to a second-order child.

Population growth: A change, either positive or negative, in population size over a given period.

Population movement: Gradual change in population status over a given period attributable to the demographic events that occur during the period. Movement here is not a synonym for migration.

Post-neonatal mortality: Mortality between the ages of one month and one year.

Prevalence: Number of cases existing at one point in time.

Probability of dying: Probability of a survivor of exact age x dying before age $x+n$. Its notation is ${}_nq_x$.

Probability of survival: Probability of a survivor of exact age x surviving at least to age $x+n$. Its notation is ${}_np_x$ and it is the complement of the probability of dying ($1-{}_nq_x$).

Proportion ever married: A measure of the prevalence of marriage in a generation or a fictitious cohort. It is usually equivalent to the proportion remaining single at an age such as 50 after which first marriages are rare.

Standardized Rates: Mathematical transformations designed to make it possible to compare different populations with respect to a variable, e.g., fertility or mortality, where the influence of another variable, e.g., age, is held constant.

Structure: Arrangement of a population by different demographic characteristics such as age, sex or marital status.

Tempo: Distribution over time, within the cohort, of the demographic events corresponding to the investigated phenomenon.

Total Fertility Rate, Total Divorce Rate, etc.: A period measure obtained by the summation of the series of age-specific or duration-specific rates. It represents the behaviour of the members of the fictitious cohort.

- *In 1996, the number of divorces and the divorce rate declined.*
- *In Canada, 46% of couples in which the woman is under 50 cannot have children, for natural, medical or contraceptive reasons.*
- *In contrast to the recent past, life expectancy of men is increasing more rapidly than life expectancy of women.*
- *For the first time since the disease appeared in medical statistics, the number of deaths attributable to the HIV virus has decreased, and significantly at that.*
- *Among immigrants in the refugee category, one in three settles in Quebec and one in twenty in British Columbia.*
- *In 1996, a slowdown in internal migration to British Columbia was noted.*
- *Half of Canadian women aged 75 or over live alone, while only one in five Canadian men do so.*
- *While numerous elderly Canadians live in collective dwellings, these dwellings are often not health-related establishments.*
- *Paid activities of individuals are strongly related to their levels of education. Well-educated people are the last to leave the labor market.*
- *About 15% of people 65 years of age or older receive their only income in the form of Old Age Security.*

